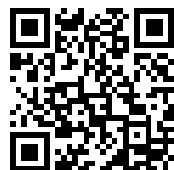


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*The Irish  
ecclesiastical record*













**THE IRISH  
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD**





# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

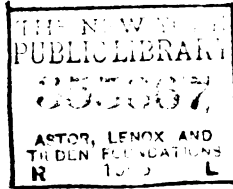
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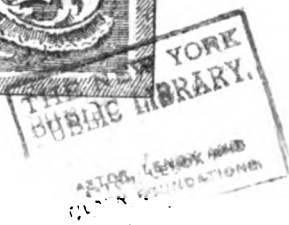
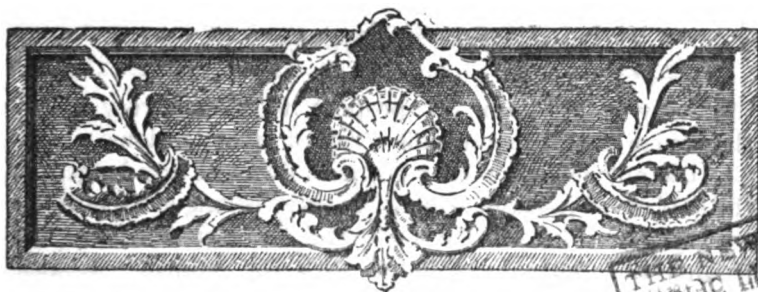
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## ON RADIUM<sup>1</sup>

**R**ADIUM is the name given to a substance recently discovered, which is continuously shooting out particles of itself into space, without any apparent loss of mass, and which is ever spontaneously emitting heat, without any apparent diminution of its energy. A substance possessed of such remarkable properties has naturally attracted great attention, not only in scientific circles, but in the wider circles of the reading public. And I thought it would be interesting to you this evening, if I were to give a short account of its discovery, and a description of the more striking phenomena which it presents for our consideration.

### I.—HISTORY OF RADIUM.

The history of Radium may be said to begin with the discovery of the X-Rays by Professor Röntgen of Würzburg, towards the close of the year 1895. The discovery of the X-Rays led to the discovery of the Becquerel Rays by Professor Henri Becquerel, of Paris, early in the following year; and this discovery, in its turn, led to the researches of Madame Curie, which were first begun by herself, and afterwards continued in association with her husband, and which resulted, after four years of unceasing work, in the

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<sup>1</sup> This article is based on a Lecture given at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, on Wednesday, November 9, 1904.

discovery of Radium. I propose to sketch very briefly the course of this remarkable series of investigations.

It is not necessary that I should dwell at any length on the subject of X-Rays, which I daresay is long since familiar to you all. But it will be useful to review briefly the leading phenomena associated with the subject; because a knowledge of these phenomena will help you, later on, to understand more readily the properties of Radium. In this review, I will pass over all minor details, and take no notice of past controversies, but simply set forth the main facts as they are now generally understood by scientific men.

When an electric discharge of high tension is sent through a glass tube from which the greater part of the air has been exhausted, it develops certain luminous effects, the character of which depends on the degree of exhaustion. If the vacuum be of the kind that is produced by an ordinary air-pump—say the one-fiftieth of an atmosphere—the discharge appears as a streak of purple light that extends from one end of the tube to the other. When the vacuum is carried to a higher degree, the streak of light spreads out into a purple glow that fills the tube. At a still higher degree of vacuum, the colour of the light is changed, and the luminous glow becomes stratified. Finally, when the degree of exhaustion reaches the millionth of an atmosphere, or thereabouts, the light within the tube entirely disappears, and the tube itself begins to glow with a rich green luminosity, which is called Fluorescence.

Now, Professor Röntgen discovered that when this last stage is reached, the X-Rays are produced. I will tell you, in a few words, what goes on in the tube at that moment, according to our present knowledge. First, let me remind you that, although the tube is called a vacuum tube, it is by no means empty. It is said to be exhausted to about the millionth of an atmosphere; that is, the quantity of air present in it, is about the millionth part of what was originally there. Nevertheless, the number of molecules remaining behind are still to be counted by millions of millions. Therefore there is quite enough of material

present for the discharge to act upon. What happens is this: a continuous stream of extremely minute particles of matter are shot out from the Cathode plate, that is, the small metal plate within the tube which is connected with the negative pole of the Induction coil. Each of these minute particles carries a negative charge of electricity, and the whole stream travels through the tube with a velocity of about 20,000 miles a second. The result is, that the glass wall of the tube is subjected to an unceasing bombardment of gaseous pellets; this bombardment throws the molecules of the glass into a state of intense vibration; the vibrations of the glass produce a corresponding series of vibrations in the ether; and these vibrations of the ether constitute the green fluorescent light emitted by the glass.

At the same time, another very important phenomenon takes place. The sudden arrest of the electrified particles, when they strike against the glass wall of the tube, gives rise to a second series of vibrations in the ether; and these vibrations, akin to the vibrations of light, constitute the X-Rays. It is important to remember that the green fluorescence of the glass, and the X-Rays, though both produced at the same moment, and both produced by the Cathode stream, are nevertheless two distinct phenomena.

The X-Rays have certain properties in common with the Cathode stream, or Cathode Rays as this flight of particles is now generally called. For example, if they fall on a fluorescent substance, they make it glow with light. Again, both the Cathode Rays and the X-Rays have the power of making ordinary atmospheric air a conductor of Electricity; whereas, in its normal state, air is a non-conductor. This power may be easily shown by the discharge of an electroscope under the action of these Rays. But there is this essential difference between the two kinds of rays: the Cathode Rays consist of minute particles of matter charged with negative electricity, whereas the X-Rays are simply vibrations of the ether similar to the vibrations of light and radiant heat.

I now pass on to the Becquerel Rays. The intimate association between the green fluorescence of the glass tube,

which I have just described, and the production of X-Rays, suggested to many minds the idea that fluorescence was the cause of X-Rays. This, we now know, was a mistake. But the mistake led to a new discovery. Early in 1896, M. Becquerel resolved to try whether he could not get X-Rays from a fluorescent substance, in its ordinary state. For this purpose, he selected a certain salt of Uranium well-known for its fluorescent properties. He took a prepared photographic film, covered it over with black paper impervious to light, and placed on the paper some of the Uranium salt, which had previously been exposed to the action of the Sun. After some hours, he found that the photographic film had been blackened by the action of the Uranium salt. The effect was the same as would have been produced by X-Rays, but the action was slower. Later on, he discovered that the Uranium salt would discharge an electrified body.

It was evident, therefore, that some kind of energy went out from the Uranium salt, and produced these effects. At first, M. Becquerel thought it was the energy of the Sun's rays, which had been first absorbed by the salt, and was afterwards given out in the form of a fluorescent glow. But he found, to his surprise, that the effects were produced equally well when the Uranium salt was kept in darkness for several days before the experiment was made. He found, moreover, that the same effects were produced by another salt of Uranium, which was not fluorescent. This disposed of the idea that the effects were due to fluorescence ; and he now ascribed them to some inherent property of the metal Uranium.

The important feature to note in this discovery of M. Becquerel's, is that here, for the first time, was found a body *spontaneously and continuously* emitting something from itself which had the power of producing these remarkable physical effects. Similar effects are produced no doubt, by the X-Rays, and with a much higher degree of intensity. But there is a great difference between the two cases. The X-Rays owe their energy to action from without : they are produced by the Cathode stream, and the



Cathode stream is set in motion by an electric discharge ; it lasts while the discharge lasts, and it ceases when the discharge ceases. Whereas, in the case of Uranium, the emission takes place by a spontaneous action within the Uranium itself, and it goes on continuously. This it was that lifted up the phenomenon discovered by M. Becquerel to so high a degree of scientific importance. Bodies possessing this property of spontaneous emission, or radiation as it has come to be called, are said to be radio-active, and the property itself is known as *radio-activity*.

At this stage, the subject was taken up by Madame Curie, a native of Poland, and a senior student at the Municipal School of Physics and Chemistry, in Paris. Her first idea was to find out whether any other bodies were radio-active, besides Uranium. In the course of her researches, she tested a great number of minerals, and found not a few which showed evidence of radio-activity. Finally she fixed her attention on Pitchblende. This mineral, which has been chiefly known hitherto as the ore from which the metal Uranium is obtained, is found in certain Austrian mines, and also in some mines of Cornwall. It is very complex in its composition, containing, besides Uranium, variable quantities of copper, lead, iron, nickel, barium, and other metals. The residue that remains over, after the extraction of Uranium, has been usually treated as refuse, and thrown away. It has now suddenly leaped into importance, as the raw material for the manufacture of Radium.

Madame Curie found some specimens of Pitchblende which had a radio-activity more than four times as great as that of Uranium. From this she concluded that there must be some other substance present in Pitchblende, with a much greater radio-activity than Uranium possesses. She accordingly resolved to look for this substance ; and her husband, who was also a chemist, now gave up his own work, and joined her in her labours. For the purpose of their investigation, they succeeded in obtaining important aid from the Austrian Government. The mine of Joachimsthal in Bohemia is one of the chief sources from which

Pitchblende is obtained. It belongs to the Austrian Government, and the manufacture of Uranium is there carried on, under the supervision of the State. The residue remaining after the extraction of Uranium, though worthless for other purposes, was invaluable to Monsieur and Madame Curie ; and they obtained about a ton weight of it from the Austrian Government, with authority to get more if they wanted it.

They now proceeded to examine the various compounds contained in this residue, and to test them for the property of radio-activity. After a long series of investigations, they succeeded, by ordinary chemical methods, in obtaining a substance which exhibited a radio-activity 60 times as great as the metal Uranium. This substance, judged by ordinary chemical tests, would be pronounced simply Barium Chloride. But the Curies, guided by a remarkable scientific instinct, were convinced that the real source of the radio-activity was not the Barium Chloride itself, but some element hitherto unknown that was hidden within it. Their next task was to search for that hidden element.

The process which they adopted is one that is known in chemistry under the name of fractional precipitation, or fractional crystallisation. The details of this process are somewhat technical, but the general principle of it is easily understood. Proceeding on the assumption that there were two substances present in the Barium Chloride, their object was to separate out these two substances from one another. Now Barium Chloride is soluble in water and nearly insoluble in alcohol. If there were two substances present, the presumption was that one of these substances would be less soluble than the other ; and by means of this difference, the two could be separated.

To apply this test, they prepared a saturated solution of the Barium Chloride in water. Then adding a little alcohol, they obtained a precipitate of a part of the solid dissolved. If they were right in their assumption, that there were two distinct substances present, and that one was less soluble than the other, the precipitate so obtained would contain a larger proportion of the less soluble substance.

They accordingly tested the precipitate, and found that it possessed a much greater radio-activity than the Barium Chloride from which it was obtained. This result confirmed their assumption, and showed that there *were* two substances present, that one was less soluble than the other, and that the less soluble one had the greater radio-activity.

They now felt satisfied that they were upon the track of the hidden element of which they were in search. They took the precipitate obtained in the manner I have described, and submitting it again to the same process, obtained a new precipitate with a still stronger radio-activity ; and so on, repeating the process over and over again, they got a product ever increasing in radio-activity, but of course ever getting less and less in quantity.

At a certain stage in this investigation, Monsieur and Madame Curie thought it would be well to submit the product they had obtained to the test of analysis by the spectroscope. You know that all the elements with which we are acquainted, when examined in the spectroscope, give a well-defined spectrum, or group of bright lines ; and that the spectrum of each element is peculiar to itself, and affords a means by which it can always be recognised. Hence if the Curies were right in supposing that they were on the track of a new element, it might be expected that this element would reveal itself in the spectroscope, by giving a corresponding new spectrum. So they handed over the product they had obtained to a highly skilled expert, M. Demarçay, to have it examined.

On examination, M. Demarçay found, in the first place, the well known spectrum of Barium ; but he found also a new bright line which is not associated with the spectrum of any known element. This new line was presumably due to the new element of which the Curies were in search. At a later stage, they submitted another specimen of their precipitate, in which a much more intense radio-activity had been developed. The result of the spectroscopic examination, in this case, was very interesting. The bright lines of the Barium spectrum were fainter than before ; the new bright line had got stronger ; and other new and hitherto

unknown bright lines had made their appearance. This showed that the Barium was being gradually eliminated from the precipitate ; and that the new element, represented by the new spectrum, was being more and more concentrated.

Finally, when the radio-activity of the precipitate had been brought to a degree of intensity about a million times greater than that of Uranium, they again had it examined. It was now found that the Barium spectrum had become extremely faint, and that the new spectrum was fully developed. Thus it appeared that only a small trace of Barium now remained in the precipitate, and that the new element was practically isolated. As this element was characterized by its extraordinary radio-activity—in fact, had been traced out and extracted by means of its radio-activity—the Curies proposed to call it Radium ; and the name has been generally adopted.

During the progress of her investigation, Madame Curie determined from time to time, by ordinary chemical methods, the atomic weight of the substance with which she was dealing. You are aware that the atomic weight of most of the elements is known, that is, the weight of a single atom of the element ; and it is expressed in terms of the Hydrogen atom, which being the lightest of all is taken as the unit. In the early stages, Madame Curie got a result which was practically the same as the atomic weight of Barium, that is 137. But when the radio-activity of the precipitate had attained an intensity about 3000 times greater than that of Uranium, she found a distinctly higher atomic weight. This pointed to the conclusion that there was present in the precipitate a second element with a higher atomic weight than Barium. Eventually, when the radio-activity had reached an intensity a million times greater than that of Uranium, and when the spectroscope showed that Barium had been practically eliminated, the atomic weight came out as 225 ; and this she regards as the atomic weight of Radium.

Thus the existence of this new element has been demonstrated by two independent lines of evidence : First, the evidence of the spectroscope, in which it yielded a spectrum

different from the spectrum of any known element ; and Secondly, the evidence of its atomic weight, which is different from the atomic weight of any known element.

Such, in brief, is the history of the discovery of Radium. And I think you will agree that it is an example of great scientific insight, followed by careful scientific work, and crowned with remarkable success. It will help you to realise the extraordinary merit of this achievement, if you fix your attention for a moment on one leading fact. The Curies worked upon several tons weight of Pitchblende residue. By a rare scientific instinct, they felt convinced that within this mass of matter there was hidden a small quantity of some unknown element, which was the real source of the radio-activity of the Pitchblende. They set to work to find it, analysing, dissolving, precipitating, testing, until after years of unremitting labour, they succeeded in extracting from many tons of raw material about one grain of pure Radium Chloride. This minute fraction of matter, diffused throughout an immense mass of heterogeneous débris, was what they went in search of, and what they eventually found.

I should tell you, perhaps, that Radium has not been separated out as a simple element. It was extracted by the Curies, as I have said, in the form of Radium Chloride ; but, for technical reasons, it is now found more convenient to produce it in the form of Radium Bromide. In this form, it has practically taken its place in commerce ; that is to say, it is manufactured, bought, and sold. But not in large quantities. Some twelve months ago, M. Curie estimated that there were about four grammes—say the eighth part of an ounce—of pure Radium Bromide in the world. Of this, Germany had about one gramme, France one gramme, America somewhat less than a gramme, and all the rest of the world perhaps one gramme. The price of Radium Bromide varies, as you may suppose, with its purity. You can get specimens of so-called Radium Bromide, with an activity 1000 times as great as that of Uranium, or upwards, at a moderate figure. But such specimens are, in reality, only Barium Bromide, with a minute quantity of Radium



diffused throughout the mass. Pure Radium Bromide, having an activity a million times as great as Uranium, or upwards, is a very dear article. It is about 5,000 times as dear as gold ; more or less, according to its higher or lower degree of radio-activity.

## II.—PROPERTIES OF RADIIUM.

Let us now pass on to consider the properties of Radium. At the outset, it is well to observe that there are many other bodies in nature, besides Radium, which exhibit evidence of radio-activity. We have seen that radio-activity was first discovered in the metal Uranium and its compounds, by M. Henri Becquerel. It was found soon afterwards by Schmidt, and independently by Madame Curie, in the metal Thorium and its compounds. Later on, the Curies, in their researches on Pitchblende, claim to have discovered a new element associated with Bismuth, which has a hundred times as great a radio-activity as Uranium, and to which, in honour of Poland, Madame Curie's native country, they gave the name of Polonium. In like manner, Debierne thinks he has discovered another new element possessed of radio-activity, and associated with the iron group of substances in Pitchblende. To this supposed new element he has given the name of Actinium. Elster and Geitel found traces of radio-activity in the air of caverns and tunnels ; and later still, Professor Thomson of Cambridge found similar traces in the water drawn from deep wells. Evidence of radio-activity has also been detected in the mineral waters of Bath and Buxton. But in all these cases, the radio-activity is extremely small compared to that of Radium ; and it may be due, in some instances at least, to the presence of Radium in exceedingly minute quantities. I will ask you, therefore, this evening, to concentrate your attention on Radium alone.

The general properties of Radium may be easily described. First, it is self luminous, and shines in the dark like a glow worm. Secondly, it blackens a prepared photographic film, exposed to its action. Thirdly, it excites a

fluorescent screen, and makes it glow with light. Fourthly, it imparts to air and other gases the power of conducting an electric current, though in their normal condition they are practically non-conductors of electricity. Fifthly, it continuously develops and emits heat, without undergoing any apparent chemical change or loss of substance. Lastly, it produces these effects through a greater or less thickness of material bodies, many of which are impervious to light.

What strikes us most, on a general review of these properties, is that this extraordinary substance seems to pour out spontaneously a continuous stream of energy, which shows itself in a great variety of ways, some of which are analogous to the action of light, some to the action of the X-Rays, and some to the action of the Cathode stream. But when we come to examine the subject more minutely, in detail, it seems as if we had entered into a new world ; for the phenomena presented to our view, though resembling in some respects phenomena with which we are familiar, are produced by a process of which we have had no previous experience.

It is now well established that the effects just described are produced by means of so-called rays, or radiations, which the Radium emits. These rays are of three different kinds, which for convenience are called the Alpha rays, the Beta rays, and the Gamma rays. The Alpha rays consist of minute particles of matter, each particle having a mass about twice as great as an atom of Hydrogen. The particles are charged with positive electricity, and they are shot out from the Radium with a velocity of about 15,000 miles a second. The Beta rays also consist of minute particles of matter, but each particle has a mass only equal to about one-thousandth part of the Hydrogen atom. The particles are charged with negative electricity, and they are thrown off by the Radium with a velocity estimated at 120,000 miles a second. I may observe in passing, that the Beta rays resemble, in many respects, the stream of particles shot out from the Cathode end of a vacuum tube, under the force of an electric discharge. The Gamma rays are altogether different in kind from the Alpha

and the Beta rays. They consist most probably of vibrations of the ether ; and like the X-Rays they resemble very closely the vibrations of light.

I would ask you to fix your attention, for a moment, on the extraordinary energy of the moving particles of matter in the Alpha and Beta rays. We have no example in nature, so far as I know, of matter moving with anything like the velocity of these particles. A projectile issuing from the mouth of a cannon, has a velocity of about one-third of a mile per second. The earth shooting through space, in its orbit, has a velocity of about seventeen miles a second. But the speed in these cases, compared to the speed of the Alpha and Beta particles, is as the crawling of a worm compared to the rush of an express train. Now, for a given mass of matter, the energy of a moving body—what is called its kinetic energy—is proportional to the square of its velocity. Therefore, the energy of these Alpha and Beta particles is incomparably greater, mass for mass, than any form of kinetic energy with which we are acquainted.

At the same time, it is important to remember that the Alpha and Beta particles are very different from one another, both in their character and in their flight. The Alpha particles are about 2,000 times as large as the Beta particles : you may conceive them as like cannon balls compared to rifle bullets. Again, the Alpha particles are charged with positive electricity, the Beta particles with negative electricity. Lastly, the velocity of the Alpha particles, though enormously great, is only about one-eighth part of the velocity of the Beta particles.

All three kinds of rays, Alpha Beta and Gamma, have the property of forcing their way through material substances, and even through solid bodies ; but with very different degrees of penetrating power. The Alpha rays, consisting of the largest particles, and moving with the least velocity, are the most easily stopped. They can penetrate, however, through three or four inches of air, or through two or three thin sheets of paper, or even through a very thin sheet of metal. The Beta rays, composed of far

smaller particles, and moving with a velocity eight or ten times as great, penetrate much farther before they are wholly absorbed. They produce their effects through long distances of air, through deal boards, and through a metal plate of moderate thickness. The Gamma rays, being vibrations of the ether, have a still greater penetrating power. They produce very striking effects through a plate of lead or iron two inches thick.

I now come to one of the most curious and remarkable phenomena presented to us by Radium. Besides the three kinds of rays of which I have spoken, Radium emits an extremely subtle kind of matter, which has been called the 'emanation.' This matter, which seems to have the nature of a vapour, or gas, is always slowly and steadily passing off into space. It can be collected and sealed up in a glass tube; it can be carried about from place to place; it can be condensed into a liquid state, by the intense cold of liquid Hydrogen, or liquid air. The quantity of it is so small that it cannot be weighed in the most delicate balance; and yet it represents, according to a recent investigation of Professor Rutherford, about two-thirds of the energy of all the matter emitted by Radium. It glows with a fluorescent light in a dark room; but it is chiefly known by its radio-activity, which resembles the radio-activity of Radium itself.

There is, however, one important difference between the Radium and the emanation. The Radium will go on radiating continuously, without any apparent loss of radiating power; whereas the radio-activity of the emanation is exhausted in a comparatively short time. At the end of four days, it is reduced to one-half; in four days more, it is reduced to one-fourth; and so on, in geometrical progression, until at the end of a month, it has practically ceased to exist. As the radio-activity dies away, Sir William Ramsay has recently found that the inert gas Helium begins to appear in the place of the emanation. This is a discovery of great significance. It suggests the idea that Radium is gradually transformed into Helium by the disintegration of its atoms. And the suggestion is con-

firmed by the curious fact that Helium is almost always associated with minerals that possess the property of radio-activity.

When the emanation comes into contact with a solid body, it seems to leave a fine deposit on the surface of the body, which then acquires the property of radio-activity. The radio-activity thus acquired is called induced, or imparted, radio-activity. It is like the radio-activity of the emanation itself, and gradually dies away.

Radium left to itself will go on sending out the emanation continuously, for an indefinite time ; just as it sends out the Alpha Beta and Gamma rays continuously. But the whole stock of emanation that it contains, at any one time, is limited. It is possible by artificial means, by raising the temperature of the Radium, for example, to drive out the whole of this stock ; and then the emanation will practically cease, for a time, to be emitted. At the end of a month, however, a new crop of emanation, so to say, will have been developed, and it will continue to be emitted as before. From this, I think, we may conclude that there is a process always going on within the Radium, by which the emanation is evolved. Under ordinary circumstances, the production is just equal to the emission ; but if, from any cause, the whole stock of emanation is forcibly driven off, then the Radium requires time to set up again the stock thus lost, and to regain its normal state.

Now that we have before us a general view of the properties of Radium, and of the emissions which it sends out, I should like to call your attention more particularly to one or two of these properties, which have a special interest. First, there is the luminous glow which it excites in fluorescent bodies. We know pretty well how this glow is produced. You may remember an experiment I described in which a bright fluorescence is produced in a vacuum tube, by means of an electric discharge. I explained that the fluorescence is due to the bombardment of the glass by the Cathode stream. The molecules of the glass are thrown into a state of vibration by the flying particles of matter ; these vibrations are imparted to the ether, which penetrates

into the substance of the glass ; and the vibrations of the ether travel out into space as rays of greenish light. It is just the same in the case of Radium. The fluorescent screen, exposed to the action of Radium, is bombarded by the Alpha and Beta particles ; its molecules are thrown into vibration ; its vibrations are imparted to the ether ; and the vibrations of the ether, transmitted through space, awaken in the eye the sensation of a luminous glow.

Sir William Crookes, of London, has invented a little instrument which exhibits this phenomenon in a very beautiful and striking way. A little speck of Radium Bromide is mounted close to a small fluorescent disc, at one end of a brass tube about two inches long ; at the other end of the tube is a magnifying glass. When you look through the magnifying glass, you see the minute particles actually at work, and the bombardment going on. It is like a patch of clear sky, at night, crowded with stars ; only that the stars, instead of being at rest, are flashing about in all directions. And the wonder is, that this scintillation goes on day after day, and week after week, and month after month, without any apparent diminution of energy ; and how long it will go on, no one can tell. To see the effect well, the experiment must be made in a perfectly dark room, and the eye should be kept in darkness for at least ten minutes beforehand.

The heat produced by Radium is perhaps the most wonderful of all the phenomena associated with this wonderful substance. I will try to give you a practical conception of how this heat has been observed and measured. Imagine a good-sized block of ice at freezing point. If I cut a hole in the block, and cover it over with a slab of ice, you know that the little chamber thus enclosed will remain, if left to itself, at the same temperature as long as the ice lasts, that is, at zero of the Centigrade scale. Now suppose that I take a lead bullet, at the temperature of this hall—say 15 or 20 degrees Centigrade—and put it into this chamber. You know what will happen. The bullet will begin to melt the ice around it ; and as it does so, it will lose heat, and fall in temperature. This will go on until the temperature of the bullet reaches

the temperature of the surrounding ice, zero Centigrade ; and after that, it will melt no more ice. But if, instead of a bullet, you put into the chamber a small quantity of Radium Bromide, it will go on melting the ice for an indefinite time. This experiment seems to prove that there must be, within the Radium, some source of energy, which continues to produce heat as fast as it is expended. Moreover, this experiment gives us a measure of the amount of heat produced. It is found, in fact, that Radium Bromide gives out as much heat, every hour, as will melt its own weight of ice.

Here is another experiment to the same effect. Professor Dewar, of the Royal Institution, London, well known for his experiments on liquid air and liquid Hydrogen, made an arrangement of the following kind. He had a glass tube containing liquid Hydrogen, surrounded by a vacuum chamber, which was again enclosed within a larger chamber, also containing liquid Hydrogen. He then put a small quantity of Radium Bromide into the glass tube. The Hydrogen in the tube began to boil away ; this was of course effected at the cost of heat ; and the heat could come only from the Radium. You would expect that the Radium, thus steadily losing heat, would get gradually colder until it reached the temperature of the Hydrogen, and that it would then cease to boil it. But no : it goes on boiling the Hydrogen indefinitely. Here again we have evidence of the continuous development of heat within the Radium itself, apparently without limit. It is interesting also to observe that this experiment incidentally establishes the remarkable fact, that Radium loses none of its power of evolving heat, even at the extremely low temperature of liquid Hydrogen.

In dealing with the properties of Radium, I have purposely abstained from speaking of its therapeutic, or curative, effects ; partly because I think that this branch of the subject had best be left in the hands of professional medical men, and partly because it is, at present, only in the early stages of investigation. I may mention, however, that Radium is alleged to have been used, with some success,

in cases of lupus and cancer. And a paper was lately read, before the Academy of Medicine in Paris, by Monsieur Darbier, in which he stated that he had cured several patients suffering from severe nervous diseases by the application of Radium. It is interesting to note that the preparation which he found most effective in such cases, was not the very active and expensive kind that I have spoken of, but one having an activity of from 1,000 to 7,000 units, and easily procurable at a moderate cost.

### III.—THEORY OF RADIUM.

The incessant activity of Radium in the production of heat, and the incessant emission of particles of its own substance into space, brings before us the most interesting scientific problem of the age. Just think of it for a moment. Here is a little scrap of matter which is continuously developing heat, sufficient every hour to melt its own weight of ice, and continuously shooting off particles of itself into space, with prodigious velocity, without showing any sign of exhaustion, or any diminution of its extraordinary energy. It is as if a piece of coal was for ever giving out heat without being consumed, or as if a rifle were for ever shooting off bullets without being recharged. The question is, where does the energy come from? To answer this question, I will now try to sketch out, in my own way, the theory of Radium first suggested about two years ago by Professor Rutherford of Montreal, and substantially accepted, as I think, by the great majority of workers in the subject, with a very remarkable unanimity.

In the early days of a new discovery, all we can expect from a theory is that it should be founded on the facts discovered, and that it should account for these facts in a reasonable way. This is not enough to prove that the theory is true, but it is enough to make it a good working hypothesis, which we are justified in accepting until we can find something better to put in its place. Now I think I can show you that the theory of Professor Rutherford fulfils the conditions I have laid down.



To bring it before you in its simplest form, I will begin with three assumptions, which I think you will admit are fairly suggested by the facts I have described. The first assumption is, that before the Alpha and Beta particles can be shot out from the Radium, some of the atoms of the Radium must be shattered, or to use Professor Rutherford's word disintegrated. This seems to be only common sense. It was shown by Madame Curie that the atomic weight of Radium is 225; that is to say, the mass of an atom of Radium is 225 times as great as the mass of a Hydrogen atom. But the Alpha particle is equal only to two Hydrogen atoms, at most, and the Beta particle is equal only to one thousandth part of the Hydrogen atom. Therefore, the Alpha and Beta particles are a great deal smaller than the atom of Radium. And it is hard to see how you can get out of Radium, particles smaller than its atoms, unless some of its atoms have been first broken up.

My second assumption is that the energy exhibited by Radium does not come from without, but is developed within the Radium itself. This I regard as proved by the experiments I have already described. First, there is the experiment of the melting ice. A small quantity of Radium is shut up within a block of ice at zero Centigrade; and it goes on melting the ice for an indefinite time. Again, there is Professor Dewar's experiment, in which a small quantity of Radium is placed in a tube of liquid Hydrogen, which is enclosed within a vacuum chamber, which is again surrounded by a larger vessel filled with liquid Hydrogen; and the Radium goes on continuously boiling the Hydrogen in the tube. Now it is difficult to suggest any way by which, in these experiments, heat can be supplied to the Radium from without. And, therefore, we are justified in assuming that the heat which melts the ice, and the heat which boils the liquid Hydrogen, must be developed within the Radium itself.

My third assumption is that the Alpha and Beta particles must have been moving about, with great velocity, in the Radium, before they were shot off into space. This,

I admit, is an assumption, which is not, at present, capable of direct proof. But I would ask, if it be once granted that the energy of the moving particles is derived from the Radium itself, and not from without, is there any simpler or more obvious hypothesis than to suppose that they already possessed this Kinetic energy, that is, that they were already moving about with great velocity, while they formed part of the Radium ?

It remains now to show that, on the basis of these three assumptions, a theory of Radium may be built up, which will account for the leading facts that have been discovered, in accordance with the established principles of Physical Science. First, let us try to realise the great number of atoms present even in a very small quantity of Radium. Estimates were made, several years ago, by some of the leading scientific men of the age, of the number of molecules in a cubic centimetre of Hydrogen gas, at normal temperature and pressure. These estimates do not quite agree with one another, but they do not differ very widely. If we take a mean of the various estimates, the number of molecules in a cubic centimetre of Hydrogen gas will be represented by the figure  $10^{20}$ , or in ordinary language, a hundred millions of millions of millions. On this basis, knowing as we do the atomic weight of Radium and of Bromine, it is possible to calculate the number of atoms of Radium in a milligramme of Radium Bromide. I will not trouble you with the calculation, but I may say that the figure comes out  $5 \times 10^{18}$ , that is, five millions of millions of millions. This we may take, then, as the number of atoms of Radium in a little scrap of Radium Bromide about as big as the head of a small pin.<sup>1</sup>

These atoms I assume to be moving about with great velocity. Each atom is itself made up of a number of smaller bodies, which as a rule are held together by forces unknown to us, and constitute a distinct entity. But out of the enormous multitude of atoms present and moving about, a few, comparatively speaking, are breaking up from moment to moment ; and this process of disintegra-

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Johnstone Stoney of London for this calculation.

tion is always going on. What the cause may be, we cannot definitely say, in the present state of our knowledge. Perhaps a collision takes place between two atoms ; or perhaps some disturbance occurs in the forces, probably electrical, that hold the atoms together. But whatever the cause may be, we have evidence that the atoms do break up, and that small fragments are thrown off, which retain the whole or some part of the energy of motion which they previously had, when forming part of the atom. If this happens close to the surface of the Radium, then some of these fragments will fly off into space ; these are the so-called Alpha and Beta particles. If, on the other hand, the atom that breaks up is in the interior of the mass, then the fragments will go wandering about, for a time at least, within the Radium itself.

The development of heat follows as a matter of course. The particles flying off into space strike, with great velocity, against other bodies that come in their way—a block of ice, for instance, or a tube of liquid Hydrogen ; and heat is developed by the concussion, just as heat is developed in a target when it is bombarded by rifle bullets. On the other hand, the fragments flying about within the Radium, will come into collision with other atoms, or with other fragments of atoms, and heat will be developed in the mass, which will raise its temperature, and cause it to send out heat to surrounding bodies.

What remains behind of the atom, after one or more fragments have been shot off, goes to form the emanation. These remnants of shattered atoms begin to rise up slowly from the Radium, in a sort of cloud or vapour. The vapour is itself radio-active, because the fragments of which it is composed are still breaking up, and still shooting out particles into space. But the supply of these particles is strictly limited. Consequently, the radio-activity of the emanation gets gradually less and less, and eventually ceases altogether when the supply is exhausted. Meanwhile, more atoms are shattered within the Radium ; more particles are thrown off ; more material is furnished for the emanation ; and so the process goes on continuously.

According to this view, as you will see, there is a store of energy laid up in every atom of Radium ; the store consists of the Kinetic energy which the atom has within the mass ; then when the atom breaks up, the store of energy is set free, and shows itself in the stream of Alpha and Beta particles, in the emanation, and in the evolution of heat. This is, in substance, very briefly expressed, the theory put forward, a year or two ago, by Professor Rutherford, and commonly known as the Disintegration theory.

But, you will say, this cannot go on for ever ; the Radium must in time waste away. That is perfectly true ; and it is not only true, but it is, as I think, a necessary part of the theory. There is a certain definite amount of energy stored up in each atom ; and the energy of the Radium is only the aggregate of the energy of its atoms. Therefore, if the expenditure is always going on, the store must eventually be dissipated and the energy exhausted. Remember, I have never said that Radium pours out energy without any loss to itself, but I have said, without any *apparent* loss ; that is, without any loss that could be detected during the few months within which the study of this subject has been pursued. You will naturally ask, then, how long can this expenditure go on before we shall be able to detect any change in the mass of the Radium ? This is a question to which no definite answer can be given at present ; but a little speculation about it will not, I think, be uninteresting.

To fix our ideas, let us take a milligramme of Radium Bromide, and let us suppose that the Radium atoms are breaking up at the rate of one million atoms per second. That is, I think, a liberal allowance ; especially when you remember that, since the atomic weight of Radium is 225, each Radium atom furnishes material for a very large number of Alpha and Beta particles. Now the question is, how long can such an expenditure go on before we should be able to detect any loss of substance in the Radium Bromide ? I think I may assume that we could not detect the loss of substance in a milligramme of matter, until the loss amounted to at least the one thousandth part of the whole. The number of atoms of Radium, as we have

seen, in a milligramme of Radium Bromide, is  $5 \times 10^{18}$ , or five millions of millions of millions; and the one thousandth part of that is  $5 \times 10^{15}$ , or five thousand millions of millions. Therefore this is the number of atoms of Radium that must be broken up, and thrown off into space, before the loss could be detected.

We have the problem now before us in a very simple form. The supposed expenditure of atoms is at the rate of one million a second. How long must this expenditure go on before it reaches an aggregate of  $5 \times 10^{15}$ , that is five thousand millions of millions. Well, there are 86,400 seconds in a day; multiply this figure by a million, and we get the expenditure per day; multiply that again by 365, and we get the expenditure in a year. I need not trouble you with the actual process of multiplication; the figure is approximately  $3 \times 10^{13}$ , thirty millions of millions. This represents the expenditure of atoms in a year; and the figure  $5 \times 10^{15}$ , represents what the total expenditure must amount to before the loss can be detected. Therefore, if we divide the latter figure by the former, we get the number of years required. It comes out 166.6. In other words, if we take a milligramme of Radium Bromide, and suppose the atoms of Radium to break up at the rate of a million per second, and the fragments to be shot off into space, the process will go on for more than 166 years before that small scrap of matter will have lost the one thousandth part of its substance.

Now I do not want to press these particular figures upon you, as if they represented exactly the true facts of the case. If I had assumed a less rapid expenditure of atoms, the number of years would have come out larger; if I had assumed a more rapid expenditure, the number of years would have come out smaller. I only wish, by means of these figures, to bring home to your minds how it is possible for a small scrap of Radium to go on, for many years, shooting off fragments of itself into space, at a prodigious rate, without showing any apparent loss of mass, that is any loss that we are able to detect with the present resources of science.

But long or short as its life may be, the term of existence of any given bit of Radium is strictly limited. If its atoms go on continuously crumbling to pieces, and passing away into space, the time must come, sooner or later, when it will be all resolved unto its constituent elements, and no longer exist as Radium. This obvious reflection suggests a further inquiry, on which I should wish to say a word or two. What has been the past history of the Radium which now, in our day, is laboriously extracted from the mineral Pitchblende? If it had been crumbling to pieces through the long ages of geological time, as it is now doing, it must long since have ceased to exist. How then can we account for its presence in Pitchblende to-day?

This question opens a wide field for speculation. The most probable supposition seems to be, that these tiny atoms of Radium were not always what they now are, but like the larger works of nature—the mountains, the rivers, the forests—they have been ever in a state of change and transition. The history of this earth, so far as we know it, has been the history of endless transmutation from one form of matter to another: the history of growth and decay, of ebb and flow, of building up and pulling down. The mountain ranges of the present were the floor of the ocean in the remote past; and even now we see the mountains shattered into fragments, and crushed into powder, by the action of natural forces, and then carried away to sea, there to form new strata, destined perhaps to be upheaved into new mountain ranges, in the distant future. We know, too, that all the rivers run into the sea, yet the sea does not overflow; because unto the place from which the rivers come, thither they return, to flow again. And the forests, in like manner, have no permanent place on the surface of the globe. Each has its period of growth and its period of decay; and the old forests give way to the new, which in their turn grow up and decay, and are replaced again by others.

Now, it is reasonable to suppose that something of the same kind of change which we know to have been going on, in past ages, and to be still going on, in the case of these more imposing works of nature, has been going on, too, in

the minute world of atoms. And just as the atoms of Radium that we have been discussing here this evening, are now slowly crumbling to pieces, and giving birth to new bodies, endowed with new properties, so in the remote past they were themselves evolved from some earlier form of primeval matter. As the Roman poet said long ago, with a curious insight into the conclusions of modern science, 'Omnia mutantur, nihil interit,' All things are changing, nothing perishes.

In conclusion, I would ask you to remember that the theory which I have tried to lay before you, and which, in its leading features, has been very generally accepted by scientific men, must not be taken as the final word of science on this remarkable discovery. It claims only to be regarded as a first tentative hypothesis, which helps us to grasp the facts already brought to light, to arrange them amongst themselves, fitting each one into its own proper place, and to account for them in a manner consistent with the recognised data and principles of Physical Science. At the present moment, men of trained scientific skill, and keen insight into the laws of nature, are every where at work pursuing their investigations on this subject ; and the theory must be moulded into shape, or perhaps taken to pieces and built up again, to meet the discoveries that may be made from day to day.

We stand, in fact, on the threshold of a new domain of nature, which has been suddenly opened to our view ; and we can do little more than search for new facts, and in the mean time wonder and speculate. It is a curious and interesting reflection, with which I will now bring to an end this Lecture, already I fear unduly prolonged, that the total amount of Radium Bromide now existing in the world, in a separate form, could easily fit in the hollow of one hand ; and yet the potentiality of this marvellous substance as regards the future development of science, and the future history of our race, may have a wider range than the greatest philosopher can foresee, a wider range perhaps than the most brilliant imagination can dream of in its wildest dreams.

G. MOLLOY, D.D.

## PHILOSOPHY AND THE SCIENCES

### I.—HISTORICAL

IT has been unfortunate, both for Philosophy and for the Sciences, that since the decadence of Scholasticism, and the rise of the Experimental Sciences, so wide a chasm has been permitted to separate those two regions of human thought. Roughly speaking, the parting of the ways dates from the sixteenth century. It is not the purpose of the present paper to examine in detail the historical causes of the divorce ; but a few of the broad facts which determined, at that period, the course that future speculation was to take, cannot be altogether devoid of general interest.

The Scholastics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had exaggerated the importance of *a priori* speculation, and the inevitable reaction of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led to even greater error in the opposite extreme. To Bacon (1561-1626) are largely due both the achievements and the errors of that reaction : if he focussed attention on the Inductive or so-called Scientific Method he did not reserve his opprobrium for the abuse of the Deductive Method but freely vented it upon that method itself.<sup>1</sup> Scientists have, however, long since come to recognise the important rôle played by *deduction* based on *hypothesis* in the exploration of natural phenomena and laws.<sup>2</sup>

Then, secondly, the figure of Descartes looms large in the first half of the seventeenth century. The circumstances of his time, perhaps, more than great natural genius, have made Descartes the father of Modern Philosophy. However that may be, his influence on philosophic thought has been undoubtedly great and permanent. It cannot be said to have been entirely

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Turner's *History of Philosophy*, p. 438.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Turner, *loc. cit.* ; Mercier's *Logique* (Louvain, 3rd Edition, 1902), pp. 276-88, 353-59.



beneficial. He exaggerated the antithesis between mind and matter. He opened up an imaginary chasm between the subject and the object,—a chasm which none of his disciples have ever been able to bridge, though they have continued to proclaim and to believe in its real existence. A recent writer has well summed up the effects produced on Modern Philosophy by this hypercritical and ultra-subjectivist attitude of Cartesianism towards reality.

From this *fundamental misconception of the relation between mind and matter* followed a complete misunderstanding of the purpose of philosophical enquiry. After Descartes Philosophy becomes once more anthropocentric,—it reduces itself to the study of individual consciousness, to a geometry of deductions from internal experience; and the objective world, its origin, plan, and destiny, the place of man in nature, and even the existence of an intelligent first cause, are all made secondary subjects of inquiry, to be decided according to the result of the study of our own consciousness. This inversion of the natural perspective is what a modern writer has characterized as the topsy-turvydom of Cartesianism.<sup>1</sup>

Cartesianism has had a chequered history—evolving itself into many conflicting schools and systems, which, however, all show their common parentage in that sceptical sort of subjectivism that pervades and permeates them through and through. In fact what had hitherto been known and studied as Philosophy was now replaced by critical enquiry into the content of consciousness, the nature of thought, the conditions and validity of human knowledge. In other words, a small section of Philosophy was allowed to usurp the place of the whole. The questions just referred to had received comparatively little attention in the Older Philosophy. In fact they were dealt with at its threshold. In Logic we find *thought* unhesitatingly laid down as representative of *things*,—which things Philosophy proper proceeded forthwith to study and investigate. Not so the New Philosophy. Indeed this latter paused a long time at the threshold of the Old. It proceeded elaborately to debate those hitherto preliminary

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *loc. cit.*, p. 461.

questions. It doubted much and criticized more. It thus gave rise to an almost new science,—Criteriology, or Epistemology, or Theory of Knowledge as it is variously called. The New Philosophy no longer studied *things* as the Old had done,—it studied thought only ; not real being but ideal being ; not existence, essence, substance, accident, cause, etc., but our *conception* of existence, our *conception* of essence, our *conception* of substance, etc.<sup>1</sup> To this newly developed science, the science of the conditions and limitations of human knowledge, was arrogated—in addition to its new names—the old and much abused title of Metaphysics : a term which had a very different meaning indeed in the Older Philosophy.

This Subjectivist Philosophy passed through many collateral phases of development in different countries. In England, for example, it developed through Locke and Berkeley into the Pan-phenomenism of Hume ; in Germany it passed through the minds of Leibnitz, Wolff and Kant, culminating in the Egoistic Pantheism of Hegel and Fichte and Schelling. During this long period of evolution it was left severely alone by the Natural Sciences. It was allowed to brood over the contents of its own inner consciousness, to speculate on thought and being, and to weave abundant *a priori* theories about what the mind can be, and what the mind can know. And it left the sciences alone too. For it had a fairly good conceit of itself, and deemed that it could get on very well without them on its own higher plane. Coldness grew into open hostility, and hostility naturally bred contempt. Unfortunately no conciliatory voice could make itself heard to clear up the many misunderstandings, for the best traditions of Scholasticism had been broken and forgotten and the old conception of Philosophy, as the crown and culmination of all the sciences, was a stranger to the world of modern philosophic thought. The philosophical systems in vogue for more than a century past,—and their name is legion,—have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. article by Dr. McDonald, Maynooth, 'Catholic Philosophy and the Royal University Programme,' in the I. E. RECORD for March, 1885, p. 173.

simply continued to ring the changes on Descartes and Locke and Spinoza, on Hume and Kant and Hegel, revolving ever in the same rarified region of unreality, proving nothing beyond their own disheartening inability to grapple with the serious problems of life or to satisfy the cravings of the weary searcher after truth. They are very far removed from the Scholastic conception of Philosophy, so simply and clearly expressed as far back as the end of the fifteenth century by one of the few who still understood the largeness and depth of its pristine spirit, even in the age of its decay.

Philosophy [he says], is not acquired that we may *talk in the air*, but that we may *have knowledge of the real things* which we see go to make up the Universe.<sup>1</sup>

And as the subjectivist speculations of Modern Philosophy became more and more vague and intangible, the Natural Scientists proceeded to take over for their own exclusive investigation the whole field of mundane experience, and to philosophize thereon largely and leisurely, all the while that they condemned as sterile, and unscientific, philosophical speculations of what kind soever. They had in mind of course the so-called Modern Metaphysics of the extreme idealist type, but unfortunately they did not always discriminate between this kind of Philosophy and the saner moderate realism of the schools. This latter Philosophy is the system held in favour by the Catholic Church, and generally taught in the Catholic schools, ever since its great, large principles were fixed, and its majestic framework outlined by the genius of St. Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century. It deserved a better fate than to have been bracketed by Scientists with the excessive idealism which they have so rightly

<sup>1</sup> Cajetan (1469-1534), in *II. Post Anal.*, cap. 13. The closing sentence of his commentary on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* is significant: 'Sicut judicium artis, quod non extendit se usque ad singularia imperfectum est (eo quod finis practici intellectus opus est), ita judicium speculativum nisi usque ad naturas rerum in singularibus existentes, per sensus representatas pertingat, perfectum non est, eo quod Philosophia non quaeritur ut loquamur in aere, sed ut de rebus realibus quas universum integrare cernimus cognitionem habeamus.' Cf. Mercier, *Critériologie Générale* (Louvain, 1900, 4th edition), p. 363.

condemned. A further regrettable and inevitable consequence of such misunderstanding is that the real conflict that exists between Physical Science and Subjectivism is commonly and erroneously conceived as a conflict between Science and Religion,—where there is and can be, as a matter of fact, no conflict at all.<sup>1</sup>

The injurious results of all this confusion and hostility are apparent in every domain of learning at the present day. The actual relations of Science to Philosophy are in a state of chaos. Constant misunderstandings and mutual unintelligibility are about the most obvious of these relations.

The sciences themselves seem unable to interpret aright the scope of their own methods and the meaning of their own conclusions—for want of recognising a sound Philosophy. Disgusted with current Metaphysics they have apparently elected to shut their front doors against all Philosophy pure and simple. But soon perceiving—as they could not have avoided perceiving—that a rational interpretation of their own principles and proceedings necessarily meant the adoption of a Philosophy of some sort or other, they have felt themselves obliged to smuggle in, by their back doors and windows, sundry bits of Metaphysics—not always good Metaphysics—to suit the needs of their hypotheses.<sup>2</sup>

Modern Philosophy, in its turn,—at least the Introspective Speculation that passes for Philosophy *par excellence*—cut adrift from the Positive Sciences, and largely outside the control of experience, seems more or less to have taken leave of common sense and to have considerably entangled itself in a maze of unmeaning abstractions and unintelligible terminology.

Even Scholastic Philosophy itself has felt the injurious influence of the violent wrench administered in the sixteenth

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. a lecture on *Draper's Conflict between Religion and Science*, by Rev. M. O'Riordan, Ph.D., D.D., D.C.L. London: Catholic Truth Society, 1898. ❖ ❖

<sup>2</sup> Cf. article *supra*, I. E. RECORD, March, 1885, p. 169; Maher, *Psychology* (4th edition), pp. 4, 5.

century to the unity of human thought. This was to be expected : for there is a solidarity and an interaction between the various thought-systems of the same age as well as between those of successive ages ; and a violent cataclysm in one or many makes itself felt in some degree by all. Of course Scholastic Philosophy has, on the one hand, profited, and not inconsiderably, by the very important and very real advances made in non-Scholastic systems in modern times, and on the other hand if the errors of those systems have injured Scholasticism, the exponents of the latter are not entirely free from blame. With this we are not here concerned, but only with the fact—arising out of the historical causes indicated—that the relations of the various sciences to Philosophy have become somewhat entangled. And in view of this fact we think it will be useful to take a closer glance at a few of the various conceptions that have been expressed from time to time regarding the divisions of Philosophy and its relation to the other sciences.

## II.—DOCTRINAL

The division of the sciences has always been an attractive question for minds that love order and accuracy. Since the sixteenth century, however, the problem has assumed a complexity and a magnitude undreamt of in the middle ages ; this, owing chiefly to the enormous and sudden growth of the Natural Sciences in modern times. The utility of dealing with such a problem is unquestionable : a proper division of the subject-matter of all human investigation makes for the better and surer progress of knowledge. Much attention has been paid to the problem in recent years,—excessive attention, even, one would be tempted to say. But it can be easily justified by the confusion already shown to exist all over that region of thought.

Now, this whole question is an eminently philosophical one, and one on which it occurs to us that no little light may be thrown by a glance at the principles that solved it so successfully when it was less complex than it is to-day.

We question, in fact, if the broad leading principles of division can be laid down more accurately or more satisfactorily than they were by St. Thomas Aquinas in the middle of the thirteenth century. When he dealt with the problem the number of the sciences was comparatively small, and the content of many of them meagre. Perhaps too much attention was then paid to the scientific form and order of human knowledge, and too little to the growth and increase of its subject-matter. Nowadays, on the contrary, the sciences rapidly increase in content and multiply in number : they also grow in disorder for want of due attention to logical form and method.

(a) WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY ?

For St. Thomas, as for all the Scholastics, Philosophy is the scientific or reasoned natural knowledge of the universal order of things by their first or remotest causes. Its subject-matter is co-extensive with all reality,—including thought itself, which, too, is a reality. Its subject-matter is therefore co-extensive with that of all the actual and possible special sciences which do or may divide amongst themselves the whole field of the knowable, in order that each may explore a special portion of it for itself. But if Philosophy is co-extensive in its subject-matter with the sum of the special sciences its point of view is different from theirs, for while it seeks the highest and remotest causes of all things they seek the immediate and proximate causes of the particular things they investigate. This special point of view justifies its separate and autonomous existence alongside the particular sciences. And this is so manifest that even Auguste Comte himself, the pioneer of Positivism and implacable enemy of all Metaphysics, was finally forced to admit the necessity of some such universal science that would have for its object the synthetic study of scientific generalities with a view to the highest and most complete unification of the manifold in human thought.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mercier, *Logique*, p. 3.

This is Philosophy in its highest and widest conception. Understood in this way each science has a philosophy of its own, and Philosophy may be called, as Cardinal Newman has called it, the science of sciences.

I lay it down [he writes] that all knowledge forms one whole, because its subject-matter is one ; for the universe in its length and breadth is so intimately knit together, that we cannot separate off portion from portion, and operation from operation, except by mental abstraction. . . . Next, sciences are the results of that mental abstraction, . . . being the logical record of this or that aspect of the whole subject-matter of knowledge. . . . And further, the comprehension of the bearings of one science on another, and the use of each to each, and the location and limitation and adjustment and due appreciation of them all, one thing with another, this belongs, I conceive, to a sort of science distinct from them all, and in some sense a science of sciences, which is my own conception of what is meant by Philosophy, in the true sense of the word, and of a philosophical habit of mind.<sup>1</sup>

Nor must Philosophy in this sense be confounded with the special science of Logic ; for, although it is at once the privilege and the duty of the latter to concern itself with the due co-ordination and subordination of all the sciences, it cannot hope to succeed in this difficult task unless it is guided by the light that is shed upon the inner meaning of the manifold principles and concepts of the various other sciences, by the one universal science which scans all these others, and the realities they study, from an altogether higher plane. Again, though we may say of Logic—in a certain sense that will appear later on—what we said of Philosophy a moment ago, when we called it a science of sciences, this is no reason either why we should confound Logic with Philosophy in its full sense,—a part with the whole. So also, as arising from the statement that each science may be said to have a philosophy of its own, we must guard against the erroneous inference that there are therefore as many philosophies as sciences, neither more nor less. There is only one philosophy of *all* the sciences, *each* of which furnishes *its own principles, method and*

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<sup>1</sup> *Idea of a University*, p. 51. Cf. also pp. 45-47.

*content as its material contribution* to the whole subject-matter that is then dealt with by Philosophy from *its* higher standpoint. This is simply a statement of the received doctrine that unity and diversity in the sciences are determined by unity and diversity not in their material, but in their formal objects.

#### (b) SPECULATIVE AND PRACTICAL PHILOSOPHY

We take Philosophical Science, then, to mean the Science of Being through its highest causes ; and we find that St. Thomas divides it into Speculative and Practical. The latter section he then subdivides into the *Philosophiae Activae* of Logic and Ethics, and the *Philosophia Factiva* (ποιητική), or Philosophy of the Arts. The former section he subdivides into General and Special Metaphysics.<sup>1</sup> It is at once interesting and instructive to see how St. Thomas arrived at these results,—to observe how the master-mind left its impress on the materials that came down from Aristotle through Neo-Platonism and Patrology to the Scholastics of the thirteenth century.

After the thought of the Angelic Doctor, the human mind, face to face with all Being—itself included,—discerns a twofold order in the things presented to its view : the order of things that seem to it to be independent of human activity, the natural or *realized* order, the order of *things simply* ; and the order of things that depend in some way on human activity or are subject in some way to human influence, the *realizable* order, the order of *acts*. Hence the fundamental division of Philosophy into Theoretical and Practical. This conception of the starting-point in Philosophy we may characterize as objective and dogmatic, in contrast with the modern conception which is subjective and critical.

#### (c) DIVISION OF PRACTICAL PHILOSOPHY

The realizable order is threefold. There is, firstly, the whole wide world of human thought as representative of

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mariétan, *Problème de la classification des Sciences, d'Aristote à St. Thomas* (Paris, Alcan, 1901), pp. 15, 176 sqq. ; Mercier, *Logique*, p. 17 sqq.



reality, of real things,—the microcosm of the mind representing the macrocosm of the universe as some philosophers have expressed it. That microcosm is the home of the *entia rationis*, the *entia* which the mind itself creates by exploring, examining, arranging the thoughts by which it represents to itself reality : a world, therefore, co-extensive with the world of the *entia realia*, with the macrocosm ; co-extensive therefore also with the microcosm, with the direct thoughts, the *primae intentiones mentis*, by which the mind mirrors to itself all reality. Now, there is a philosophical science which puts and keeps this microcosm in order. and that science is called Logic.<sup>1</sup> It does not concern itself at all with the macrocosm, with *real* being ; neither, therefore, does it concern itself with the microcosm of thought *in so far as this latter is a reality*. For of course the mind and its thought are themselves realities, but in so far as they are, they are the subject-matter of the Physical and Metaphysical Sciences of Psychology, and not at all of Logic.

But Logic *does* concern itself with thought *as representative of things*. It puts all that mental furniture—made up of the *primae intentiones*—in order. In doing so it has to *create* various shelves and departments and divisions and catalogues of one sort or another, and these are all called *secundae intentiones mentis*, or *intentiones logicae*. These are the *entia rationis* : at once the formal object and the product of the science of Logic. They are beings that have no further objective reality about them than what they receive by the fact of being conceived by the mind. In its feeble effort to understand reality the mind is under the necessity of piecing together its myriad partial representations of the real. It compares these together and unites or separates them, thus forming, by its own activity, endless relations between them. Thus it is, for example, that the mind's activity creates the various notions of *subject* and *predicate*

<sup>1</sup> This explains the sense in which Logic has been called a science of sciences, p. 32 ; for the relations between Logic and Metaphysics, cf. Mercier, *Logique*, pp. 56-59.

and *judgment*, of *genus* and *species* and the other *predicables*, of *permises* and *conclusion* and *argument*, of *demonstration* and *science* and *sophism*. These are but a few of the many devices by which the mind helps itself to understand the real. How far these various manipulations of the mind's contents are mere devices for a better understanding of the real, without having in themselves any further objective import, or how far they may be based or founded on reality itself, and in so far as representative of reality; that I conceive to be a really difficult question,—so difficult indeed as to give ample explanation of the vagueness and uncertainty of all our philosophies and philosophers regarding the Logical and Metaphysical aspects of the many problems they have to deal with. However, that only shows what is universally true, that the sciences are all so closely knit to one another that it is entirely impossible to separate them, and usually difficult to divide the debatable borderlands that lie between the neighbouring ones. We must be content to establish a principle of division, and then work it out as best we can. We know that the duty of Logic is to introduce law and order into the otherwise chaotic region of human thought. As a discipline of reason it is therefore a prerequisite to the investigation of truth in all departments of the knowable. As understood by St. Thomas it was at once both a discipline introductory to the rest of Philosophy—an *instrumentum*, *adminiculum* of Philosophy—and, itself, an independent philosophical science—the *Philosophia Rationalis* or *Scientia Rationalis*, or again the *Ars Artium*.<sup>1</sup>

There is, secondly, the order of things dependent on the free activity of the human will, the *actus humani*, the subject-matter of the science of Ethics, or Moral Philosophy.

There is, thirdly, the order of things dependent on man's *external* activity. These form the subject-matter of the *Scientiae Factivae*, or, as they are now variously called, *Æsthetics*, or the Philosophy of the Arts.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mariétan, p. 180.

It will be observed that these three branches are the outcome of a material division, a division of the subject-matter, rather than a formal division of Practical Philosophy, and that all Practical Philosophy aims *through knowledge* at the ulterior object of *action*.

(d) DIVISION OF SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY

Speculative or Theoretical Philosophy aims merely at acquiring a knowledge of truth about things. The human mind, looking out on the realized or actual order of the things of nature, feeling its own weakness in the presence of the confused and chaotic *data* that flow in upon it through sense-impressions, commences early to *reflect* on the contents of spontaneous sense-activity, to *abstract* successively the different partial views or aspects of the concrete, to *analyse* and disintegrate the complex into its simpler elements, to consider each element separately, and to *compare* them one with another, to seize upon the wider, broader, simpler characteristics of the whole collection, and by aid of these to marshal and co-ordinate, to *synthesize* and unify again in thought, the manifold elements into which the real had previously been analysed. It is by these alternate and complementary processes of abstraction, analysis, induction on the one hand, and of reflection, synthesis, deduction on the other, that the mind gradually reaches a scientific knowledge of the real.

Science in the highest acceptance of the term is *synthetic*; it holds at the same time under the same view of the mind, a simple object of thought, abstracted from complex objects, and the manifold subjects to which that object appertains, in order to comprehend (*cum-prehendere*, *cum-plecti*, σύν-τιθεῖν) the relations of the former to the latter, to explain the latter by the former.

The simpler and more universal the explicative object is, the more synthetic is the thought that considers and explores it, and the higher and more philosophic is the character of the science. And so it is that Metaphysics, whose object is the simplest possible, and whose relations are of a universality without limit, realizes the ideal of Philosophy in the very highest degree.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mercier, *Logique*, p. 7.

Urged on by its native impulse to unify and simplify the manifold, the mind naturally looks for characteristics, aspects, points of view that embrace, as far as possible, all reality,—that are common, universal, applicable to all things. In an ascending scale of abstractness it discerns three such great, broad points of view, and bases on them the three great groups of speculative science: Physics, Mathematics, and Metaphysics.

### (e) PHYSICS

In the first instance it passes over the particular sense-phenomena peculiar to this, that or the other of the separate and scattered units that people the world of sense-perception. It lays aside all these individualizing characteristics and fixes its attention on one great common feature shared by all sense-phenomena alike. That great common feature is change, evolution, progress and decay, interaction, *motus* in the wide Aristotelian sense of the term. It is now a long time since that universal aspect of things rivetted the attention of the early Greek philosophers: indeed to such a degree did it engross and dazzle some of them, that they failed to get any further—all is unstable, all is change, nothing is permanent, *παντα ῥεει*, as Heraclitus<sup>1</sup> expressed it—and their philosophy remained Physics.

### (f) MATHEMATICS

That, however, was but for a short time. The name of Pythagoras<sup>2</sup> reminds us that we can lay aside all the direct *data* we get through the various channels of sense concerning the change of things, and fix our attention on that mysterious abstract of the sense-world which we call *quantity*. Removing from the mind's eye all view of the sense-qualities of material things, of the states and conditions, actions and interactions, of the things of the material world, and retaining for closer scrutiny the one abstract notion of quantified being,—*ens quantum*,

<sup>1</sup> 530-475, B.C.

<sup>2</sup> 582-520, B.C.

—man has seized this fertile concept, and deduced from it alone the whole vast world of the Mathematical Sciences. He has looked at its various aspects : extension, space, distance, measure, dimensions, whole and part, shape or figure, magnitude, multitude, number, unity and plurality. From these he has formed a small number of self-evident axioms, and from these latter deduced, and continues to deduce, day by day, deeper and more remote conclusions. Thus he has built up and continues to embellish that most imposing monument of human thought, the beautiful fabric of Pure Mathematics.

This group of sciences pays no attention to the concrete sense-phenomena studied by Physics. The one sense-phenomena which it does study (quantity), it studies not in the concrete, as Physics did, but as considered in the abstract by the intellect : hence the qualifying term 'Pure' applied to Mathematics as such.<sup>1</sup> And yet Mathematics may not be divorced from concrete reality. If it were, it would be in so far useless : for, although all science worthy of the name is about the abstract, the universal, the necessary, yet we must ever remember that no science is worthy of the name, whose object—abstract, universal, necessary though it may be—is not also applicable to the concrete, particular, passing phenomenon, and capable, by that very application, of giving us a scientific or philosophic knowledge of that phenomenon,—a *cognitio rei per causas suas*. No ; Mathematics is closely allied to reality, and no one knows better than the physical scientist himself how fertile that union has been, how many and great the advances which Physics must attribute, not so much to experiment, as to the application of Pure Mathematics to concrete material things in the mixed science of Mathematical Physics.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Physica,' says St. Thomas, 'considerat ea quorum definitiones sunt cum materia sensibili. Et ideo considerat non separata, inquantum sunt non separata. Mathematica vero considerat ea quorum definitiones sunt sine materia sensibili. Et ideo etsi sunt non separata ea quae considerat, tamen considerat ea inquantum sunt separata.'—*Com. in VI. Metaph.*, lect. 1 ; apud Mariétan, p. 185.

## (g) METAPHYSICS

We have now succeeded in mounting two steps of the abstractive process by which the mind studies, analytically and synthetically, that which it can know. There have been men at all times who have tried to make a permanent halt here, to deny to the mind the duty and the privilege of penetrating any further into the region of the real, to rob the mind of its power to extract from the riches of that region a wider, broader, deeper element than even quantity can claim to be. Materialists, for whom real being is synonymous with material being ; Positivists, for whom the limits of positive sense-experience mark the boundaries of the knowable ;—these philosophers would fain account for all things without rising superior to the conception of matter extended in space and moving in time.

Such efforts have been foredoomed to failure : the human mind can and does ascend above such conceptions. Behind and beyond such surface-elements in the world of the knowable, the mind can lay hold of the *being* itself, of whatever comes before it. The essence, substance, being, existence of things can be abstracted by the mind from these concrete real things themselves, and can be considered in an absolute state without any reference to quantity or space or time, or any of the elements of sensible change. Those very characteristics or aspects of being, which have served as the special points of view of the Physical and Mathematical Sciences respectively,—sensible change or movement in time, and quantity or extension in space,—those very characteristics themselves, furnish, on further analysis, the simpler and still more universal notions of being or essence, existence, existing thing, actual reality, substance, cause, and so on ; and, obviously, without a special study of this latter class of attributes of being, the fundamental meaning of the former classes, and consequently of all Physics and Mathematics, cannot be fully and rightly understood. The paramount importance, if not the absolute necessity,

of such a special science of real being as such, is, therefore, at once apparent.

If the being of material things can be contemplated by the mind, apart from the quantity and sensible change that effect their actual existence ; if they can be studied absolutely in themselves as beings, things, essences, existences, independently of the space and time and sense-circumstances in which they exist ; if they can be separated in thought from all those material conditions ; then we have already one justification for a special *Science of Being*, a *Philosophia Prima*. And to convince one's self of the possibility and actuality of such an abstractive consideration of material things, needs only a little psychological reflection. No doubt, the process of imagination is an inseparable companion to the process of intellectual thought. And this fact gives rise to doubts and difficulties about the existence and possibility of such an abstractive consideration as we have mentioned. Those difficulties have proved a first fatal stumbling block to many philosophers in working out a theory of knowledge. Nevertheless they are more apparent than real, for they spring from a defective analysis of consciousness which confounds and mixes up imagination with thought. We cannot *imagine* anything whatever, material or immaterial, except as extended in space and existing in time. Accordingly while we *think* on material things, though thought may represent them in their abstract state as things simply, as possible essences, or existing beings merely, imagination at the same time *pictures* them in all their material conditions of space and time, and concrete material existence. So inseparable, in fact, are these two processes of cognition, that we cannot think even of immaterial, spiritual things without the concomitant presence in consciousness of some sort or other of material imagination—images. Nevertheless, if we only look earnestly and impartially into our own minds we can detect the double process of imagination and intellectual thought go on side by side, we can contrast the concrete material percept in the imagination with the abstract

immaterial concept in the intellect, we can see the fact, and admit the possibility of such concepts even of material things, and we shall have no difficulty about the consequent need of a special science of being as such.

Again if there exists reality which is not subject to the sensible movement or change that characterizes being as physical, nor to the extension in space which characterizes being as mathematical; if, in other words, there is not only a being that is *thinkable* apart from motion and quantity, but also a being that *exists* apart from motion and quantity; if, in fine, there exists *real* being which is *not material* but *spiritual*; then, evidently, Physics and Mathematics do not exhaust the region of the real, and we have yet another reason for the existence of a *Philosophia Prima* which will take in all being, which will go beyond Physics (*Meta-Physica*, *Trans-Physica*) and study being as such, which will therefore reach to the first cause of all things, the Divine Being (*Theologia*), and explain all other being by referring it to Him (*Sapientia*).<sup>1</sup>

That there does exist real being which is not material but spiritual, the subject-matter and conclusions of the Physical and Mathematical Sciences furnish us with abundant *data* to prove. Working on those *data* human reason can demonstrate the existence in man of a

<sup>1</sup> Quaedam ergo sunt *speculabilium* quae dependent a materia secundum esse, quia non nisi in materia esse possunt; et haec distinguuntur quia dependent quaedam a materia secundum esse et intellectum, sicut illa in quorum definitione ponitur materia sensibilis: unde sine materia sensibili intelligi non possunt; ut in definitione hominis oportet accipere carnem et ossa: et de his est *physica* sive scientia naturalis. Quaedam vero sunt quae quamvis dependant a materia sensibili secundum esse, non tamen secundum intellectum, quia in eorum definitionibus non ponitur materia sensibilis, ut linea et numerus: et de his est *mathematica*. Quaedam vero sunt *speculabilia* quae non dependent a materia secundum esse, quia sine materia esse possunt: sive nunquam sunt in materia, sicut Deus et angelus, sive in quibusdam sunt in materia et in quibusdam non, ut substantia, qualitas, potentia et actus, unum et multa, etc., de quibus omnibus est theologia, id est divina scientia, quia praecipuum cognitorum in ea est Deus. Alio nomine dicitur *Metaphysica*, id est *transphysica*, quia post *physica* dicenda occurrit nobis, quibus ex sensibilibus competit in *insensibilia* devenire. Dicitur etiam *Philosophia Prima*, inquantum scientiae aliae ab ea principia sua accipientes eam sequuntur.—S. Thomas, in lib. *Boet. de Trinitate*, q. 5, a. 1; apud Mercier, *Logique*, p. 21.



spiritual soul and the existence, above all finite things, of a Supreme Being—*God*.

#### (h) GENERAL AND SPECIAL METAPHYSICS

The portion of Metaphysics that deals with these *positively* immaterial Beings is called Special Metaphysics, or *Theologia*, or *Scientia Divina*, by the Scholastics; the portion dealing with *negatively* or abstractively immaterial being is called General Metaphysics. The division is a material, not a formal, one, for the method of procedure and the principles involved are in both parts exactly the same. It seeks the fundamental causes and reasons of all being as such. It fixes, strengthens, and defends the foundations of all the other sciences and guards their first principles from all attack.

#### III.—CRITICAL

The reproach of being too abstract, speculative and unreal, — sometimes levelled against Mathematics, — is constantly thrown at Metaphysics in modern times. Whether modern Metaphysics deserves that reproach or not, it is certainly unwarrantable to cast it at the Scholastic conception of Metaphysics just outlined. Scholastic Metaphysics is simply a higher and more advanced study of the principles and subject-matter of Physics and Mathematics alike, a further consideration, one degree more abstract, of the self-same reality already considered by Physics and Mathematics. It was altogether in accordance with the spirit of Scholasticism that Metaphysics should not 'talk in the air,' but keep close to reality, and so lead us into a deeper knowledge of things. As long as it remained uninfluenced by Cartesianism it remained true to that spirit. But its genuine traditions were broken, and well nigh lost, when the Subjectivism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries perverted the view-point of all philosophical enquiry, and modified—not for the better,—the very meaning of the word 'Metaphysics.' It was really during this period, and not

during the golden age of Scholasticism, that Metaphysics became a dream. Bidding adieu to the real and the tangible it betook itself to the clouds, and brought upon itself the well-merited contempt of those pioneers of the Physical Sciences of whom humanity is so justly proud. If Scholastic Philosophy partly shared the same fate, this was because during the period of its decadence it gave some ground for the same charge of intangible remoteness from reality. If it did not adopt the spirit it adopted at least some of the forms of the new philosophical doctrines. The division of Metaphysics still found in many of our text books is inspired not by St. Thomas, but by a Cartesian philosopher who is the connecting link between Leibnitz and Kant—Christian von Wolff (1679-1755). For him General Metaphysics is the *a priori* study of the general principles of being, hence called *Ontology*; Special Metaphysics is simply the application of this deductive speculation to the *world* in *Cosmology*—called *Transcendental*, to separate it from all commerce with the physical study of Nature; to the *soul* in *Psychology*—called *Rational*, to separate it from the experimental or physical science of Psychology; and to *God* in *Theodicy*, or *Natural Theology*. The adoption of such a division tends on the one hand to perpetuate if not to consecrate the noxious notion of the Cartesian chasm between Physics and Metaphysics, and on the other hand to complicate and render less intelligible the relations between Metaphysics and Logic. How Scholastic Philosophy has in recent times emancipated itself from those misleading influences will form the subject of a separate article.

P. COFFEY.

[To be continued.]

## THE PROGRESS OF SECULARISM IN FRANCE

THE history of the trials of the Church in any age is a subject full of interest and of instruction, much more the story of her trials in our own times. The religious crisis, therefore, now existing in France merits the attention of Catholics in all countries. France is a Catholic nation, yet the influence of religion over family life and over education is gravely menaced, and the free action of the Church is impeded. This is in truth a 'mystery of iniquity' whose existence cannot be questioned, but which it is difficult to explain. It may be best then to look at it in the light of its results, and to inquire when it originated, what has been its progress and what its motive, what will be its consequences, and what is the attitude of French Catholics towards it.

### I.

The present religious crisis in France dates back to 4th May, 1877, when Gambetta made his famous declaration: '*Le clericalisme, voilà l'ennemi.*' What was meant by the term *clericalisme*? Cardinal Guibert understood its meaning; and on the 9th May of the same year he addressed an expostulation to M. Marechal, Minister of Justice and of Worship. 'It is then,' he wrote, 'all of us, bishops, priests, and faithful, who are indicated by the term clericals. It is of Catholicism thus considered that it is said (*voilà l'ennemi*): There is the enemy. It is all of us who are denounced as enemies of the country, not only by the radical Press but also by the Chambers and by the Government.' Not long after the President of the Republic, Marshal MacMahon, refusing to ratify the action of his Ministers, was called upon to submit or to resign. He did neither. He dissolved the Chambers and appealed to the country. The elections proved unfavourable to the policy of the Marshal. He resigned, and on 30th

January, 1879, M. Grévy was elected President in his stead.

Jules Ferry became Minister of Instruction; and on 16th May, 1879, he introduced a Bill proposing to withdraw from authorized Congregations permission to teach, without a State certificate; to abolish examination by a mixed board (*jury mixte*) in the case of the students of the Catholic Universities, and to prohibit non-authorized Congregations from teaching not only in public, but also in private schools. The Bill was carried in the Chamber of Deputies, but was rejected by the Senate. It was sent back to the Chamber of Deputies to be amended. Instead of amending it, an order of the day was passed authorising the Government to apply existing laws to the religious Congregations. In consequence on 29th March, 1880, two Decrees were issued: one ordering the Jesuits to leave their houses of residence within three months, and to close their schools and colleges within five months; the second ordered all non-authorized Congregations of men to apply for authorisation within three months, under penalty of expulsion from their houses. The Jesuits were dispersed; the non-authorized Congregations, not judging it expedient to apply for authorisation, were forcibly expelled from their convents. In this way two hundred and sixty-one establishments were closed. Legislation on primary education soon followed. By a law passed in 1881, primary education was rendered gratuitous; by a second act passed in 1882, it was rendered obligatory, and by a third in 1886, it was enacted that primary education in the public schools should be exclusively lay. A limit of five years was fixed within which it would be the duty of the educational authorities to replace the Religious by lay teachers. Meanwhile the programme of the Secularist movement was becoming more definite. In 1883, M. Paul Bert, as Chairman of a Parliamentary Committee, presented to the Chamber of Deputies a Report on the maintenance of the Concordat and of the Budget of Worship, in which that programme was formulated.

The natural movement [he stated] of modern civilisations

urges on societies to separation (of Church and State). One day Concordats will be consigned to oblivion, like the civil constitution of the clergy, and like systems of religion. But the actual circumstances in which the Church lives and moves, are opposed to the realization of this logical principle. Though expunged from the Budget of the State, and expelled from the presbyteries and places of worship, the Church, if left free, would within thirty years recover the position of which she had been deprived. Let us commence, then, by changing the circumstances which would prepare the triumph of the idea we are now combating. Let us begin by depriving the Church of the artificial influence she has acquired over the country. Let us require of her obedience to the terms of the Concordat to which she has herself agreed. In short, let us await the day when public education, and especially that of women, shall have produced minds capable of looking calmly on the establishment of religious liberty.

The Committee presided over by M. Paul Bert did not consider the time had come for the abrogation of the Concordat. 'The Concordat,' said the report, 'gives the State a powerful weapon, if it has the will to use it; and that weapon is the nomination of the bishops, and the appointment of the parish priests.' Meantime, however, it proposed to bring back the Church to the state of things sanctioned by the Concordat. It advocated the diminution of the amount voted annually for public worship; the reduction of the salaries of the archbishops and bishops, the extinction of diocesan chapters, the withdrawal of the use of ecclesiastical buildings and of subventions to seminaries; the suppression of the stipend of refractory ecclesiastics, and the imposition of military service on the clergy. Finally it concluded:—

When the Church shall have been reduced within these limits, it may be opportune or expedient to pronounce the separation of the State, in the fulness of its power, from the Church reduced to its own resources. As for us, we shall have accomplished our task by preparing the way for such a future.<sup>1</sup>

Such is the origin of the present Secularist movement, and such its programme. Let us go to see how this programme has been carried out, first, in respect to the secular

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<sup>1</sup> Report presented to the Chambers, 31st May, 1883, p. 7.

clergy, and secondly, in respect to the religious Congregations and lastly, how it affects the laity.

## II.

What has been the progress of Secularist legislation since 1880? In what concerns the secular clergy it has been progressively restrictive. The following instances furnish abundant proof :—

1°. The salaries of archbishops have been reduced from 20,000 to 15,000 francs, those of bishops from 15,000 to 10,000 francs.

2°. The stipends of cathedral chapters are being extinguished, as the prebends become vacant. The collegiate chapters of St. Denis and of St. Genievieve in Paris have been abolished.

3°. The burses formerly granted to students in the episcopal great seminaries have been withdrawn.

4°. The exemption of clerics from military service has been abolished. Since 1890, clerics are obliged to military service. Like the students of law or medicine; after one year's service they are dispensed from the two additional years required by law, provided they return to a seminary to continue their studies. They are in due time placed on the reserve, and are liable to be called up for drill during two periods; one of twenty-eight, and a second of fourteen days' duration. In time of war the clergy are liable to be called up for service, but they are to be employed only in ambulance duty.

5°. Chaplaincies in public hospitals sanctioned by the State in 1802 were abolished in 1883, and no priest is permitted to visit a patient in those institutions unless at the request of the invalid or his relatives.

6°. By a law of 8th July, 1880, the number of military chaplains has been much diminished. No military chaplain is appointed unless where the number of troops amounts to two thousand men, and unless at the same time their quarters are more than three kilometres distant from the parish church.

7°. By a law passed in 1892, it was enacted that from

1st January, 1893, the accounts of parish churches should be subject to all the rules applicable to accounts of other public establishments. Thus all Church receipts are made subject to State control.

8°. The bishops are hampered in their administration of their dioceses. If in a Pastoral Letter, they use expressions which displease the Government, they are punished by the withdrawal of their stipend. In the course of the year 1904 several Cardinals were declared by the Council of State guilty of an abuse of their authority because they addressed a letter to the Chief of the State in defence of the religious communities. The bishops have been obliged to take from Regulars the parishes of which they had charge, and to dismiss from their seminaries the members of religious communities to whom they had confided the formation of their young clergy.

9°. The clergy are excluded from any control of the public elementary schools, and are not permitted to teach religion in them.

10°. The teaching of the Catechism in any other language but French has been forbidden, even though, as in parts of Brittany, and in the Basque provinces, French is not understood by many of the people.

11°. In 1903, all chapels not sanctioned by the Government for public worship, though possessing the sanction of the bishops, were ordered to be closed throughout France.

12°. It is proposed in the near future to take away from the parish churches the income arising from funerals (*pompes funèbres*), an income which provides support for a considerable number of the clergy, for whom no provision is made in the budget of the State.

13°. The Holy See is hampered in the selection of bishops, and in its jurisdiction over them when they have been appointed. Finally, the Nuncio has been dismissed and diplomatic relations with the Vatican have been broken off; and a Bill for the separation of Church and State is ready for discussion.

To sum up, the secular clergy have been deprived of

a portion of their means of support, their liberty of action is fettered. The recruiting of the clergy is impeded by the law of conscription, and the candidates for the sacred ministry are exposed in their youth to the licence of camps. The State, using the Concordat as a chain, holds the Church in bondage. Were it not for the vigilance and firmness of the Holy See, it might be said that the Church had become like an army whose generals are selected by the enemy.

### III.

Let us go on to review the progress of legislation respecting the religious communities.

1°. In 1880, as has been stated above, the Jesuits and several unauthorised orders of men, were forcibly expelled from their convents, and their schools and churches closed. A college for the education of Frenchmen was opened at Canterbury, and one at Jersey. The sons of the best French families flocked thither, and fear began to be felt that they would return impregnated with English ideas. It was therefore judged expedient to relax the rigour of the measure adopted against the religious. They were suffered to return to France and to resume the education of French youth on French soil.

2°. Meantime, however, other measures had been adopted. Until 1881, Religious—as, for instance, the Brothers of the Christian Schools and various orders of Nuns—were accepted by the State as teachers in the public schools on presenting letters of nomination from their superiors. In 1881 a law was passed, that no one should be permitted to teach in schools, either public or private, without a State certificate. A law made in 1886 went farther, and enacted that all teachers in public primary schools should henceforth be lay.

3°. A measure no less odious soon followed. The Religious were not only expelled from the State schools, they were also expelled from the public hospitals, and lay nurses substituted in their stead, notwithstanding the repeated protests of the medical profession.



4°. The distribution of out-door poor-relief, and the care of foundlings, was withdrawn from the Sisters of Charity and entrusted to lay management. At present there are few sadder sights than to see files of poor men and women waiting at the door of a *mairie* for the distribution of an unsympathetic dole, or on a winter's day to witness an assemblage of poor in some public place, awaiting the distribution of soup and bread in the open air, while the police stand by to preserve order.

5°. In 1884 a law was passed which was aimed at the resources of religious communities, viz.: the *droit d'accroissement*, or succession duty. It was alleged as a justification for this measure that while the State received a large revenue from the succession duties paid on property held by the laity, the property of communities did not change hands, and that consequently the State was deprived of the revenue which such property ought to contribute. To remedy this defect a scheme was devised. It was assumed that the property of a community belongs in equal shares to all its members, and that when one member dies the others inherit his proportion of the common stock. It was enacted therefore that on the death of a member of a community a tax of eleven and a-half per cent. should be paid by the community on the amount of property corresponding to the share of the deceased. Moreover, when the community possessed houses in several Departments, a declaration of the succession had to be made, and stamp duty paid in each Department. In this way the amount of duty claimed by the Government sometimes exceeded the amount of the alleged inheritance. In the Gironde, for instance, a claim was made for the payment of 1,800 francs as duty on a succession of 877 francs; and in another case, the sum of 229 francs 50 centimes was paid on a succession amounting only to 27 francs 10 centimes.

The application of the law was passively resisted, and it was found so difficult to execute that in 1895 another law was made to modify it. The *droit d'accroissement* was converted into a *droit d'abonnement*. Instead of re-

quiring communities to pay succession duty on the death of members, an annual tax was imposed. All the property, movable and immovable, of communities was valued, and was assumed to produce an annual income equivalent to five per cent. on that valuation. On that assumed annual revenue a tax of four per cent. was imposed. Moreover, communities were assimilated to commercial companies; and in that respect they were obliged to pay a tax of thirty centimes per cent. on the gross value of all their property, movable and immovable. In the case of non-authorised congregations the tax was fixed at fifty centimes per cent. Should any congregation fail to comply with this law it was enacted that the tax should be doubled, and the property of the religious sold to indemnify the Treasury. The application of the law was again found difficult, and to regularise the status of religious communities another scheme was devised.

In 1901 a Bill was introduced, requiring all non-authorised congregations in France to apply to the State for authorisation under penalty of dissolution. This Bill became law. At once it became a burning question with the Religious whether they ought to apply for authorisation. Some amongst them, believing that authorisation would be refused them, voluntarily dispersed. Some went to foreign countries. The majority remained. Relying on ministerial assurances that authorisation would be granted to all congregations who submitted to the requirements of the law, a large number of communities made due application for authorisation—submitting for that purpose a summary of their rules, a statement of their property, and a list of their establishments and of their subjects. Meanwhile a general election took place, the ministers who had passed the law resigned, and in 1902 a new ministry was formed. On taking office the new ministry proceeded to lay before the legislature the petitions for authorisation. To six congregations of men, engaged chiefly in hospital work, authorisation was granted. Fifty-four orders of men remained to be dealt with. It was understood, when the law of Associations was passed, that

the petition of each order for authorisation would be separately examined. The ministry adopted a different view, and they divided the orders of men into three categories, viz.: preaching, teaching, and commercial congregations, the latter consisting exclusively of the Carthusians. The petition of each category was considered separately, but the decision in each case was the same. The petition was rejected. Soon after the unauthorised congregations of women were dealt with. Their petitions were in like manner rejected. In this way fifty-four congregations of men, and three hundred and ninety congregations of women were dissolved, and their property handed over to an official liquidator. But it was not only the houses of non-authorised congregations that were closed. The law of 1901 required that the branch houses of authorised congregations should seek authorisation. In many cases such petitions were rejected, the branch houses were closed, and the Religious obliged to take refuge in the parent house.

By the application of the law of 1901, to both classes of Religious, the net result up to December, 1903, was the following. Religious congregations of men were expelled from all establishments of secondary education, from many ecclesiastical seminaries and from a large number of primary schools. The Sulpicians alone continued to be authorized for teaching in seminaries, and the Brothers de la Salle for primary schools. Nuns were obliged to close many of their residences and schools. One thousand nine hundred and thirteen establishments of both sexes were suppressed. Ten thousand primary schools with a total of 600,000 pupils were closed.

But the law of 1901 was found not to be sufficiently sweeping. Accordingly in 1904, a further measure was proposed, viz.: to withdraw authorisation from all religious congregations which had been approved for teaching only, and to forbid teaching to congregations which were authorised for hospital or charitable works. On the 7th July, the proposed measure became law, and henceforward education of every kind and grade is forbidden to Religious

of both sexes, and all congregations exclusively devoted to teaching are to be dissolved within a period of ten years.<sup>1</sup> The provisions, however, of the law of 1904 are not applicable to the colonies, and the novitiates of orders having schools in the colonies are tolerated.

No delay was made in carrying out the law. On 10th and 12th July, official notice was served on the religious congregations concerned, and 2,398 schools, viz. : 751 boys' schools under the care of the Christian Brothers ; 1,054 schools for girls directed by various orders of Nuns ; and 593 schools attached to orphanages and refuges were ordered to be closed. In his speech at Carcassonne, on 24th July, M. Combes summed up the result of his policy, and stated that five hundred congregations of men and women had been suppressed and twelve thousand establishments closed. In his speech at Auxerre, 4th September, 1904, he stated the progress which had been made up to that date :—

At the present moment [he said] out of 16,904 teaching establishments belonging to congregations, 13,904 or nearly 14,000 have been closed. We purpose to utilise the estimates entered on the Budget of 1905, to order the closing of 500 additional establishments out of 3,000 which remain to be suppressed.

Since that date further progress has been made, and the bishops of twenty-three dioceses have received intimation that they must dismiss the Sulpicians Fathers from their diocesan seminaries by July, 1905.

#### IV.

But it is not the secular clergy, nor the Religious alone, who have had to suffer from the present crisis. The laity also have felt the effects of it.

1°. By the law authorising divorce, passed in 1884, the sanctity of family life has been invaded.

2°. The poor are deprived of the sympathy which makes the distribution of corporal relief doubly valuable.

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<sup>1</sup> L'enseignement de tout ordre et toute nature est interdit en France aux Congrégations. Loi supprimant l'enseignement Congréganiste, art. 1.

3°. The sick have a barrier set up between them and the last consolations of religion.

4°. Parents are no longer at liberty to give to their children the instructors of their choice. The schools they preferred are closed, and the teachers are dispersed or in exile.

5°. Catholics serving in the army have much to suffer. The soldiers are forbidden to attend military clubs under Catholic management, and are thus deprived of the protection which such clubs afford. The practice of religion becomes a barrier to promotion. An interpellation in the Chambers, 28th October, 1904, resulting in the resignation of a Minister, showed how closely the conduct of officers is observed. When there is question of their promotion it is stated that the following questions are asked with regard to them : (a) Does he go to Mass ? (b) Does he go with his wife to Mass ? (c) Does he go to Mass with a book ?<sup>1</sup> In the navy the ceremony formerly observed of hanging the flag as a sign of mourning on Good Friday has been abolished.

6°. The *Messe Rouge*, or Mass at which the Bench and Bar were wont to assist at the opening of the Courts, has been discontinued.

7°. Finally, on Good Friday, 1904, the Crucifix, the emblem of redemption, was ordered to be removed from all the public Courts of Justice throughout France, and the order has since been executed.

Such is a brief outline of the progress of the Secularist movement in France for the last quarter of a century. Let us go on to examine the reasons which have been put forward to justify it.

## V.

We need hardly pause to seek a plausible explanation of the treatment meted out to the secular clergy. Were the archbishops and bishops too wealthy ? No ; their stipend, even at its highest figure, was moderate. Were

<sup>1</sup> Questionnaire. Vie privée de l'officier. 1°. Va-t-il à la messe ? 2°. Y va-t-il avec sa femme ? 3°. Y va-t-il avec un livre ? Extract from *Le Gaulois* given in *L'Univers*, 19th April, 1904.

the burses granted to ecclesiastical students excessive? They were few and unimportant in comparison with the allowance made to encourage lay students. The sum voted in 1884, the last year in which such a grant was made, was 816,000 francs—which divided amongst the ninety-one dioceses of France and the colonies amounts to less than £400 to each diocese. Was the exemption of the clergy from military service an injury to the State? No; the life of the clergy is itself a public service. They minister to the poor and therefore their whole life is spent in the public service. What was the motive of requiring a return of Church receipts? A Board of Church Wardens or *Bureau de Fabrique* was already charged with the administration of Church property. If the State had given of its own, it might demand an account of the administration of what it had given. But by what right does it demand an account of the administration of the voluntary offerings of the poor? Were the clergy hostile to the Government, and therefore a fit object for repression? Suffice is to say that in 1892, eighty bishops, docile to the command of Leo XIII, publicly declared their frank and loyal acceptance of the actual Government of the country, and their respect for the laws in all that is not contrary to conscience. What motive can excuse the restriction placed upon the laity in the practice of religion? According to the Declaration of the Rights of Man:—

No man should be disturbed by reason of his opinions, even in respect of religion, provided the expression of them does not interfere with the public order established by law.<sup>1</sup>

Let us examine, then, what may have been the motive for the measures adopted against the Religious. Were the Religious wanting in capacity to teach? The qualification for teaching required by the State is a certificate (*brevet de capacité*) obtained by examination from the State authorities. Since 1881—the period when a *brevet de*

<sup>1</sup> 'Nul ne doit être inquiété pour ses opinions même religieuses; pourvu que leur manifestation ne trouble pas l'ordre public établi par la loi.'  
—*Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*, art. 10.

*capacité* began to be required by law—the religious teachers, both men and women, have submitted to examination and obtained their certificates with success. Hence the State has acknowledged their fitness to teach. Have the results of their education been less marked than in the State schools? Since 1877, the State grants certificates after examination to the pupils of primary schools. How do the religious schools compare with the State schools? The percentage of successes has been uniformly higher in the schools taught by Brothers than in the State schools. In 1900, the Brothers of Christian Schools obtained three first (*grands prix*) prizes and thirty-seven recompenses at the Universal Exhibition for the excellence of their teaching. The result of the State examination bears no less favourable testimony to excellence of the education given by Sisterhoods.

In secondary schools the result was the same. The pupils of the religious schools were no less successful at the State examinations than the pupils of the lycées. Judged, then, by qualifications and by results the Religious were well fitted for the work of education. Hence their enemies hardly dared to put forward the plea of incapacity. They accused them but of one thing, of dividing the country, of bringing up youth in the principles of religion. They cried out that in the same country there were (*deux jeunesses*) two classes of youth, one imbued with the spirit of religion, and the other with that of State, while there ought to be only one class formed exclusively by the State.

But was there any motive for the fiscal laws imposed on the Religious? Did the Religious enjoy an exemption from taxation to the detriment of the laity? Previous to 1900 there were two classes of Religious, the authorised and the non-authorised. The authorised congregations enjoyed (*la personnalité civile*) the rights of a corporation. The unauthorised possessed no such rights. Before the law they were ordinary citizens. Both classes of congregations paid all the general taxes paid by the laity except succession duties. What was their position with regard to that tax? The unauthorised congregations could not

hold property as corporations; they could only hold it in the name of individuals. When those individuals died succession duty was paid on all the property held in their name. They stood on the same footing as the laity. The authorised congregations had the privilege of possessing property as corporations. As corporations do not die they did not pay succession duty. But to indemnify the State for loss of revenue by reason of this exemption they paid a mortmain tax, the express object of which was to take the place of succession duty. Hence, then, there was no sufficient reason to impose on them a *droit d'accroissement* or a *droit d'abonnement*, in addition to the tax of mortmain.

But perhaps they held in their hands, and thus withdrew from circulation an undue proportion of the wealth of the country. Let us see what was the wealth of the religious communities? According to the official valuation of the Government, made out before the recent legislation, the total property possessed by Religious in France amounted to the value of five hundred millions of francs. It would be more accurate to say three hundred and ninety-three millions. But let us assume that it was five hundred millions. It is stated, says a French writer,<sup>1</sup> that Mr. Vanderbilt, an American citizen, possesses property valued at six hundred and eighty millions of francs. Mr. Jay Gould possesses one milliard two hundred and fifty millions. The property of the Rothschilds is valued at one thousand million of francs. All the Religious of both sexes in France amount to the number of one hundred and sixty thousand. If then with safety to the State one individual or one company may possess one thousand millions, can it be said that one hundred and sixty thousand persons are a danger to the State because their united property amounted to one-half that sum?

Again, let us examine the wealth of the Religious relatively to that of the whole country. The total amount of property in France amounts to 234,934,000

<sup>1</sup> *Les Meconnus, ce que sont les Religieux*, par R. P. Belenger, S.J., Paris, 1901, p. 57.



francs, or about 6,150 francs per head.<sup>1</sup> The amount possessed by the Religious is five hundred millions amongst one hundred and sixty thousand persons, or 3,125 francs per head ; a sum which if invested would produce 94 francs a year ; or 26 centimes per day ; a small amount which may be safely be possessed by any citizen without grave danger to the state. Need we examine further the necessity for special legislation affecting the Religious. Were they too numerous ? This was a question for the bishops and for the Holy See. On this point Leo XIII did not fail in his duty. By his Constitution of 1900, he laid down wise laws for the organisation and establishment of religious congregations. When the law of Association was passed in 1901, were the Religious rebellious ? The law itself required them either to disband or to ask for authorisation. Some chose the first alternative, others the second. But the majority of the latter were doomed to disappointment. With but six exceptions their application for authorisation was rejected without examination.

#### VI.

What will be the consequences of the legislation affecting religion in France ? The consequences of it may be looked at from many points of view, from the point of view of the Religious, from that of the youth of the country, and from that of the State.

From the point of view of the Religious it means spoliation, dispersion and, to some extent, extinction. When a religious congregation is suppressed its property is given over to an official liquidator, whose duty it is to sell it within six months. Out of the result a small pension may be allowed to the aged and infirm Religious : the rest is to be applied to the service of the State, as, for instance, to the building of schools. It means dispersion ; the Religious are forbidden to live in community or to receive postulants. It means extinction in the case of orders limited to France. As they cannot receive postulants,

<sup>1</sup> *Les Meconnus, ibidem*, p. 72 ; from the *Revue de Statistique*, 21 Janvier and 11 Fevrier, 1900.

their existence is a question of years. And even should the present persecution soon pass away, it means that the Religious will return to their work without resources, and that they will come back, too, with their spirit deteriorated. While dispersed they cannot observe their rule, and as Cardinal Newman justly remarks, 'relaxation will easily take place in a religious community when from whatever circumstance it cannot observe its rule.'<sup>1</sup>

With respect to the youth of the country, the consequence will be to deprive them, to a large extent, of religious education. It will be exceedingly difficult for the clergy to provide lay teachers for the *écoles libres* which the law still tolerates, and unless this can be done one million six hundred thousand children, who were hitherto receiving a Christian education from the religious teachers, will be forced to enter the State schools where religious teaching is under a ban.

But what does the State gain by the recent legislation? She gains nothing, and loses much. The Religious have, in many instances, gone into exile. They have taken with them all they could remove from the country. Capital is thus withdrawn from France. The districts where the Religious dwelt are impoverished by their departure. The workers in many branches of ecclesiastical art are suffering. But more than all, the recent legislation will greatly add to the public burdens. Schools must be built for the accommodation of the children hitherto frequenting the religious schools. Teachers must also be provided and paid. According to the official estimate of the Government it will be necessary to expend sixty millions of francs in school buildings to provide school accommodation for the children, and in addition to undertake an annual outlay of eight million francs for the payment of secular teachers. Persons outside the Government circle do not hesitate to say that the cost of carrying out the new system will be much greater. But taking the figures admitted by the Government, it is evident that the working of the new educational laws will serve to increase the already

<sup>1</sup> Newman, *Essay on Benedictine Schools*, p. 445.

heavy burdens of the taxpayers. When Religious are dispersed and religious education banned, and when all that is done at great loss to the country, what can be the motive but hatred of religion, and the purpose to destroy it ?

#### VII.

But it may be asked what has been, and what will be the attitude of French Catholics towards these measures. What has been their attitude may be easily told. In 1880, loud and energetic protests were made against the expulsion of the non-authorised religious congregations. The bishops protested. The lawyers protested, and many of them resigned their office rather than co-operate in carrying out the law. The Religious themselves resisted passively, and it was necessary to employ force to expel them. In 1886, when the work of *laicising* the schools commenced, the clergy and the laity combined to defend religious education. They built schools called *écoles libres*, they employed the religious teachers who were no longer permitted to teach in State schools. They collected into their schools one million six hundred thousand children. On this work about fifty million francs, or two million pounds sterling, all the result of voluntary offerings, was annually spent. This work is still going on. But as Religious can no longer teach in such schools, it will be extremely difficult to carry them on for lack of teachers.

When the fiscal laws against the Religious were passed there were protests, too, from many quarters. How did the Religious themselves act ? The Holy See was consulted, and it left them free to act as they judged most expedient. There were two classes of Religious, the authorised and the unauthorised. Their legal position was different. The unauthorised could protect themselves by confiding their property to trustees. The authorised congregations being corporations could not make over their property to trustees, without the sanction of the Government. Hence divided interests, and divided action. A considerable number of the unauthorised congregations resisted the

application of the law. The five great authorised congregations of men, and a large number of the congregations of women, submitted.

In more recent times there have been protests, too, but much less emphatic than in 1880. In October, 1902, all the bishops of France, except five, presented a joint petition to Parliament requesting that authorisation should be granted to the Religious who asked for it. The only result was that they were cited to appear before the Council of State as guilty of an illegal act, and three of their number, who had been active in organising the petition, were deprived of their salary as a lesson to the rest. Since that time there have been protests from many quarters. In 1904, the leading French Cardinals expostulated, but the only result was a prosecution before the Council of State for an abuse of their authority. An association has been formed for the defence of Catholic primary schools. One thousand seven hundred families are inscribed on its lists, and they offer to give employment to Brothers or to Nuns expelled by law from their convents. The association provides lay teachers for Catholic free schools; and endeavours to find occupation for secularized religious. Out of ten thousand *écoles libres* which were closed by the Government, it has been found possible to reopen over five thousand. But the most effectual protest has been wanting. Since the law of Associations was passed in 1901, a general election has taken place, and a new Parliament more hostile to religious education has been returned to power.

What will be the action of French Catholics in the future? This is a question which the future alone can solve. France was once a great Catholic nation; she remains so still. She supports innumerable works for the spread of religion. Her missionaries are more numerous than those of all other nations. She subscribes for the Propagation of the Faith twice as much as the rest of the Catholic world. Besides supporting many sanctuaries and charitable works, she contributes two million sterling a year for the Catholic education of the children of the poor at home.

All this cannot go unrewarded. The future of religion in France depends on Frenchmen. There is but one reason to fear. It may be best exemplified by the following incident.<sup>1</sup> In an account of the last moments of Leo XIII, recently given by an eye-witness, it is recorded that amongst the Cardinals admitted to the bed-side of the dying Pontiff was the French Cardinal Mathieu. The Holy Father expressed to him the pain which the state of affairs in France caused him. The Cardinal replied, 'Très saint Père la France n'est pas hostile à la religion. Il n'y a qu'un petit nombre d'hommes qui persecutent.' 'Sans doute' [replied the Pope], 'mais ils sont les maitres et on les laisse faire.' 'Holy Father, France is not hostile to religion. The number of men who persecute is small.' 'No doubt,' replied the Pope, 'but they are in power, and they are allowed to do as they please.'

The explanation of the past and the key to the future is here.

A SPECTATOR.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Les derniers jours de Leon XIII, et le conclave.' Article signed 'Un Temoin' in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, 15th March, 1904.

## IRISH LEXICOGRAPHY.—II. ✓

## III

FROM the moment it was announced that the Irish Texts Society contemplated the publication of an Irish-English Dictionary, the appearance of the work was looked forward to with interest and expectancy by everyone at all in touch with Irish studies, or indeed with any branch of Celtic studies. The first, it is understood, to suggest to the Society, at the very outset of its career, that one of its earliest undertakings should be the publication of an Irish-English Dictionary of convenient size was the late Father O'Growney. Ever keeping a keen eye upon practical needs, he availed himself of the opportunity which the establishment of the Society seemed to present, to secure the realization of one of his favourite dreams.

His suggestion was attended to. A sub-committee of the Society was formed to take charge of the work. For some years the sub-committee, with the aid of such helpers and readers as it succeeded in securing, laboured zealously to advance the project. From time to time the public were apprised of what was being done. Conneys' *Dictionary* was to be made the basis of the work, and very properly, so it was transcribed on slips. All the vocabularies that had previously appeared in print were, it has been stated, similarly dealt with. The various volumes of the *Gaelic Journal* and other periodicals containing Irish matter were read, and strange words noted. All who had private lists of living words in their possession in convenient form, or time and opportunity for compiling such lists, were invited to place them at the disposal of the sub-committee. All words secured by these means were also in due course committed to slips.

This remote preparation, so to speak, kept the sub-committee occupied for a few years. An editor had then to be found who would undertake to prepare the materials for publication, and see the proposed Dictionary through the press.

To find an editor proved no easy task. Two or three Irish scholars were approached; but, although at first they consented to undertake the work, they afterwards found that their ordinary pursuits did not allow them the requisite leisure. At length, however, an editor with sufficient time at his disposal was found, and the materials in the sub-committee's possession placed in his hands. On examining these materials, the editor decided, wisely and properly, that by merely acting as editor he should acquit himself but very inadequately and unsatisfactorily of the responsibility laid upon him. He resolved, therefore, to be both compiler and editor, to collect additional materials, and to make the work as complete of its kind as a Dictionary can ever hope to be. This necessitated delay. The discharge of the duties of a mere editor would not have occupied very much of the time of one quite free to devote himself to the work. The duties of compiler and editor were quite another matter. For their due discharge very much more time would be required.

The publication of the work had consequently to be delayed for some years; but, though students and others who felt the want of a convenient Irish-English Dictionary keenly, were naturally impatient of this delay, no one who understood the true character of the work was disposed to regard the delay as unreasonable or excessive.

The longest day comes to an end. The work of editing and printing having reached completion a few months ago, the Dictionary at length appeared. It had long been promised. It had entailed much labour and expense. It had come at last. Its publication was very properly regarded as an event of quite unusual importance in Irish-Ireland circles. The Irish Texts Society and the editor have had no cause to complain of the cordiality of the reception accorded to it. It has been the object of unqualified and indiscriminate eulogy: amidst the universal chorus of praise the fault-finders, if any, have had no opportunity of making their voices heard.

Sufficient time has now elapsed, however, to admit of a careful and dispassionate, though by no means thorough,

examination of the work. To such examination it is proposed to submit it.

It may at once be allowed that the new Dictionary is a work of enormous utility at the present juncture. Irish students could no longer get on without some work of the kind : how they have contrived to do so for the past few years is a marvel. Is it a great work ? Yes, and no. It has great merits. It was conceived and has been executed on the proper lines. It is on an altogether higher plane than Mr. O'Neill Lane's *English-Irish Dictionary*. It contains a vast amount of matter compactly and scientifically arranged. It conforms in very many respects to recognised lexicographical principles. It is of convenient size ; and, everything considered, its price is eminently reasonable. Is it adequate for its purpose ? No. Is it, all things considered, reasonably adequate ; and, for a dictionary which in the nature of things can never hope to reach finality, does it represent a reasonable approximation to finality ? The answer, it is to be feared, must be, no. Anything like a careful examination of the volume seems to permit of no other. That such a conclusion should be forced upon the writer is to be regretted, but he means to justify it.

The Irish Texts Society's *Irish-English Dictionary* is, then, in very many respects a work of signal merit, but its merit is marred, as its utility is bound to be, by many grave, and, in some instances, unaccountable blemishes. The question of spelling may be passed over, although many will roundly question the utility and wisdom, scientific and practical, of the lines which the editor has elected to follow : these are explained in the preface. In a matter of this kind, however, one must largely and finally decide for himself. When blemishes are referred to in connection with the work, it must not, therefore, be assumed that the writer wishes to class the editor's orthographic conclusions and their results as blemishes, how much so ever he feels himself compelled to disapprove of them. The blemishes are of quite another and a far more serious character.

The Dictionary represents a great deal of very good



work, but it also represents a considerable amount of very slipshod work, and some positively bad work. Frequently the definitions given are quite wrong. Oftentimes also they are inadequate. The system of cross-references is neither adequate nor consistently carried out. One is not unfrequently referred to a word only to find that it is not given,—at all events in its proper place. Important words are frequently given under equivalents or variants, but are not to be found where one would expect to find them. Important variants are often omitted. The heteroclites are, in many instances, unsatisfactorily and inadequately dealt with. Mistakes of previous lexicographers are at times blindly copied. Vast numbers of words, even very ordinary words, are missing, or are not to be found where they should be. These undoubted blemishes cannot be very fully exemplified at present. In the space at the writer's disposal he can merely glance at a few points under these several heads; but in future issues of the I. E. RECORD he hopes, with the kind indulgence of the Editor, to consider them in some detail; and he hopes at the same time, and incidentally, to afford his readers an opportunity of correcting some of the errors of the Dictionary and of filling some of the *lacunae* to be found therein.

1. The word *búrb* is not given, but the compound *búrb-ḃriacraic* (wrongly written *burb-ḃriacraic*) is found at p. 97. Why it should be *burb-ḃriacraic* here, whilst we find *búrb-ḃriacraic* at p. 78 of Eoghan Ruadh O'Sullivan's Poems, and *búrb-bean* at p. 14 of O'Rahilly's Poems, is not quite apparent. Possibly it is due to some confusion arising from the similarity existing between *búrb* and *burb* or *burbacraic*. In any case the definition 'gentle of speech' is wrong: it should be 'gracious of speech,' or 'benign of speech.' *búrb* does not mean 'gentle,' but 'kind, gracious, benign, benevolent, beneficent, benignant, favourable, well-disposed, generous, bounteous, liberal.' When the editor (O'Rahilly, p. 14) translated—'Δουδαίητις ἄφ' ἧς ἡ *búrb-bean* μίοντο—The kindly mild woman added,' his instinct was truer, although it is manifest that he was merely guessing at the meaning. The word is one of

frequent occurrence in Irish literature, particularly in Munster poetry. Fortunately its exact meaning is beyond doubt. In the Douay Version of the Bible (Psalm l. 20), occur the words: 'Deal favourably, O Lord, in Thy good will with Sion.' The Vulgate has—'Benigne fac, Domine, in bona voluntate Sion.' In a lithographed prayer-book,<sup>1</sup> published in Cork in 1844, these words are rendered thus (p. 69): 'bí, a Thighearna, go búró in vo deagtoil le Sion.' There is no doubt that the translation was made from either the Vulgate or the Douay version.<sup>2</sup> Nor can there be any doubt that the translator thoroughly understood the meaning of the word he employed to render 'benigne' or 'favourably.' In the same work (p. 70) we find, a Thighearna ró-búró, which recalls the words, 'O most gracious Lord' of English prayer-books; and a little further on we have (p. 73): 'a Ohiadaict búró 7 a mórbáict aduacthar.' These quotations put the meaning of the word beyond question. The meaning so established will fit any occurrence of the word that I have noted, but the meaning given in the Dictionary, 'gentle,' can only be made to adapt itself to some of these occurrences by doing it violence. There are two occurrences in Keating's Poems (p. 79, l. 1408)—'1r meannmáin búró san uíil i stuait-leat'; and (p. 84, l. 1517)—'Gér mall an cSiúir, Gér búró a fuigle.'<sup>3</sup>

In dealing with búc, which is defined, 'free, liberal, kind,' the editor has made a more fortunate hit, assuming

<sup>1</sup> Gáiríoin an Anma. Iar n-a rēriodao le pól ó Longáin. Corca: 'San mbliadain d'aoir d'ar cTighearna, 1844.

<sup>2</sup> The translators of the Irish Bible translated from the Authorised Version or from the Greek. Both the Authorised and Revised Versions have (Ps. li. 18): 'Do good in Thy good pleasure unto Zion.' The Greek reads (Biblia Triglotta. London: MDCCCXC): 'Αγάθυνον, κύριε, ἐν τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ σου τὴν Σιών.' The Irish translators render thus: 'Óéan maic vo Shíon ó vo deagtoil réin.'

<sup>3</sup> The learned editor, relying on a gloss in T.C.D., H., 5, 19, translates, 'thankful, grateful,' but he gives his authority. He could have done no more, and he thus puts the reader on his guard. The words glossed are 'go búró,' and the gloss is 'thankfully, piously.' The latter meaning, 'piously,' seems supported by Mac Caghwell's 'onóruiḡ t'áitne go búró,' and O'Hussey's 'Óomnac, lá an Tighearna Chloir, coiméio vo fíor é go búró.' Keating's Poems is, in the writer's opinion, the best specimen of scholarly editing yet done.

that búc, which is here equated with buǵac, is allied to búró. This is by no means certain. It might just as well be a phonetic variant of buǵac, which by O'Brien is defined 'sly, crafty, wily,'<sup>1</sup> and by O'Reilly,<sup>2</sup> 'sly, crafty'; or a formation from buǵ, 'a breach, a rout' (O'Brien, s.v., who equates buǵ with búic, q.v.); or a formation from búǵa, which O'Clery glosses '.i. bó muc .i. luib ǵlar nó ǵorm nír a ramaictar rúile ǵorma';<sup>3</sup> or a variant for buǵac, which is the conjecture hazarded in the Glossary to Eoghan Ruadh's Poems. It is impossible to be at all sure, in the absence of authority, or an example, or even a reference. On the whole, we incline to think that búc is really akin to búró; if this be so, it is a phonetic equivalent of búǵac, not of buǵac.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the writer, loath as he is to resort to conjecture in a matter of such importance, strongly inclines to the view that búró and búǵac are merely variants of báró and báǵac or báróeac, with which, as will be seen, they appear to correspond in meaning.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lluyd who preceded O'Brien has the same definition.

<sup>2</sup> A correspondent having kindly drawn the writer's attention to the fact that his copy of the old O'Reilly has the year, 1817, on the title-page, a reference to Lowndes showed it was really published in that year. The writer took the dates given in the first instalment of his article from the title-pages of the copies of the various dictionaries in his possession (*vide* I. E. RECORD, Dec., 1904, pp. 522-526). The Second Edition of O'Reilly was published, not in 1877, as there stated, but in 1864. Copies bearing other dates than 1817 and 1864 belong to later impressions of the two editions. It may be of interest to add that the O'Begley-MacCurtin Dictionary was published at £2 12s. 6d.; O'Brien's Dictionary, Paris Edition, at £3 3s., and Dublin Edition, at 18s.; and the original O'Reilly at £2 2s.

<sup>3</sup> Murphy MSS., vol. 82: O'Brien, who defines it, 'a kind of herb, a leek,' adds: 'Ex ceapca map olaoi vo'n buǵa 'r a dá bpaol ceapca caol-ouba, her eyes green as a branch of the leek, and her two black small even eyebrows.' Shaw (*Dictionary of Scotch Gaelic*) has, 'fear, a leek,' but it is impossible to know how far he may have been influenced by O'Brien and Lluyd in the latter part of the definition.

<sup>4</sup> An examination made, since this was written, of five occurrences of búc noted in the Glossary to Eoghan Ruadh's Poems leaves little doubt that it equates with búǵac: (1) 'S a béilín blaíca búc binn' (p. 21, l. 561), (2) 'An tú Déiríne maíreac búc binn' (p. 21, l. 571); (3) 'Ír béapac blaíca búc binn, aoubairt í go réim san gó' (p. 22, ll. 579-80); (4) 'o'fneagair oáinn go búc le réime' (p. 79, l. 2050); (5) 'nó an ainmíur mílir búc mín o'ionnpuídeac ǵarb-ǵrúip' (p. 118, l. 3032).

<sup>5</sup> This is, of course, merely a conjecture. To meet a possible objection, it may be well to point out that búró is not necessarily an adjective, probably it is not an adjective at all. In the various occurrences noted it either qualifies a noun, when it might be a noun in the *genitive*, or is joined to go (*cf.* go león).

Under *cuaille*, we find 'Do bual ré an cuaille comhac,' which is rendered 'he brandished the battle-staff.' For this, however, no authority whatever is assigned. There is grave reason to doubt its accuracy. Irish romantic literature, both manuscript literature and folk literature, is full of references to the *cuaille comhac*. Undoubtedly *cuaille* means, 'a pole, a stake, a staff,' and *comhac*, 'a combat.' But does it thence follow that '*cuaille comhac*' means, 'a battle staff,' or, what a popular journal recently called, 'a pole of combat'? It is very unlikely. The writer, were he to hazard a *prima facie* conjecture, would be inclined to render it, 'a pole-axe, a battle-axe, a pike.' Conjecture is, however, altogether out of place in a matter of this kind. It is quite evident that the phrase *cuaille comhac* is technical: and this being so, the obvious or literal rendering is very likely to be wide of the mark. Let us see if we can throw any light upon a very obscure point. In Foley's *English-Irish Dictionary* (s.v. boss) *cuaille comhac* is equated with 'a boss (of a shield).' For this Foley unfortunately gives no authority; but at the same time he seems, in the writer's opinion, to afford a clue to the solution of the problem.

The materials available to serve as a basis for the adequate discussion of the point cannot be brought together here; considerations of space forbid it. But there is a small publication of the Gaelic League which can be easily consulted, and which may furnish all that is really needful for our purpose.<sup>1</sup>

Attention is asked to the following quotations from the work referred to: 'O'éirig lorcán amac ar mairiún i mbáirneac, 7 do bual buille ar an gcuaille comhac,' 7 rl. (p. 7.); 'do bual buille 'ra cuaille comhac,' 7 rl. (p. 13); 'o'éirig ré amac go moé, lá ar n-a báirneac, 7 do bual buille 'ra cuaille comhac,' 7 rl. (p. 14); 'do cuairé ré go dtí an cuaille comhac, 7 do rḡreao rḡiá 7 o'iarri comhac,' 7 rl. (p. 16); 'éirig ré go dtí an cuaille comhac arís, 7 do rḡreao rḡiá

<sup>1</sup> Fionn 7 lorcán, 7 rl. Concéudar ó mairiúneacáin do énuarais. Ar n-a éir amac do chonhac na gaeilge. Baile áta cliait. 1903.

‘ ὁ ἰαρι κοῖρα, ’ ἡλ. (p. 20); ‘ ἡναιρ ὁ ὅς ἡ ἀρετὴ ἡ ἀμυγ, ὁ ἡρεαβ ῥέ ὅς ὅς ἡν αὐαίλλε κοῖρα, ἡ ὁ ῥερεα ῥερεα ἡ ὁ ἰαρι κοῖρα, ’ ἡλ. (p. 21). The two following may be added, although they contain no express mention of the αὐαίλλε κοῖρα: ‘ ὁ ἰριγ ἡρεαβ ἀμα ἀρι, ἡ ἀρ ἡ ἀ ὁ ἰρεα, ἡ ὁ ῥερεα ῥερεα ἡ ὁ ἰαρι κοῖρα, ’ ἡλ. (p. 8); ‘ ἡναιρ ἡν ῥερεαβ ῥέ ἀμα ἀρι, ἡ ὁ ῥερεα ῥερεα ἡ ὁ ἰαρι κοῖρα, ’ ἡλ. (*Id.*)<sup>1</sup>

These quotations appear to prove two things: (1) that the αὐαίλλε κοῖρα, whatever it may have been, was employed to convey a challenge to combat; (2) that, in conveying this challenge, the shield played an important part—this is obvious from the iteration of the phrase, ‘ ὁ ῥερεα ῥερεα. ’ Such passages were, for quite a long period, a source of equal interest and mystification to the writer; but viewing them in the light of the hint afforded by Foley, it appears at least highly probable that the αὐαίλλε κοῖρα was the boss of the shield, or rather the boss of the shield employed as a medium, when struck upon and sounded, for issuing a challenge to conflict. It is not contended that this is established—only that it is very probable. There is another passage, however, which would appear to imply that the αὐαίλλε κοῖρα has a wider meaning than that assigned to it by Foley, and that it meant not only the medium whereby the challenge was conveyed, but the challenge itself, or rather its notification, however conveyed. This seems to be the obvious inference from the following: ‘ Ἀναιρ ὁ ὅς ἡ ἀρ ἡ ῥερεα αὐαίλλε κοῖρα, ’ ἡλ. (ῥερεα ἡ ἡρεα, ἡλ., p. 4). The meaning appears to be—‘ then he sounded a challenge upon the trumpet,’ just as we say at present—‘ he sounded the *reveille*, ’ or ‘ he sounded the alarm. ’ If this conjecture have any warrant, the words ‘ ὁ ὅς ἡ ἀρ ἡ αὐαίλλε κοῖρα, ’ found in the Dictionary (*s.v.* αὐαίλλε) must be rendered, ‘ he struck up

<sup>1</sup> It will be seen that in all the above quotations αὐαίλλε is masculine; in the Dictionary it is set down as feminine. Two of the examples there given (*s.v.* αὐαίλλε) point to the masculine gender, the final one makes it feminine. At all events, it evidently is certainly masculine, and possibly both masculine and feminine, although given as feminine only.

or sounded the challenge,' not as they are there translated, 'he brandished the battle-staff.'

Διcne does not mean 'a race or tribe,' and neither Διcιοντα nor Διcne has anything whatever to do with Διcme. Διcνεαδ, to give the true form, is simply Old and Middle Irish for the modern Διcνεαδ, just as Διcιοντα (or Διcεαντα) is for Διcεαντα. True, Διcνεαδ in the ancient literature, means 'nature,' whereas 'Διcνεαδ' seems to invariably mean 'mind.' This only proves that the earlier meaning appears to have become obsolete. Whether the earlier form ought to be revived, with the earlier meaning attached to it, is the only question about which there can be any discussion. All the rest is matter of common knowledge. But certainly the treatment of this word is not lexicography; not scientific lexicography, at all events, but rather lexicography by rule of thumb.

Δηαμ-δάιρεαδ, if not wrongly, is at all events insufficiently, defined; for it unquestionably means 'spiritual direction.' Ξεαη ξάιρε almost certainly does not mean, 'a hearty laugh,' although ραίρε ξάιρε does: at all events, it does not mean it exclusively, for it undoubtedly means 'an appearance of laughter, an incipient laugh, inclination to laugh, risibility, risible emotion, visible excitement.' Its meaning,—or at least one of its meanings,—corresponds with φαεταδ ξάιρε, given by Coneys, and properly defined by him, but not found in the Dictionary under review.<sup>1</sup>

The word ξροξάιρε is defined, 'a hunchback.' In O'Rahilly's Poems, however, there is an occurrence of the word (p. 222, l. 2): 'Ψολλάιρε ξορταδ, ρποδάιρε cleaδaδ, ξροξάιρε μεατα, πέιρε ξλιυξάιρ,' which is rendered—'The starving miser, the hangman trickster, the *powerless cripple*, the serpent of empty noise.' The two renderings do not agree, and no authority is assigned for either. Possibly both are correct, but one would like to have some proof. The following passages (O'Renehan MSS., vol. 69, p. 186)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. (Hogan's *Phrase Book*, p. 114), 'no maδ a φαειυαδ ξάιρε φαίρ,' and 'oo μυγεαδ a ξεαη ξάιρε αίρ,' i.e. 'he burst into laughter' (*lit.* his inclination to laugh overcame him).

from a song by Seagán ua hUisínín, suggest something more than a doubt of their accuracy: 'S é ghograó an ainoir ar an caob ó tuair,' and farther on—'Nár iarr nam leabair ná clúm 'cúir faoi, áit a ghograó ar mullaó na mbánta.' These passages are quoted with reluctance, but they seem to convey that 'a libertine, a voluptuary, a lecher,' would be a more accurate definition than 'a hunch-back,' or 'a cripple.' Indeed, 'the worn-out libertine' would appear to be more suited to O'Rahilly's context than 'the helpless cripple.' The satire from which the quotation has been made is fierce and merciless, and considering the other epithets which the poet hurls at its object, 'the powerless cripple' would be mildness itself. No more, however, is suggested than that the accuracy of the definition given in the Dictionary is open to grave doubt.

Many other wrong or doubtful definitions have been noted, but they cannot at present be considered. Space is limited, and many other points await discussion. Enough has been said, however, to show that the work from this point of view is to be used cautiously,—at all events where authorities are not given, and where one can check the meanings neither by reference to occurrences of the words defined, nor by one's own practical experience.

2. Amongst the defects of the Dictionary to which attention has been called, is the inadequacy of the definitions. A few instances of this must suffice for the present. Under báir, 'sympathy' should be found, and under bárac (bárac), 'sympathetic.' What more usual than to hear, 'ní raib éan-báir agaim-ne leir an obair rin, we had no sympathy with that work'? Under bhuir, 'brush' should be found. The definitions given of gíoram and gíoramac are not sufficient. As the writer has heard these words used, and he has been hearing them all his life, they mean respectively 'friskiness, frolicsomeness, gamesomeness,' and 'frisky, frolicsome, gamesome.' 'Nac gíoramac atá re?' and 'níl éin-gíoram ann' are expressions in common use. The word cleat, which is merely equated with cleat, also means 'the roof of a house,' and the word cleite is likewise in use in the same sense.

To the definition of *fuasóir* should be added, 'fuss, pother, bustle, agitation.' To the word *cnas* should be added, 'a jolting, the noise made by a cart in motion,'—'O'aitin ré cnas na tpucaillleáde, he recognised the jolting of the cart.' (*Ppácaí Mhicil Thairis*, p. 13). After *fuigeall*, add 'gan fuigeall, unreservedly': 'Tá mórán fóir agat le tréigean 7 le caðairt fuar oam-ra gan fuigeall, iul a bfuigir an ní atá uait.—Adhuc multa habes ad relinquendum, quae nisi mihi ex integro resignaveris, non acquires quod postulas.' (*Im.*, B. III., c. 32).<sup>1</sup> To the definition given of *gáiríúeac*, 'railing (finding fault with)' should be added. After the definition of *meang*, should be added, 'phantasy': 'Caic oo rplanca 7 rgaip iao, lámhaig oo fáiúoe 7 oibir meang na námao.—Fulgura coruscationem tuam et dissipa eas: emitte sagittas tuas, et conturbentur omnes phantasiae inimici.' (*Im.*, B. III., c. 48). The definition given of *pleannacab* would be more serviceable if 'buffeting, cuffing, pummeling, trouncing,' were added. To the definition of *preabairne*, 'bouncer,' to be understood both literally and metaphorically, may well be added. After *cealltair* add 'apparel, raiment, vesture, attire.'<sup>2</sup> To the definition of *lócan*, should be added 'dross, husks.'

For the present this must suffice, although the matter at hand to illustrate the inadequacy of the definitions given in the Dictionary has only been touched, not exhausted.

3. The inadequacy of the cross-references, and the want of any apparent system in supplying them, have been referred to. All who have occasion to consult dictionaries will understand what a trial to human patience such a drawback as this must be. O'Reilly's Dictionary is a frightful example. Occasionally one finds under a word, a reference to its variants and equivalents, but this rarely occurs. One has to be content to stumble upon the variants and equivalents somehow, and, as one does so, to supply the cross-references oneself.

<sup>1</sup> The English version at hand has—'Thou hast yet many things to forsake, which unless thou give up to me *without reserve*, thou shalt not attain to that which thou demandest.'

<sup>2</sup> *Celt* .i. vestis .i. eodé. Cormac's Glossary, s.v.



The new Dictionary is not quite so bad in this respect, but it is bad enough. You are referred from *ṛpiotán* to *piotán*, and *vice versa*, for instance. The same holds as regards *piart* and *péirt*; *ṛcileab* and *ṛciollaob*; *ṛcuobal* and *ṛciatóg*; and so on. On the other hand, there is under *ṛcuo* a reference to *ṛcoo*, but under *ṛcoo* there is no reference to *ṛcuo*. Any number of further examples of this could be given. Oftentimes variants and equivalents occur without a reference either way: examination of *ṛobantac* and *ṛonnta*, which are obviously variants, will sufficiently explain what I mean.

4. Again, one is now and again sent on a wild-goose chase after a word. One instance of this must suffice. Under *clabap* we are referred to *clab* and *clabap*. The first is given in its place; the second is nowhere to be found; nor are *clabpa* and *clonn* given, although the former occurs in *Δη βυαίσεαρ* (pp. 33 and 44), and seems to be spoken very generally in West Munster, whilst the latter, given both by O'Brien and O'Reilly, is still very much alive, at all events in the *Ṭéire*.<sup>1</sup>

Under the word *ṛiotab* a reference is given to *ṛutag*; but let who can find it where it ought to be. It is again found under *ṛotag*, however, to which no reference at all is given at *ṛiotab*; nor is there a reference at *ṛotag* to *ṛiotab*, of which the others are but local variants.

5. Numbers of words are given as variants or equivalents of other words, and under them, but are not given where one could hope to find them, unless by accident.

Who, for instance, could hope to find *veilgíneac* under *bolgac*, *clabapán* (*clabpán*) under *ṛiuiribe*, and *biopuóg* under *ṛcuobal*?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *clabap*, *clabpa* ṽ *clonn* all mean 'a mantel-piece or an article of furniture suspended on the wall over the open hearth in farm-houses and cottages, and in some places called 'a clevy.'" O'Brien identifies *clonn* with *colamain*, but this can hardly be correct. It is much more likely to be a variant of *clabap*, the liquids at the end interchanging. For *clabap* and *clabpa* cf. *galap* and *galpa*.

<sup>2</sup> Since the above was printed, a somewhat hurried examination of the Dictionary, from A to F only, has yielded a list of close on three hundred words and variants, found under other words, but not found in their proper place. In some cases, this, save for consistency, does not matter very

6. The number of important variants omitted constitutes a serious blemish. We find *lúirce* and *lóirce*, but *láirce*, though spoken and given by O'Reilly, is missing. As *bhaislinn* and *baislinn* are given, might not the forms that very many speakers are accustomed to hear, *bhaislin* and *baislin*, have been given also? *Δραρλαρθε* is given, but not *εαφαρλαρθε*, though we find both *Δραρλαρθεατ* and *εαφαρλαρθεατ*. *Smugacánairte* and *bunnuúnairte* should have been given as well as *ρμυγαίρτε* and *bunnuúnac*. *Spíúnóg* and *ρpionóg* are given, but not *ρpúnóg*. *Σρυς* is more familiar to many than *ςρυς*: 'Δρ Δ ςρυγαιβ' not 'Δρ Δ ςρυγαιβ.' *Τυρρα*, *ςιορραδ*, *ρiocóg*, *Δρραρ*, *om*, *bacóg*, *bárrac*, and *blían* should have been given, as well as *τυρρε*, *ςιρρρεαδ*, *ραocóg*, *Δρρεαρ*, *am*, *bacía*, *bárrρεαδ*, and *bléan* (*bléin*). *Εαγλαίρτε* should have been given as well as *εαγλαίρτε*; both are in the literature as well as on the lips of Irish speakers.

An anonymous writer, in a western paper,<sup>1</sup> has complained of the exclusion of words well known in Leath Chuinn. He gives a long list of words and variants which he states are not to be found in the Dictionary; and adds that these words, or most of them, were placed at the disposal of the editor, but for some reason were not included. On what principle most of them could have been excluded is a mystery, and will probably remain so. Near the head of the list I find, *αμαίρ*, 'a trough.' Why were *ομαρ* and *υμαρ* included, and *αμαίρ* (*αμαρ*) excluded? Surely no one,

much, for the proper place for several of them would be immediately before or after the words under which they are found. In the majority of cases, however, their alphabetical order would place them very far from the words under which they are given. In explanation of the phrase, 'save for consistency,' it is necessary to add that many words are actually given in their proper place, although also found under the preceding or following word. All the words in question cannot be given here. The following, however, to which one is *formally and explicitly* referred, although not given in their proper place, may be given (the word in parentheses being in each case the word under which the other is to be found): *αμπάν* (*αβπάν*), *αμπάντατ* (*αβπάνατ*), *αμπάναρθεατ* (*αβπάνατ*), *αρμυacán* (*αδάρán*), *béal-ορcaίρτε* (*béal-ρcaoilceac*), *beannán* (*beannóg*), *capbairne* (*conbairne*), *clabán* (*clabap*), *cnactár* (*cpuctár*), *οίρμυγac* (*οίορ-γac*), *εαοac* (*είρεac*), *eala* (*ala*, *craft*), *ρρpeallairne* (*bpeallairne*), *ρρpeallairín* (*bpeallairne*).

<sup>1</sup> *The Western People*, Ballina, Nov. 12, 1904.

accustomed to hear only *amair* or *amairi*, could be expected to find *umair* away at the other end of the Dictionary, and *omair* very nearly as far off. As *amair* is spoken, it should have been included. At all events, it should not have been intentionally excluded. Unquestionably *amairi* (or rather *amair*) is old enough: it occurs in the Brehon Laws, and more frequently than the other forms, whilst, regarded philologically, it is probably the original word, the others being only variants.

Very much more might be said on this head, and immensely more than half be still left unsaid, but there are other points awaiting consideration.

7. The heteroclites are inadequately dealt with. To do it justice, and to make full use of the materials at the writer's disposal, this point should be treated at considerable length. A few remarks must nevertheless suffice.

The genitive singular form *colad* (of *coil*), very generally spoken in Connacht, is not given. The historical nominative singular *coil*, which frequently occurs in authors of the early Modern Irish period,—which occurs for instance in Keating's Poems,—and which is yet spoken in parts of Ulster, is not given.<sup>1</sup>

To the plurals of *abóir*, should be added *alcóirada* (and *alcóirig*). *amleas* is a heteroclite also; it has *amleir* (*amleir*) in the genitive singular as well as *amleasra*.<sup>2</sup> *ainbóir* has *ainbóir*, as well as *ainbóirsa*, in the genitive singular.<sup>3</sup> *Doilgear* has both *doilgearsa* and *doilgír*, whilst only the latter is given.<sup>4</sup> *Síot* has both *ríota* and *rite* in the genitive singular, and the nominative is oftentimes *rit*.<sup>5</sup> *Créacúr* is found in the spoken language as well as *créacúr*, and its genitive is frequently, if not invariably, *crea-*

<sup>1</sup> The phrase, *ar a coil féin*, as it stands, is misleading. It frequently means, 'free, at one's disposal.' 'Dá mbéinn ar mo coil féin imois—If I were free (or disengaged) to day.' 'Dá mbéad an rígal ar oo coil féin (*Imit.*, p. 171, l. 2). *Vide* also O'Begley-MacCurtin, p. 167 (*s.v.* disposal), and p. 235 (*s.v.* free); also O'Hussey's Catechism, p. 244, l. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Donleavy's Catechism (Paris Ed.), p. xx.; also spoken usage.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, pp. xxiv. and 298; also *Sgátán na hAitirige* (Louvain, 1618), p. 268 *et passim*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sgátán na hAitirige*, p. 3 *et passim*; *doilgír* also occurs (*e.g.*, p. 4).

<sup>5</sup> *Imitation*, p. 32; *Sgátán na hA.*, p. 2 (*bis*).

cúir, not *opéacúir* or *opéacúine*. Instead of *oí*, the usual nominative in early Modern Irish writings is *oí*, *oí* being ordinarily found only as dative and accusative.<sup>1</sup> In the spoken language *méar* seems to be very generally, if not universally, feminine, and of the First Declension; *bairr mo méire*; *mo méar mhóir*, *ghl.*<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly it is historically masculine, from the very earliest writings down to the beginning of the Modern Irish period, and even later; but in spoken usage a change seems to have occurred. *beac* is both masculine and feminine, and, even in the spoken language, changes to both *beice* and *beic* in genitive singular. In the earlier usage it appears to have been masculine. Keating in all his writings so regards and treats it.<sup>3</sup> A change, similar to that described in reference to *méar*, appears to have taken place, but is not, perhaps, so widespread. *Inneóin* makes both *inneóine* and *inneónac* in the genitive singular, though only the first is given. The writer has heard both, and in one of the *Oipeactar* Competition stories for 1902 (a Munster story quite obviously) he noted the phrase, *is comair na hinneónac*. *Canóin* has in the genitive singular not only *canóine*, but also *canónac*.<sup>4</sup> *Eaglaí* has both *eaglaire* and *eaglaire* in the genitive singular; this is true of the literature and of the spoken usage alike.<sup>5</sup> The historical nominative, *eaglaí*, is likewise of frequent occurrence in early Irish writings.<sup>6</sup> Neither *eaglaí* nor *eaglaire* are found in the Dictionary.

It is very startling to find *méao* (*méio*) set down only as masculine. In the earliest writings it is feminine.<sup>7</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> O'Hussey's Catechism, p. 3 *et passim*; also authors of the period *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Henry (Handbook) makes it feminine; Craig, masculine; Mulloy, feminine. Recent writers, including Father O'Leary, seem to make it feminine; and it is the writer's experience that speakers, as rule, regard it as feminine.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide, e.g.,* *Fonar Feara* (Texts Society) pp. 10 and 12; and *Trí Bop-  
gaí* (Todd Lecture Series), p. 267.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* *eoair-ghia* (O'Brien), p. 49, in which both forms occur.

<sup>5</sup> O'Hussey, pp. 124, 126, *et passim*; *ghacán na haitríge*, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Vide* O'Hussey, pp. 15 and 124 (*ter*).

<sup>7</sup> There are some early occurrences that seem to point to a neuter, but it appears to be generally feminine, even in the oldest writings.

Some Irish writers and speakers at present make a distinction in meaning between *méao* and *méio*. In the Glossary to his *Clann tír*,

modern Irish literature generally, it is frequently so, and it seems to be so still. The following quotations are given in the hope that they may throw some light upon the present state of the question. They are the first that the writer happened upon, in the various works from which they are taken. They are not specially selected, but yet they represent fairly well the Modern Irish period as a whole. They are numbered and grouped, so as to be more easily referred to later on.

- (1) Δη μέρο ιρ φέιοιρ λεό (Donleavy, xxi. (7) ).<sup>1</sup>
- (2) Δη μέρο ιρ μιλίρ σά ξηρό (O'Hussey, 253 (11) ).
- (3) Δη μέρο φεο νάρι φερίοβαθ θίοθ (*Id.* 247 (13) ).
- (4) Νάε μυσ φέ ατ άετ δη μέρο σο θί ι η-ιρμιοηη ηα η-αιτρε ηαοηηα αηάιηη (*Id.* 61 (15) ).
- (5) Δη μέρο όιρ σο ααιτεαθ υιλε λειρ δη οβαίρ (Exodus xxxviii. 25).
- (6) Ξηλαφαιηη ηα ηιότε φο ό θυιηε ειλε, δη μέρο βυθ άυιθε θάμ σ'φύλαης σο φέιρ μο θρείτεαηηαιρ φέιη (*Imit.*, 162 (22) ).
- (7) Δη μέρο φέαοαρ (Τρί θιοιρ-ξάοιτε, 56 (31) ).
- (8) Δη μέρο ξυρ έιοιρ λεατ έ (Σξάάηη ηα ηάιτρε, 32 (6) ).
- (9) Δη μέρο ξο θφυιλιη τρι άυηάετα (*Id.* 41 (17) ).
- (10) Δη μέρο ξο στυηηαηη δη υίομαρ (Τρί θιοιρ-ξάοιτε, 19 (1) ).
- (11) Δη μέρο ηάε φηοηαηη μίλρε δη άοηφόλαίρ θιαθα (*Id.* 53 (w) ).
- (12) Δη μέρο ξο μβίο τάιτε μαίλλε φέ ξηάφαιθ φέ Όια (*Id.* 239 (29) ).
- (13) Δη μέρο ξο σθαθαίρ φα υεαηα ιομασ αίρρεαηη σο φάθ (Εοάαιρ-φξιαέ, 51 (22) ).
- (14) Δη μέρο ξυρ φάξαρ έ (*Id.* 26 (w) ).
- (15) Δη μέρο ξο μβρεαθνυίξιο (*Id.* 11 (1) ).
- (16) Δη μέρο ξο ηυέαηαιο μάλλυαθ (*Id.* 11 (14) ).

Mr. Craig formally recognises the distinction ; he also distinguishes gender, making μέρο masculine, and μέρο feminine. There does not appear to be complete agreement as to what the difference of meaning exactly is ; and there seems, in any case, no historical warrant for the distinction.

<sup>1</sup> The numbers refer to the page and line respectively.

- (17) An méio go noéanaio bréasac é (*Id.* II (15) ).
- (18) An méio gur ceil ré rolar an éireoinn (*Id.* II (34) ).
- (19) An méio gur duine é (O'Hussey, 55 (16) ).
- (20) An méio gurab é vo éruéuig é (Tíri b., 241 (14) ).
- (21) An méio acámuio i n-ar mballaib fírinneaca (O'Hussey, 47 (3) ).
- (22) Agus an méio deanaí nír an uirleabha, bí roct 'ran gclaurtra oirra (Tíri b., 240 (17) ).
- (23) Tadarrar rolar na heagna duic, an méao ar maéttanac 7 ar cairbeac duic é (*Imit.*, 263 (16) ).
- (24) 1r le Dia dháin a dhaineann fupacac vo eadairt air, an méao 7 an uairi 7 vo'n té ar coil leir féin é (*Id.* 104 (7) ).
- (25) Tadair, a Thigearna, an ní ar maí leat, an méao ar maí leat, 7 ar an uairi ar maí leat (*Id.* 120 (6) ).
- (26) An méio go ucug pearra orgarba, 7 neart dóbal cuirp, cróbac 7 calmacc inntinne dó (Tíri b., 67 (20) ).
- (27) Do-éire tú méao na marla vo-deiri tú dó ag fuiréac 'ran péacac (Sgátán na hAitirige, 32 (2) ).
- (28) Do bhrí 7 go gcialluigí méao cuirp an éiríde (*Id.*, 2 (7) ).
- (29) Méio airgí na noaíne vo háirnéac (Exodus xxxviii. 26) .
- (30) Do b'feairi liom go mbéac a fíor agaid créao é méao mo cóiríac ar buí ron-ra (Collos, ii. 1) .
- (31) An céao loct, méio an aínuligí vo-ghíó (Eóclair-S., 10 (3) ).
- (32) An uara loct, méio na marlugac vo-deiriú (*Id.* 10 (15) ).
- (33) 1r mó eugann Dia fa aine méio an ghróba (*Imit.*, 24 (1) ).
- (34) Méaoiúgear méio ar ruðailce le méio na foigíoe, 7rl. (*Id.* 25 (30) ).
- (35) Do mhúac a méioe meanman (Tíri b., 15 (5) ).
- (36) Do réiri méioe na meafaróacra (*Id.* 224 (23) ).
- (37) Do bí gan méio na mac-rámla dó (*Id.*, 78 (12) ).
- (38) Ar méio a noilgeara cré géire a brian (*Id.* 178 (14) ).

- (39) Δετ το'ν μέρο το βί ανηριν αμάιν (O'Hussey, 60 (9)).
- (40) Όιατ το είνν αρ μέρο γ αρ μάιρε αρ εάε (Hogan's Phrase-Book, p. 117).
- (41) Όά μέρο βίοτ ες ουλ ι υπαιριδ (Τρι β., 57 (25)).
- (42) Αν τι εμρεαρ α όόις ι nouine οά μέρο (*Id.* 18 (w)).
- (43) Όά μέρο το βί ο'ιnnne γ ο'αεφuinn 'n-α mβεαεαίό αα (*Id.* 19 (w)).
- (44) Όά μέαο εαζνα γ νεαρτ γ ιnnne φαοζαλτα βίοτ αα (*Id.* 97 (4)).
- (45) Ώά μέαο ρίεε βλιαόαν (*Id.* 296(y)).

It will be at once seen how much the feminine predominates. From 1 to 6 there can be no question as to the gender being feminine; 7 also shows the feminine, although whether the quotation is to be classed with the preceding, or rather with those that follow, is somewhat doubtful. How μέρο is to be parsed in 8-20 (αν μέρο 50, αν μέρο ναε) is not quite clear. It seems to be a sort of accusative (an accusative of extension, it might perhaps be called); at all events, there seems no doubt that the gender in all these occurrences is feminine. Whether 21-25 are to be classed with 1-6 or with 8-20, is not obvious; but 26 is certainly in the same category as 8-20. From 27-45 no certain conclusion can be drawn, although the forms, in most cases, appear to point to feminine gender.<sup>1</sup> In 26, μέρο appears to be masculine; but may it not be a scribal or a printer's error, or a possible trace of the ancient accusative singular (*Cf.* ιn μέιτ n-ιmme ρεα, *Irische Texte*, p. 40 (30)) ? In 24 and 25, μέαο appears to be masculine, but may not a somewhat similar explanation apply ? However this may be, we are face to face with the fact that, of forty-five occurrences of the word,—and these the first noted by the writer,—only three apparently are masculine. Yet the word is set down only as masculine in the Dictionary.

<sup>1</sup> They are given mainly as materials to afford a test as to whether the distinction in meaning between μέαο and μέρο, already referred to, can be sustained. See footnote, p. 77.

There are two classes of words which, because of their heteroclite character in the plural, are interesting. They are fairly represented by (1) *ειρικήαδ, μαρκαδ, υαλαδ, έαυαδ*, and (2) *πεακαδ, εαρηαδ, τιοδλαϊκαδ*. Sometimes they have the inflexions of the O Declension; sometimes those of the S Neuter.<sup>1</sup> Being anxious to see how such words were dealt with in the Dictionary, I looked up many of them, when I made a curious discovery in respect, perhaps, of the most characteristic of them all; but of this, more anon.<sup>2</sup> My search convinced me that, when to be found, such words are, in the main, satisfactorily dealt with: occasionally, however, it is not so, and no fixed principle seems to have been followed.

So much, then, for the heteroclites. Let us pass on.

8. The mistakes of previous lexicographers have<sup>3</sup> been copied: this point must, however, be very briefly disposed of.

As has been already stated, De Vere Coney's *Irish-English Dictionary* is very satisfactory,—for its time wonderfully so,—and represents the first genuine effort to apply recognised lexicographic principles to the compilation of an Irish dictionary. At the same time, it is not, of course quite faultless in any sense; and in the present state of scholarship, better work than it contains ought to be looked for almost as a matter of course. At all events, one would not expect Coney's errors to be copied unquestioningly.

The author of a recent scholarly Paper<sup>3</sup> has called

<sup>1</sup> Thus: (1) n. p. *ειρική* (*ειρικήε*); g. p. *ειρικήαδ* (*ειρικήε*); d. p. *ειρικήαδαιβ* (*ειρικήιβ*); a. p. *ειρικήαδα* [or *ειρική* as in n. p.] (*ειρικήε*), etc.: (2) n. p. *πεακαδ* [sometimes *πεακαδα* or *πεακτα*, from ac. pl.] (*πεακαβε*); g. p. *πεακαδ* (*πεακαβε*); d. p. *πεακαδαιβ* [often contracted to *πεακαιβ*] (*πεακαριβ*); a. p. *πεακαδα* [or *πεακαδ* as in n. p.] (*πεακαβε*), etc. This is so elementary that examples or references are scarcely necessary. The following references may, however, be indicated: (1) Donleavy, pp. 18, 103; O'Hussey, pp. 34, 35; *Εοδαρη-Σγιατ*, pp. 4, 7, 10, 14, 78: (2) O'Hussey, pp. 29, 48; *Εοδαρη-Σγιατ*, pp. 7, 28, 32, 51, 74, 98, 100, 102; *Τρι βιοη-γαοιτε*, pp. 135, 230, 231; *Σάηρον αν ανμα*, pp. 38, 44, 46, 47, 60. Also the same, as well as *Σγάτάν να ηαιτηγε*, *Lucerna Fidelium*, etc. *passim*.

It does not follow that all words showing this heteroclite tendency in the plural were once neuter: in some instances it is due to analogy.

<sup>2</sup> See *Vide* p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> 'Notes on Coney's *Irish-English Dictionary*.' By Rev. T. K. Abbott, M.A. (*Hermathena*, vol. xiii., No. xxx., 1904). For his kindness in sending me a copy of his Paper, I desire to publicly express my grateful acknowledgments to the author.



attention to some of Coneys' errors, besides making some important additions to his work. Take the word *ciapálad* in Coneys.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the meanings given is 'perverse.' There is no warrant for this; and it is due doubtless, as the aforesaid Paper points out, to the 'perverse disputings' of the Authorised Version. *ciapálad* means 'wrangling, contentious, bickering.' The Irish Bible has *oiaipóipeact* *ciapálad*, and the Revised Version, not 'perverse disputings,' but simply 'wranglings.' Yet we find Coneys' definition, '*perverse*, contentious, vexatious,' included bodily in the new Dictionary.

Coneys has the word *veactpacó*;<sup>2</sup> in the new Dictionary it is *veactpac*. Amongst the meanings in Coneys is 'unsearchableness.' For this there is no authority. The Irish is '*Créad é veactpac a bpeiteamhair do éuapugad*, how difficult to investigate are His judgments.' The Authorised Version has, 'How *unsearchable* are His judgments,' which, as the writer of the Paper points out, explains Coneys' 'unsearchableness.' But 'unsearchableness' appears in the new Dictionary. To pursue this point further would be tedious, but *actapac*, *cunncar*, and many other words could be pointed to as illustrating mistakes of Coneys, to which the author of the Paper calls attention, and which are copied, nevertheless, into the new Dictionary.

9. As to the omission of words, not much can at present be said. It was inevitable, of course, that many words should be missing: no dictionary ever is or can be complete or final. One would be quite prepared to find in manuscripts and rare books unusual words of which the Dictionary does not take account. But surely one could not be prepared for the omission of words, even very

<sup>1</sup> In the writer's copy of the Bible (1827), the word is *ciapalad*, and this is the form given by the writer of the Paper referred to. The form as given by Coneys is correct. It is found in a copy of the New Testament (1813), which I have before me; and *ciapálad*, not *ciapalad*, represents the pronunciation. Donleavy has *ciapáil*; but there cannot be the least doubt about the proper form. *ciapalad* in the Bible is probably a misprint.

<sup>2</sup> In the Paper referred to the word is given as *veactpacó*, but this is obviously a misprint.

ordinary words, to be found in dictionaries already published; nor could one be prepared to find that words continually occur in published works and vocabularies, accessible to everybody for years past, which are not included. Surely there is no excuse for the omission of a large number of words found in such a book as the *Imitation* or *An bhuiceas*, or for the omission of words found in the brief Vocabulary to the *Trí Sgéalta*?<sup>1</sup> This Vocabulary contains in all less than two hundred words, only very rare words and variants occurring in the Stories being given. One would imagine that this Vocabulary would have been utilised. Yet in this brief, select, and long accessible Vocabulary are many words, which are not to be found in the new Dictionary,—not certainly in their proper place. The following are specimens of those that are missing: *anataimail*, *bairaicinib*, *bairiob* (with the meaning there assigned to it), *breac-éoil*, *caotaimlaet* (variant of *caoteaimlaet*), *clabairne*, *cpirín*,<sup>2</sup> *creadailcead*, *oigeanta*, *galairde* (= *ballai*), *ráir*, *rgur* (with meaning there attached to it), *riontairde*, *rpéaraoiri*, *rpacairne* (with meaning here assigned it),<sup>3</sup> *rpaidiarnar*, *tionóirg*, *tioppad*.

It is much the same with all the published vocabularies. Most of them, probably all of them, contain words that are here missing. Words found, for instance, in the vocabulary to the *Fate of the Children of Usnach*,<sup>4</sup> are not to be found, whilst in the vocabulary to Henry's *Handbook of Modern Irish*, Part I,<sup>5</sup> and even in the vocabularies to the O'Growney's *Simple Lessons*,<sup>6</sup> there are some words not included.

<sup>1</sup> *Trí Sgéalta*. *Contúbar Ó Dearmádhna* oo *cuir rior*. *An Cnaoibín doibinn* oo *cuir i n-easgar*. *An n-a cuir amac* oo *Chonnrad na Saeóilge*, i *mBaile Áta Cliat*. 1902.

<sup>2</sup> It is strange that in the Vocabulary referred to this word is queried—no meaning being given. Of course, it is the diminutive of *cpior*.

<sup>3</sup> As the writer has been accustomed to hear the word employed, it means 'one hard-set to live, a hard-working person, who nevertheless does not get on, "a drag"': *rpacairne* *reirneóir*, *an rpacairne boet*. This meaning is not found in the Dictionary.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. *bairéann*, *éarpoet*, *éagcor*, *foluaimnead*, *oirféoil*, *ollguc*.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. *bacós*, *caillteannar*, *cúlán* (found in O'Reilly).

<sup>6</sup> e.g. *báine* (madness), *riapamail*, *riúitce*.

The list of between two and three hundred words published in the *Western People*, and not to be found in the Dictionary, has been already spoken of.<sup>1</sup> But how is one to account for the omission of so ordinary a word as *éavac*? That it is not included, is the quite accidental discovery already referred to.<sup>2</sup> It could hardly have been otherwise than accidental, for the possible omission of so obvious a word would have occurred to nobody.

In respect of omissions this must suffice. Later on much more will probably be said about them. Their character and extent become more apparent whenever one has occasion to consult the work. The marginalia which adorn the writer's dictionaries give some idea of how numerous they are, and how serious.

The Irish Texts Society's Dictionary, be its defects what they may, is a work to be taken seriously. With all its shortcomings,—and they are, as will be seen, neither few nor trivial,—its publication is unquestionably an event of great importance. The gratitude of Irish Ireland, and indeed of the Irish race, is due to the Society for its patriotic enterprise, and for the tireless energy and devotion with which, in face of many difficulties and discouragements, it clung to its purpose and laboured to the end for the advancement of a great and praiseworthy project. The editor, too, worked hard and tirelessly, but neither his critical knowledge, nor his capacity for taking pains, appears to be on a level with his industry.

The Dictionary will be a god-send to students of Irish. Even a reprint of Coneys' work would have been of great service; but in the new Dictionary they have all Coneys, and along with Coneys considerably more than an equal amount of additional matter, much of which never before appeared in a printed dictionary, nor indeed in any

<sup>1</sup> *Vide*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* p. 80: the word *éavac* has since been found under *éveac*, a word of doubtful authenticity. It is given by Coneys, who refers to Ephes. vi. 14. But *éveac* is not found there, only *évoic octa*. It is fairly certain, however, that *évoic* is here a mere phonetic spelling of *évoib* (gen. sing. of *éveab*), just as *épicib* is often found for *épicic* (gen. sing. of *épicac*).

dictionary. That O'Brien and O'Reilly are not more adequately represented in the new work is regrettable. It is far too much the fashion to decry O'Reilly's work as consisting for the most part of words long since obsolete. There could be no greater mistake; the writer's experience is, that of the words which it contains, there are very few which are not found, oftentimes modernised perhaps, in our modern literature or in the spoken language. In the compilation of the new Dictionary the work has not been drawn upon at all as fully as it should have been. Every day's added experience will tend, there is scarcely a doubt, to place the truth of this statement in a stronger light.

O'Reilly has not yet been superseded. Oftentimes, no doubt, he is very trying, but, all the same, the student will still have to consult him frequently. He gives very many words, not included in the new Dictionary, of which his studies are quite certain to send the student in quest. It is, at the same time, equally true that the new work contains an enormous number of words not found in O'Reilly, whilst, notwithstanding its limitations, it is in most respects ever so much more satisfactory. One would like, of course, to be able to feel more confidence in the adequacy of the inflections given, and above all in the accuracy and completeness of the definitions, especially where the matter is new.

Viewing the work as a whole, its publication marks a great advance. It is splendidly produced, and no one has any just or reasonable ground for complaint on the score of price. Circumstances, by some strange chance, have conspired to link it in these pages with a work which is certainly unworthy to be named beside it.

M. P. O'H.

# Notes and Queries

## THEOLOGY

### IS CRANIOTOMY EVER LAWFUL?

REV. DEAR SIR,—I should feel obliged for a reply to the following case: A medical doctor in certain rare and very extreme cases practises craniotomy. Are the replies of the Holy Penitentiary, 28th November, 1872, and of the Holy Office, 28th May, 1884, to be regarded as such an absolute condemnation of the practice as unlawful *in se*, that such a penitent must be refused absolution?—Yours faithfully,

A SUBSCRIBER.

1. The replies of the Sacred Congregations, to which our correspondent refers, are the following:—

S. Pen., 28 Nov., 1872:—‘An unquam liceat operatio, quae vocatur craniotomia, vel similis operatio, quae per se directe tendit ad occisionem infantis in utero positi?’ ‘Consulat probatos auctores sive veteres sive recentes, et prudenter agat.’

S. Off., 28 Maii, 1884:—‘An tuto doceri possit in scholis catholicis, licitam esse operationem chirurgicam, quam craniotomiam appellant, quando scilicet ea omissa mater et filius perituri sint, ea e contra admissa salvanda sit mater, infante pereunte?’ ‘Tuto doceri non posse.’

We add to these replies that sent to the Archbishop of Cambrai, 19th August, 1889, which applies the decision of 1884 to ‘quamcunque chirurgicam operationem directe occisivam foetus vel matris gestantis.’ We shall afterwards mention a reply of the S. Pen. to the Bishop of Birmingham.

2. It is clear that the decision of the S. Pen. (1872) did not end the controversy which was then in existence between Catholic theologians about the lawfulness of craniotomy. It is equally clear that the decisions of the S. Office (1884 and 1889) did not directly and absolutely condemn craniotomy. At the same time it is certain that the decisions of the Holy Office took away from the opinion of those who held that in extreme cases (and there was question about extreme cases alone) it is lawful

to practise craniotomy, any lawfulness which it previously possessed. The Holy Office declared that such an opinion cannot be safely taught. Why cannot it be safely taught? We take it that 'tuto' means either 'without fear of error,' or 'with a safe conscience,' or 'without danger of abuse.' If 'without fear of error' be taken as the meaning of the word, then it follows that craniotomy is certainly unlawful, because the Church is not accustomed to condemn a doctrine as subject to fear of error so long as she allows a safe opinion to continue in its favour. If the word mean 'with a safe conscience' our interpretation of the Decree is clear because so long as a doctrine is lawful in practice it can be used with a safe conscience. If 'without danger of abuse' be the meaning of the word 'tuto' our opinion is no less clear, because the decision was given with reference to an extreme case which was well defined in the words: 'quando scilicet ea ommissa mater et filius perituri sint, ea e contra admissa salvanda sit mater, infante pereunte.' The circumstances are so clearly indicated no danger of abuse could arise from a favourable decision. Hence we conclude that craniotomy is in no circumstances lawful, since the decisions of the S. Office have made the opinion, which maintained its lawfulness in extreme cases, unlawful in practice.

In confirmation of this interpretation of the decisions of the S. Office, we shall quote the reply of the S. Pen. (3 June, 1891) to a question sent for solution to it by the Bishop of Birmingham:—

'Quidnam dicendum est de confessario, qui jam post decretum S. Officii 31 Maii, 1884, tolerat aut quidam ex poenitentibus suis adhibeant craniotomiam prout olim ante illud decretum, a nonnullis theologis defendebatur?' 'Sacra Poenitentiaria attente consideratis expositis ad praemissa respondet, Confessarium juxta ea quae proponuntur male se gerere.'<sup>1</sup>

Finally, in confirmation of this view, we have the unanimous teaching of theologians who have written since 1884.

3. We have no hesitation, then, in saying that a con-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Slater, *Principia Theologiae Moralis*, p. 291.

fessor is bound to refuse absolution to a doctor who practises craniotomy and who, knowing his duty, does not promise to abstain from the evil practice in the future. A doctor might, however, with perfect good faith, believe craniotomy to be lawful. He might not know the ecclesiastical decrees on the subject, and might not see the force of the intrinsic reasons which prove craniotomy to be murder. It is for the prudent confessor to decide when it is right to warn such a doctor of his obligations. The chance of success in preventing the evil must be considered. It would be very imprudent to give this warning without much chance of success in preventing the abuse. *Bona fides* might merely be changed into *mala fides*.

#### BAPTISM AND MARRIAGE OF A CONVERT

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer the following in next issue of the I. E. RECORD: The 'sponsus,' a non-Catholic, from another diocese, comes for instruction to the 'parochus sponsae' with a view to be received into the Church and to be married. Can the 'parochus sponsae,' having of course obtained the necessary faculties of his own Bishop, and given instruction, licitly baptise 'sponsus' and marry the couple without referring to the Parish Priest of the place where the 'sponsus' resides?

ADM.

The 'parochus sponsae' cannot lawfully baptise the 'sponsus,' who belongs to another parish, without the express or reasonably presumed permission of the 'parochus sponsi.' 'Graviter peccat sacerdos qui alienum baptizat sine licentia proprii sacerdotis expressa vel rationabiliter praesumpta. Id valet etiam de parochia in propria paroecia baptizante alienos.'<sup>1</sup> Permission can be reasonably presumed on at least in case of necessity. Faculties derived from the Bishop of the 'sponsa' will not suffice when the 'sponsus' belongs to another diocese. The 'parochus sponsae,' having obtained the usual letter of freedom from the 'parochus sponsi,' can validly and lawfully assist at the marriage of the couple without the 'license' of the 'parochus sponsi.'

<sup>1</sup> Genicot, ii., n. 139.

## SACRAMENTAL SECRECY

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have been asked by a penitent to consult with his former confessor about some matters which the penitent has confided to me under the seal of confession. The former confessor, however, is a member of a Religious Order in which it is customary for the Superior to open the letters of his subjects. 1. Are Superiors of religious houses justified in opening the letters of their subjects who are accustomed to hear confessions and whose letters frequently contain sacramental secrets? 2. Am I justified in writing to the former confessor in the circumstances mentioned?

A reply in the I. E. RECORD will oblige.

PAROCHUS.

1. Superiors have a right to open the letters of their subjects whenever the rules or legitimate customs of their Order permit this. This is a power which is given for the good of the Order and not for the gratification of mere curiosity. Hence, Superiors are bound to use great caution in the exercise of their authority. In this connection we think it well to quote the words of Ferraris<sup>1</sup>:—

Superiores regulares licite possunt aperire et legere litteras suorum subditorum, ubi id mandant seu permittunt propriae constitutiones, vel legitima consuetudine introductum est pro bono publico religionis; dummodo tamen eas non aperiant et legant ex mera curiositate aut privata passione et malitia, quae pacem et fraternam charitatem potius violaret.

Superiors have no right by any rule or custom to *read* the letters of their subjects which contain secrets which the subjects have no right to make known to the Superiors. The subjects have no right to make secrets known to Superiors when the writers of the letters have a right to such secrecy. So long then as the writers of the letters have a right that the secrets contained in the letters be not made known to the Superiors, these will not be justified in reading the letters. There can be no doubt about this right when there is question of *secreta conscientiae*. Prudence, moreover, ought to prevent a Superior from *opening*

<sup>1</sup> *Litterae*, n. 10.



a letter which he reasonably suspects to contain secrets which he has no right to read. Palmieri, speaking on this matter, says<sup>1</sup>: '*Certe imprudenter se gereret Superior, aperiens litteras, in quibus merito suspicatur haberi secreta, quae scriptor jure nollet alteri manifesta fieri, e.g. conscientiae secreta continerentur.*'

It seems to follow from what we have said in the last paragraph that Superiors ought not, as a rule, open the letters of their subjects 'who are accustomed to hear confessions, and whose letters frequently contain sacramental secrets.' This is specially true with regard to letters that are marked 'private.' In these cases Superiors cannot, as a rule, but reasonably suspect that the letters contain secrets which they have no right to read. At the same time we do not think that, even in these cases, it can be said absolutely that Superiors have no right to open the letters of their subjects. Cases might arise when it would be even the duty of the Superior to open such letters. The Superior might, for instance, reasonably believe the letters of an individual not to be all right. He can in such a case prudently open that individual's letters for the purpose of seeing that they are what they pretend to be. If, on opening such letters, the Superior find that they do, as a matter of fact, contain secrets which he has no right to read he is bound to abstain from reading further. In confirmation of what we have said we shall quote Genicot<sup>2</sup>: '*Attamen posset Superior, si rationabile dubium de natura commercii epistolarum haberet, inspicere num reapse agant de secretis conscientiae, prout inscribuntur; quod ubi constaret, jam abstinere deberet.*'

2. Except in the extremely rare case when our correspondent would have good reasons for thinking that a Superior was outstepping, in this matter, the limits of his power, he would be justified in writing to the former confessor. Superiors of religious houses are men of prudence, who, knowing the limitations of their power, do not unduly interfere with the letters of their subjects. To ensure

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, n. 1087.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i, n. 433.

greater certainty of secrecy it would be wise to write some such word as 'private' or 'confidential' on an enclosed envelope containing the letter. If our correspondent act in this way he does all that his penitent can reasonably expect from him.

J. M. HARTY.

## LITURGY

### PURIFICATION OF CORPORAL

REV. DEAR SIR,—In regard to the reply to my query in the November number of the I. E. RECORD (page 453), for which I am grateful, I should say that there is a portion of it which I have failed to reconcile with the Rubrics. In the course of the reply it is asked, 'But why may not the particles have been put into the pyxis or ciborium, and the corporal purified before the consumption of the Precious Blood?' It is added that 'this would have been the better course to adopt,' etc. From the Rubric of the *Missal*, t. 10, n. 5, which is referred to in O'Callaghan in a footnote at page 103, fifth edition, it is clear that this is what should be done 'if there are consecrated particles on the corporal to be preserved for another time or if there be another Host for Exposition of the Most Holy Sacrament.' It is further added, however, in the footnote that 'this is to be understood of a pyx on the corporal, not of one in the tabernacle; in the latter case the consecrated particles should be put into the pyx immediately after receiving the Precious Blood.'

But with regard to giving Communion the Rubric in the *Missal*, t. 10, n. 6, says: 'Si qui sunt Communicandi in Missa, Sacerdos post sumptionem Sanguinis, antequam se purificet facta genuflexione, ponat particulas consecratas in pyxide, vel si pauci sint Communicandi super patenam, nisi a principio positae fuerint in pyxide seu alio calice.'

If this Rubric is applicable to the case mentioned in my query, I cannot reconcile with it that portion of the reply to which I have alluded.—Faithfully yours,

C. D.

It is quite true that, as our correspondent states, the Rubrics direct that particles consecrated on the corporal for

distribution during Mass should be put into the pyx or ciborium, *post sumptionem sanguinis*. This is what ought to be done *in ordinariæ contingentibus*. But the case before us is one where the several prescriptions of the Rubrics cannot be exactly carried out, and it is for us to determine which of them may be more properly dispensed with. It occurred to us at the time as something unusual to dispose of the fragments remaining on the corporal after Mass in any other way than by consuming them in the chalice with the Precious Blood, seeing they cannot be afterwards taken with the ablutions. But, reflecting on the matter since, we are only strengthened in the conviction that this is not only 'the more proper thing to do,' but the thing that ought to be done. For it is laid down in the Rubrics that the celebrant '*si deprehendat post sumptionem corporis et sanguinis, aut etiam post ablutionem, reliquias aliquas relictas consecratas eas sumat sive parvae sint sive magnae, quia ad idem sacrificium spectant.*'<sup>1</sup> In fact, until these particles are consumed the Sacrifice is in a measure incomplete. '*Nec censetur (sacrificium) perfectum quousque omnes reliquiae insumantur.*'<sup>2</sup> And this obligation is so strict that it is commonly laid down by theologians and liturgists<sup>3</sup> that while the Priest has on the sacred vestments he should consume any particles he finds if he believes they belong to the Sacrifice he has just celebrated, even though he could otherwise reverently dispose of them. This requirement, then, of the Rubrics which makes for the completion and perfection of the Sacrifice is paramount to the direction of putting the particles consecrated on the corporal into the pyx only after the consumption of the Precious Blood and, in conflict, must prevail.

Another alternative might occur to some as possible. It is, that the Priest, after distributing Communion, should then purify the corporal, collect the fragments on the paten,

<sup>1</sup> Rub. Miss., *De Def.* t. vii. n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ben. XIV, *De Sac. Mis.*, l. 3, c. 17, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> De Herdt, ii, p. 212; Aertuys, *Theol. Mor.*, vol. ii. p. 54; Genicot, *Theol. Mor. Inst.*, ii. p. 187.

and convey them to his mouth with his forefinger. But De Herdt rejects this method of consuming the particles as 'indecens et reliquiarum perditionis periculo obnoxius.'<sup>1</sup>

**DIFFERENT ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE PRAYERS AFTER  
MASS**

REV. DEAR SIR,—There are two versions of the Prayer after Mass published in Dublin. May I ask you to let me know which is the approved one? In the first part, 'O God, our refuge,' etc., is the same in both, but in the second are the following differences :—

*1st Version.*

Blessed Michael, Archangel, defend us in the hour of conflict; be our safeguard against the wickedness and snares of the devil—May God restrain him, we humbly pray :—and do thou, O Prince of the heavenly host, by the power of God thrust Satan down to hell, and, with him, the other wicked spirits who wander through the world for the ruin of souls.

*2nd Version.*

Holy Michael, Archangel, defend us in the day of battle; be our safeguard against the wickedness and snares of the devil—May God rebuke him, we humbly pray :—and do thou, O Prince of the heavenly host, by the power of God thrust down to hell Satan, and, with him, all the wicked spirits who wander through the world for the ruin of souls.

Hoping I am not troubling you, I remain, yours sincerely,

ENQUIRER.

We presume that both English versions of the Prayers after Mass, referred to by our correspondent, are duly approved and authorized. Of the first version—that printed and published by Messrs. Browne and Nolan, Ltd., Dublin—we have no doubt whatever, since it bears the *imprimatur* of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin. The other version has been brought out under the auspices of the Art and Book Company, London, and, though not explicitly stated on the leaflet, we are quite sure that it has not been published without the necessary Episcopal sanction and authorization.

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<sup>1</sup> *Prax Lit.*, vol. i. n. 282.

The two translations are faithful renderings of the original Latin version, and, while differing in minor details and turns of expression, are in substantial agreement. Hence, any one is free to use whichever he prefers. It would be invidious, as well as irrelevant to the point at issue, to enter on any discussion as to which of them more elegantly represents the Latin original.

In the copies we have before us the conclusion of the first Prayer is not correct. It should be, as was pointed out in a former number of the I. E. RECORD, 'Through *the same* Christ our Lord.'

P. MORRISROE.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE CATHOLIC TRUTH ANNUAL AND RECORD OF CONFERENCE. Dublin. 1904. Price 6d.

WE sincerely congratulate the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland on the publication in such splendid style of their *Annual and Record of the Society's Conference*. It is in every sense a most useful as well as a most artistic production. No better value can be had at this season for sixpence, and we do most sincerely hope that a copy of it will find its way into every house in the land. The papers read at the Conference of the Society at its meeting, held in Dublin in October last, are well worthy of study, and their perusal cannot fail to do great good. The paper of the Bishop of Limerick alone is worth more than the price of the *Annual*.

The illustrations are excellent, and one of the best and easiest ways of helping the Society is to help to promote the circulation of its *Annual* amongst the people. Those who are anxious to do even a little to help the spread of good literature in the homes of Ireland have an excellent opportunity, and we sincerely trust they may avail themselves of it. Anyone who stands at a railway bookstall at this season, and sees the enormous amount of pernicious literature purchased by passengers, most of it illustrated and turned out in a very attractive style, will not feel it in their hearts to leave the people to feed on such poison during this festive season without at least doing something to supply a pure and wholesome antidote.

J. F. H.

A CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON GENESIS II. 4—III. 25. By Rev. H. H. B. Ayles, D.D. Cambridge University Press. 1904.

WE think that for most of our readers the chief value of this essay consists in its adequate presentation of the higher critical views regarding a specially important section of Genesis, namely the so-miscalled 'Second Creation Narrative.' From no other known work so small in size can as clear an idea of the critical hypothesis be obtained. To take a single instance,

the introductory Chapter IV., entitled 'Date,' contains a much more readable statement of the chronological assertions made in reference to the Jehovist, than is to be found in any compendium or even in many a large and pretentious volume. As regards the views put forth here and in the commentary, we of course cannot accept them, convinced as we are both of the Mosaic authorship and of the unity of the creation narrative. But to those who read to get in narrow compass a thorough example of the *critical* treatment of Scripture, and a monograph whose motto might be 'multum in parvo,' this little work may be suggested. And it should also be said that here and there we meet remarks with which all Catholics are fully in accord—*e.g.*, p. 98: 'No comparison could be more instructive than that between the account of the Temptation and Fall given in Genesis and the Babylonian legend of Eabani and the consecrated maiden. However far we go back in Babylonian history, we meet with the same degraded polytheism: however early be the Hebrew writer, we encounter an enlightened monotheism. . . .' 'We recognize as fully and freely as possible the human element in the work of the Jehovist (*sic*). But we also recognise an element that is not human but Divine, and perceive in the history of the Jehovist, as certainly as in the Epistle to the Hebrews or the Gospel of St. John, the inspiration of God.'

One part of the work before us calls for unrestricted commendation, we mean the grammatical. Here the author shows an extraordinary knowledge of all the Semitic languages, and in particular we may mention his account of the Hebrew Tenses and their respective significance (Appendix III.) which is by far the best we have ever read.

R. W.



## THE SUM REQUIRED FOR A GRAVE SIN OF THEFT

**T**HE virtue of Justice forbids us to injure our neighbour, and this obligation is of its nature grave, as all theologians admit. Still, if the matter be trivial an offence against justice is no more than a venial sin, as all agree. The well-known lines :—

It is a sin  
To steal a pin,  
Much more to steal  
A greater thing

may be as faulty from the strictly theological standpoint as they are from the poetic ; but for all that they express the theological truth that the matter determines whether a sin against justice is grievous or venial.

But when does the matter become sufficient to constitute a mortal sin ? Theologians have always considered this a difficult question to answer. And yet it is a question of great practical importance for the confessor, not only that he may know when he must require restitution to be made under pain of refusing absolution, but also for measuring the guilt of violations by religious of their vow of poverty ; for this question is settled on the same principles. Nearly all theologians who treat of justice discuss this question ; and of late there has been a tendency in certain quarters greatly to increase the sum which others



commonly assign as necessary and sufficient for a mortal sin of theft. Unless I am much mistaken, they have increased it unduly, and for reasons which have no validity ; so I propose briefly to examine the question again, and in doing so I will make use of the labours of economists. For although the question belongs to theology, still, as we shall see, its solution partly depends on certain data which belong to economics, and on these it is only right that economists should be heard.

Since about the time of Lugo († 1660) it has been a common opinion among theologians that it is a grave sin of theft to rob a working man of a sum which is sufficient to support him and his family for a day. The reason for this doctrine is obvious and satisfactory. For that quantity will be sufficient for a mortal sin, whose theft causes a notable injury to the owner, an injury which ordinary men of prudence and sense consider serious, and which is sufficient to upset them considerably. This is the test which is applied in other matters where there is question of the grave breach of a moral law which admits of parvity of matter. When theologians settle what omission of the Office by a priest, or of Mass on a Sunday by the faithful, or what quantity of servile work on a holiday of obligation is mortally sinful, they ask themselves what quantity of the matter prescribed or forbidden, as the case may be, is notable and considerable, having regard to the subject matter, the end of the precept in question, and the intention of the lawgiver. In the same way, when we wish to know what sum is sufficient for a grave sin of theft, we consider how important it is for maintaining peace among men that property should be secure ; what quantity of money or commodities is looked upon as considerable with a view to the use that can be made of them ; and what quantity will, with reason, cause the owner serious concern and chagrin if he is unjustly deprived of it. Now, to a workman, or indeed to anyone who has to earn his living, the loss of what will support him and his family for a day is a serious matter ; it practically means that he has worked a whole day for nothing, and such a loss causes most men,

with reason, to be seriously put out. So that we may take it as fairly established doctrine that the theft of such a sum as will keep the owner and his family for a day is a grave sin.

This rule, however, will only serve in those cases where theft has been committed against one who earns his living, or at any rate, who is not very rich. It cannot be applied to wealthy companies, or governments, or to millionaires, who would hardly feel the loss of a day's support in however grand a style they live. And so in such cases we must have recourse to other considerations in order to find what quantity will constitute a grave sin of injustice when stolen. Here we consider, not so much the loss caused to the owner of the property, as the wrong done to public order and to the security of property. Public and private interests require that property should be safe; public as well as private interests are seriously jeopardised when notable injuries to property are of frequent occurrence. All this is but saying in other words that the public weal requires that theft of a considerable sum must be forbidden in all cases, as a grave violation of justice, by the natural law. A prohibition, under pain of venial sin, not to steal a considerable sum of money, would not be sufficient to safeguard the rights of property. In other words, theft of what is commonly at a certain time and place considered a notable sum of money, will be sufficient to constitute a mortal sin of theft, even when the owner of the property stolen is not sensibly the worse off.

We have now arrived at a principle for measuring the quantity which will be grave matter in theft, independently of the harm done to the owner who is wronged. But there remains the great difficulty of determining the quantity which public and private interests require should not be stolen under pain of committing grievous sin. The value of money is constantly changing, and differs considerably in different places; the quantity of money, too, in a country varies greatly with the growth or decrease of national wealth, and so, a sum which was considerable at one time would cease to be so at another.

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This truth is illustrated very well by the change in the opinions of theologians from age to age on this point. Navarrus, in the sixteenth century, taught that a sum equivalent to about twopence-halfpenny of our money was sufficient for a mortal sin of theft. This opinion, however, was commonly rejected as too severe. Sanchez says that the more common and the truer opinion fixed the sum at one shilling and eightpence. Lugo, a generation later, called attention to the change in the value of money which had been caused by the large influx of the precious metals from America. He asserted, that where formerly fifty gold crowns sufficed for support, three times that sum did not suffice in his day. And so, following the example of other recent authors, as he says, he put the sum required for grave theft, in the case of very rich lords and kings, at five shillings. St. Alphonsus thought five shillings sufficient in the case of rich lords, but for kings he put the sum at ten shillings. Modern theologians agree in still further increasing the amount. Haine and Marc increase it to between twenty and twenty-five francs; D'Annibale and Bucceroni to between twenty and thirty francs; Kenrick and Sabetti to five dollars; Lehmkuhl to between twenty and thirty shillings; Berardi to between thirty and forty francs; Génicot and Waffelaert to forty francs. Lehmkuhl thinks that for England and America, on account of the less value of money in those countries, thirty or forty shillings would be required for a grave sin. Father Ojetti<sup>1</sup> goes further than anyone else that I have seen, and says that a sum under four pounds would not be grave matter.

All these theologians, as was to be expected, attach great weight to traditional teaching on the point, but on account of the continual depreciation of money, they think the amount required for grave theft continually increases. Génicot, to take one example, says:—‘*Nec videtur haec ultima computatio [forty francs] pro regione nostra modum excedere, si attenditur ingens mutatio quae in valore*

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<sup>1</sup> *Synopsis rerum moralium*, s.v. ‘Furtum.’

pecuniae facta est a tempore quo multi auctores quos citat S. Alphonsus duos vel tres aureos [fifteen francs] requirebant.<sup>1</sup>

The very great depreciation in the value of money, then, is the reason why he selects a sum eight times as great as that assigned by Lugo and others in the seventeenth century, and three times as much as the most liberal of those who are quoted by St. Alphonsus. This reason is not theological, it rests on a question of fact: has money, in reality, depreciated so much in value during the last two or three centuries? This is a question belonging to economics, a difficult question, as all admit, but one on which great labour has been spent, and with regard to which fairly certain conclusions have been reached, though no pretence can be made to mathematical accuracy.

Professor Bastable, one of our greatest authorities on monetary questions, gives in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,<sup>2</sup> a general history of the changes which have taken place within historical times in the value of money. Concerning the period with which we are dealing, he writes:—

The annual addition to the store of money has been estimated as £2,100,000 for the period from 1545 to 1600. At this date the Brazilian supply began. The course of distribution of these fresh masses of the precious metals is an interesting point, which has been studied by Mr. Cliffe Leslie. The flow of the new supplies was first towards Spain and Portugal, and from thence they passed to the larger commercial centres of the other European countries, the effect being that prices were raised in and about the chief towns, while the value of money in the country districts remained unaltered. The additions to the supply of both gold and silver during the two centuries 1600-1800 continued to be very considerable; but, if Adam Smith's view be correct, the full effect on prices was produced by 1640, and the increased amount of money was from that time counterbalanced by the wider extension of trade. At the commencement of this century [nineteenth] the annual production of gold has been estimated as being from £2,500,000 to £3,000,000. The year 1809 seems to mark an epoch in the production of these metals, since the outbreak of the revolts of the various Spanish dependencies in South America tended to check the usual supply from those countries, and a marked

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., n. 497.

<sup>2</sup> s. v. 'Money.'

increase in the value of money was the consequence. During the period 1809-1849 the value of gold and silver rose to about two and a half times their former level, notwithstanding fresh discoveries in Asiatic Russia. The annual yield in 1849 was estimated at £8,000,000. The next important date for our present purpose is the year 1848, when the Californian mines were opened, while in 1851 the Australian discoveries took place. By these events an enormous mass of gold was added to the world's supply. The most careful estimates fix the addition during the years 1851-1871 at £500,000,000, or an amount nearly equal to the former stock in existence. The problems raised by this phenomenon have received the most careful study by several distinguished economists, to whose writings those desiring more extensive information may refer. The main features of interest may be briefly summed up . . .

(2) The contemporaneous development of the Continental railway systems, and the partial adoption of free trade, with the consequent facilities for freer circulation of commodities, led to the course of distribution being different from that of the sixteenth century. The more backward districts were the principal gainers, and a more general equalization of prices, combined with a slight elevation in the value, was the outcome. . . .

(4) The change in the value of money, which may for the period 1849-1869 be fixed at twenty per cent., enabled a general increase of wages to be carried out, thus improving the condition of the classes living on manual labour. It may be added that the difficulty of tracing the effects of this great addition to the money stock is a most striking proof of the complexity of modern economic development.

This general sketch is fully borne out by the results obtained by other workers in the same field. The following table was drawn up by the Vicomte d'Avenel, and is borrowed from Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, iii. p. 193 :—

TABLE OF THE COMPARATIVE PURCHASING POWER OF  
EQUAL WEIGHTS OF THE PRECIOUS METALS AT DIFFE-  
RENT PERIODS IN FRANCE :—

PERIOD.		PERIOD.	
1451-1500	about 6	1651-1675	about 2
1501-1525	" 5	1676-1700	" 2½
1526-1550	" 4	1701-1725	" 2½
1551-1575	" 3	1726-1750	" 3
1576-1600	" 2½	1751-1775	" 2½
1601-1625	" 3	1776-1790	" 2
1626-1650	" 2½	1890	" 1

To show the changes in the value of money during the last century, we can avail ourselves of the Index numbers calculated for this purpose by able economists, such as Jevons and Sauerbeck. They give the prices of a large number of the chief commodities in gold for each year. I subjoin a table composed of the Jevons' Index numbers for the years 1782-1839, and of Mr. Sauerbeck's to 1896. These Index numbers show us whether gold increased or decreased in value, and what the increase or decrease was approximately, for each year.

PERIOD.	Jevons' Ind. No.	PERIOD.	Sauerbeck Ind. No.
1782-84	.. 97	1840-44 (Jevons, 77) ..	92
1785-89	.. 87	1845-49	.. 85
1790-94	.. 93	1850-54	.. 85
1795-99	.. 120	1855-59	.. 98
1800-04	.. 126	1860-64	.. 101
1805-09	.. 138	1865-69	.. 100
1810-14	.. 125	1870-74	.. 104
1815-19	.. 111	1875-79	.. 91
1820-24	.. 92	1880-84	.. 83
1825-29	.. 88	1885-89	.. 70
1830-34	.. 79	1890-94	.. 69
1835-39	.. 85	1895-96	.. 62

If it were necessary, the results that we have obtained might be corroborated from other sources, but they will, perhaps, suffice for our purpose.

We find then that from the end of the fifteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth gold decreased in value as 6 : 2 ; the Vicomte d'Avenel's figures fully bear out the correctness of Lugo's estimate quoted above ; from that time till the end of the eighteenth century, the value of gold remained fairly constant ; it sank during the revolutionary wars with France ; after Waterloo it rose until about 1850, when it began to sink again till about 1870, since which time it has been rising gradually. The Vicomte d'Avenel calculated that the purchasing power of equal weights of the precious metals in France in 1790 and in 1890 was as 2 : 1, in other words, the net result of the fluctuations in the value of the precious metals

during the nineteenth century was that their value decreased by about one-half.

These conclusions agree with what might be expected on general principles. For the value of the precious metals, as of other things, depends on supply and demand. If the supply is increased, other things remaining the same, the value will fall, as was the case with gold when the vast stores from America had been distributed through the commercial centres of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During the next century and a half trade developed, population increased, and the greater number of business transactions demanded a larger supply of money. The demand was equal to the supply, and in spite of the constant influx of gold, its value remained much the same for a century and a half. The revolt of the South American colonies from Spain tended to check supplies from that quarter, and gold rose in value till the discovery of the mines in California and Australia. The quantities drawn from thence caused gold to depreciate till about 1870, when the growing expansion of trade, the adoption by Germany and other countries of a gold standard of currency, together with other causes, brought about an appreciation of the precious metal.

The evidence, then, from Political Economy shows that gold has, indeed, depreciated in value since the time of Lugo, but that the amount of the depreciation is not nearly so great as some modern theologians suppose. If we say that the value of gold in Lugo's time was twice as much as it is now, we shall probably not be far wrong. So that if we take the opinion of Lugo and other great theologians of his time, as an accurate estimate of the quantity required for a grave sin of theft, we shall arrive at the sum required to-day on account of the depreciation in the value of money, by multiplying Lugo's five shillings by two. If we adopt the more liberal estimate of Laymann and others, we must double this amount, and say that the theft of more than twenty shillings is always a grave sin. However, besides the depreciation of money, other circumstances have to be considered, as we shall presently see.

Father Lehmkuhl<sup>1</sup> thinks that in England and in the United States, where, he says, the value of money is less than in other countries, a sum of from thirty to forty shillings is required ; whereas in other countries twenty to thirty shillings would be sufficient for the absolute sum necessary for a mortal sin of theft.

It is, of course, possible that money may have a greater value on the continent of Europe than in England and the United States. But this, again, is not a theological question, it is a question of fact, though a very complex one, and one very difficult to solve satisfactorily. Just as the value of commodities is measured by money, so the value of money is measured by what it will exchange for. If one pound will purchase more commodities of the same quality in Germany than in England, then the value of money is greater in Germany than it is in England. And if this be the case, a mortal sin of theft will be committed by stealing a less sum of money in Germany than in England.

Of course it is perfectly true that a pound will purchase more of some commodities in Germany than in Great Britain. It will purchase more wine in the Rhineland, otherwise Rhenish wine would not be imported to England. On the other hand, it will not purchase more cotton goods, or else we should not export those articles to Germany. But the value of money depends on its general purchasing power, not on its power of purchasing more or less of one or two commodities. The general purchasing power of money is proximately determined by the law of supply and demand. If the supply of money increases relatively to the supply of other commodities for sale, its value decreases ; if the supply decreases its value augments. Moreover, whenever an object has a higher value the greater demand attracts supplies until a common level is reached. Money obeys this law like any other commodity, and the vast improvement in means of communication which the last hundred years have

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<sup>1</sup> Volume I., 931 note.



witnessed, the facility and cheapness of carriage, the intimate commercial relations which now exist between all the countries of the civilized world, tend to equalise values, if we neglect tariffs and the cost of transit. So that, although we should allow still for some difference in the value of money in the different countries of the civilized world, it is probable that the difference is not great. Professor Bastable says<sup>1</sup>: 'At present it is quite natural to assume that the materials of money are distributed by means of international trade, and tend to keep at an equal level all the world over,—an assumption which is in general well grounded, though an important exception exists with regard to the East.'

Professor Marshall, one of our greatest English economists, is of opinion that money is now of greater value in England than in France. He writes<sup>2</sup>:—

Free trade, improvements in transport, the opening of new countries, and other causes have made the general purchasing power of money in terms of commodities rise in England relatively to the Continent. Early in this century [nineteenth] twenty-five francs would buy more, and especially more of the things needed by the working classes, in France than £1 would in England. But now the advantage is the other way: and this causes the recent growth of the wealth of France to appear to be greater relatively to that of England than it really is.

Many facts seem to corroborate Professor Marshall's opinion. There is undoubtedly less gold in England now than there was twenty-five years ago,<sup>3</sup> and it is estimated that the circulation of gold, silver, and uncovered notes per head of the population is almost as much in Germany and Spain, is considerably more in Belgium and Holland, and more than twice as much in France as it is in England.<sup>4</sup>

Statistics published in 1903 by the Board of Trade in the Blue Book on British and Foreign Trade and Industry [Cd. 1761] tend to prove the same conclusion. By their means we can make a rough estimate of the relative cost

<sup>1</sup> *Encycl. Brit.*, s.v. 'Money.'

<sup>2</sup> *Principles of Economics*, i., p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> *Dictionary of Political Economy*, ii., p. 617.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 605.

of the chief necessities of life in England, in America, and on the Continent. Since 1877 the price of food, which represents one-half of the total expenditure of the working classes, has decreased by about thirty per cent. in Great Britain; very much more than it has decreased in France and Germany. Between 1880 and 1897, the cost of workmen's food in Paris fell fourteen points, compared with thirteen in Germany, and forty-two in the United Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Of the chief articles of food, bread and flour are cheaper in London than in Paris or Berlin; home-produced butcher's meat is slightly dearer, but the balance is redressed by the cheaper price of foreign and colonial meat. Butter and eggs are slightly dearer in London, but sugar and rice are cheaper. Clothing is cheaper, on the whole, in England than on the Continent or in America; house rent in the large towns is somewhat dearer.

It would seem, then, that there is no reason for saying that money has less value in England than on the Continent, or that, on this account, a greater sum is required in England for a mortal sin of theft. The contrary is probably more correct.

Not all countries, however, are equally rich; England and America are the richest nations in the world, and it is conceivable that in comparison with the wealth of the population, what is a notable sum in one country is not so in another. I take it that this would be true if the wealth of England and America were more or less equally divided among the population. This is not by any means the case. Wealth, in great measure at any rate, seems to accumulate in comparatively few hands, and the great mass of the people remains little the better off for the greater wealth in the country. The urban population of England is about seventy-seven per cent. of the whole, and the recent investigations of Mr. Charles Booth and Mr. Rowntree have shown that some thirty per cent. of these live in a state of poverty, without a sufficiency of the bare necessities of life. It seems to me that in these

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<sup>1</sup> *loc. cit.*, p. 226.

circumstances the common estimate of the value of money in England is not likely to be less, but rather more than in other European countries.

It is, indeed, true that wages are higher in England and in America than in France or Germany. According to the rough estimate contained in the Blue Book from which I have already quoted, workmen's wages in the United States are one-and-a-half times higher than in England; in Germany they are two-thirds, and in France three-fourths of those which prevail in the United Kingdom. We may remark, however, in passing, that this does not prove that the cost of labour of the same amount and quality is greater in the States and in England than abroad; it may be, as many competent judges affirm, that English and American labour is more efficient, and so as cheap or cheaper than labour is on the Continent. So that even though the income of the working-classes is greater in England than it is abroad, this will not cause them to put a less value on money if it costs them correspondingly greater effort. Still the higher wages and cheaper food and clothing enable the working classes in England to spend more, and live in greater style, than on the Continent, and this may somewhat lower the common estimate of the value of money. But, even if we allow something for this, it seems to me that Father Lehmkuhl's estimate of the difference is much too large, amounting, as it does, to fifty per cent.

The general level of wages, not only in England and America, but on the Continent also, is very much higher now than it was sixty or seventy years ago. In 1883, Sir Robert Giffen calculated that in England at that time wages were much more than one hundred per cent. higher than they had been fifty years before.<sup>1</sup> Engel estimated that workmen's incomes had nearly doubled in Belgium between the years 1853 and 1891.<sup>2</sup> This general rise in wages will have some influence on the estimate to be

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<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of Political Economy*, ii., p. 617.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. p. 679.

formed of the quantity required for a grave sin of theft. For the working classes form the great bulk of the population, and their estimate of the value of money will greatly influence the general estimate. It seems clear that a workman who gets thirty shillings a week will put less value on ten shillings than if his weekly wage were only twenty shillings. We must, then, allow not only for the depreciation of money, but also for the higher wages, the higher standard of comfort, and in consequence, the relatively less value attached to money by the working-classes throughout the civilized world, independently of its purchasing power.

All things considered, I see no reason for increasing the quantity which the greater number of modern theologians assign as the absolute sum required for a mortal sin of theft. That quantity is about twenty shillings, and if we attach much importance, as we should do, to the opinions of such classical moralists of the past as Lugo about such a question, the sum will be rather below than above twenty shillings.

With twenty shillings I can purchase a week's work of an average workman, who will be able to support himself and his family on it. Such a sum is a notable quantity of money ; it is a very respectable subscription even for a rich man to a charity, or any other object that attracts public support. Subscriptions to learned societies are, commonly enough, one pound or one guinea a year. If such a sum could be stolen without grave sin, its amount would prove too great a temptation for the virtue of large numbers of people, who wish to save their souls, but make little of venial sins ; who shrink from crime, but, to put the matter in homely language, do not profess to be better than their neighbours. For all these reasons, then, it seems to me that to assign twenty shillings as the absolute sum required for a grave sin of theft, is as near the truth as we can get in so intricate a question.

T. SLATER, S.J.

## THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION—II

THOUGH the feast was not kept in the Latin Church for several centuries, as we saw in the December article, yet from the earliest period satisfactory evidence is preserved of belief in the Blessed Virgin's being the second Eve, or in other words, of her freedom from original sin. It would of course be impossible to quote even a quarter of the passages, but a selection may be made. Tertullian, the most ancient of the Fathers, speaks as follows :—

Deus imaginem suam, a diabolo captam, aemula operatione recuperavit. In virginem enim adhuc Evam irrepererat verbum aedificatorium mortis : in virginem aequè introducendum erat Dei verbum extructorium vitae : ut quod per ejusmodi sexum abierat in perditionem, per eundem sexum redigeretur in salutem.<sup>1</sup>

Several other Fathers soon after say the same, but for our purpose it will be sufficient to quote the brief words of St. Zeno, Bishop of Verona († 380) : ' Tu Evam in Maria redintegristi ; Tu Adam in Christo renovasti.' In half a dozen places St. Ambrose inculcates the importance of meditating on this mystical resemblance, and takes for granted that his hearers are well acquainted with it. So, too, does St. Augustine ; indeed it may be said to be one of his favourite comparisons. For instance, in the treatise, *De Agone Christiano* :—

Huc accedit magnum sacramentum, ut quoniam per feminam nobis mors acciderat, vita nobis per feminam nasceretur, ut de utraque natura, id est feminina et masculina, victus diabolus cruciaretur, quoniam de amborum subversione laetabatur cui parum erat ad poenam si ambae naturae in nobis liberarentur nisi etiam per ambas liberaremur.<sup>2</sup>

Everyone knows his unwillingness to mention the name

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<sup>1</sup> P. L., ii. c. 782.

<sup>2</sup> P. L., xl. c. 303.

of Mary, where there was question of sin.<sup>1</sup> In this he did not stand alone. Indeed, so strongly would the whole Christian world resent a doubt, and much more a denial of Mary's holiness, that foolish as the attempt was, out of blind revenge and spite, Julian of Eclanum, the Pelagian leader, did actually allege that Augustine was guilty of this offence. From the day of his deposition from his see, and subsequently of his banishment from Italy (in 421), whether he was staying with his friend Theodore at Mopsuestia, or applying to Nestorius at Constantinople, Julian never forgave Augustine the defeat and discomfiture inflicted by the treatises, *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia* and *Contra Julianum Pelagianum*. So, as he was unable to reply to them, he wrote an invective in eight books. This reached Hippo in 428. The last product of St. Augustine's pen, the work he did not live to finish, was his crushing answer. It is in fact only from this *Opus imperfectum contra Julianum*, that we learn about the calumny. It contains in turn, first the accusation, and then the refutation. In the accusation we refer to, Julian compares his redoubtable opponent to Jovinian, and proceeds to harangue him thus :—

Verum ut illi [Mariæ] infensus arguitur, ita vobis comparatus absolvitur, Quando enim tibi tantam prudentiam censura donabit, ut te cum Joviniano merito componat ? . . . Ille virginitatem Mariæ partus conditione dissolvit ; tu ipsam Mariam diabolo nascendi conditione transcribis.

This was obviously equivalent to asserting that the Bishop of Hippo held that the Blessed Virgin was con-

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<sup>1</sup> Even Harnack has to admit that St. Augustine's words, 'De qua propter honorem Domini,' etc., imply a most extraordinary privilege. In his *Dogmengesch.*, iii., p. 217, he says : 'Augustine has so emphatically proclaimed the guilt of all mankind, the saints included, that this exception in favour of Mary has contributed to raise her to a dignity where she stands apart, between Christ and Christians ; and to express the greatness of Mary's holiness, Augustine uses the same terms as he does in speaking of the holiness of Christ.' Whatever we may think of some of this rationalist's expressions, he at all events is an unprejudiced witness where there is question of honour being paid to the Blessed Virgin. If St. Augustine was not too explicit, Harnack would, perhaps, attempt to explain him away.

ceived in original sin. Part of the great Bishop's answer runs thus :—

Non transcribimus Mariam diabolo conditione nascendi ; sed ideo quia ipsa conditio nascendi solvitur gratia renascendi.

St. Augustine might well reply in this way, for having regard not only to his inner belief and settled conviction, but to his spoken words, he could remember that he had said in a sermon on the marriage-feast of Cana :—

Genetrix autem Christi illa, quae facinorosi concubitus pactum exhorruit, quae non solum corpore verum etiam mente virgo permansit, intererat invitata conditione generis, non participatione criminis, universitate nascendi, non societate peccandi.<sup>1</sup>

It would not be possible to indicate all the similar passages that occur in ecclesiastical writers, but as one of St. Augustine's contemporaries, Sedulius, is said with some probability to have been an Irishman,<sup>2</sup> an exception in his favour may be permitted. Sedulius has these beautiful lines in his *Carmen Paschale* <sup>3</sup> :—

Culpa dedit mortem, pietas daret inde salutem.  
Et velut e spinis mollis rosa surgit acutis,  
Nil quod laedat habens matremque obscuret honore,  
Sic Evae de stirpe sacra veniente Maria,  
Virginis antiquae facinus nova virgo piaret ;  
Ut quoniam natura prior vitiata jacebat  
Sub ditione necis, Christo nascente, renasci  
Possit homo, et veteris maculam deponere carnis.

Four hundred years afterwards, St. Paschasius Radbertus, the learned Benedictine monk of Corbey († 865), is a witness to the same belief. Speaking of the Conception he says :—

Dies tamen quando inchoata est felix Mariae Nativitas, beata pronuntiatur, et colitur religiose satis.

And further on :—

Nunc autem quia ex auctoritate totius Ecclesiae veneratur,

<sup>1</sup> *Mai. Patr. nova*, t. i. p. 248 ; quoted in Scheeben's *Dogmatik*, iii. p. 545.

<sup>2</sup> See I. E. RECORD, January, 1883.

<sup>3</sup> Lib., ii. 28, seqq

constat eam ab omni originali peccato immunem fuisse, per quam non solum maledictio matris Evae soluta est, verum etiam benedictio omnibus condonatur.<sup>1</sup>

And St. Fulbert of Chartres († 1029), in a sermon on the Nativity B.V.M., has these words :—

Denique in hujus Conceptione necessaria haud dubium est quin utrumque parentem vivificus et ardens Spiritus singulari munere repleverit, quodque ab eis sanctorum angelorum custodia nunquam abfuerit. . . . Vere beata et omni veneratione habenda et quodam privilegio sacra praedicanda, mater hujus sanctae, quae omnes antecessit matres in concipiendo et generando eam quae suum et omnium generaret Creatorem.<sup>2</sup>

And Alanus de Insulis, St. Bernard's brother-monk and intimate friend, says :—

*Tota pulchra es*, i.e. in corpore et in anima, *amica mea*, per gratiam et per opera, *et macula non est in te*, venialis, vel criminalis, quia nullum credimus in Virgine ante et post conceptum fuisse peccatum.<sup>3</sup>

But while the truth was gradually gaining ground and being more clearly and emphatically formulated, it cannot escape our notice that, on the other hand, in the Latin Church, during a long period the commencement of which we have now reached, to all appearance several distinguished personages lived and died in invincible ignorance of the Blessed Virgin's privilege. We say to all *appearance*, for we do not pretend to know what may have really been in the thoughts of these great men, some of whom are saints. If there were extant a sufficient body of contemporary theology in which the question of the Conception was discussed and their opinions were described, the case would be very different, for then we should have the means of forming a judgment. But in the present circumstances, it would be an almost impossible task to decide what precisely was their view of the matter. At any rate, it would be both unfair and disrespectful to fasten on certain expressions. Let us rather act as the best patristic students have done. For instance, Cardinal Newman, who under-

<sup>1</sup> P. L., xciv. c. 211.

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<sup>2</sup> P. L., cxli. c. 326.

<sup>3</sup> P. L., ccx. c. 80.

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stood the Fathers so well, makes the following remark : ' The greatest Fathers and Saints in this sense have been in error, that since the matter of which they spoke had not been sifted, and the Church had not spoken, they did not in their *expressions do justice to their own real meaning.*' He gives four typical instances of this, and with regard to the first, viz., the apparent ignorance on the part of the ante-Nicene Fathers of the invisibility and immensity of the Son of God, he continues : ' Do I for a moment think they *were* ignorant ? No ; but they spoke *inconsistently*, because they were opposing other errors, and did not observe what they said.'

Or it may well be that the writers now to be quoted had not clear views on the subject, supposing they had not erroneous ones. To take a parallel case, St. Augustine himself says :—

Multa quippe ad fidem Catholicam pertinentia, dum haereticorum calida inquietudine exagitantur, ut adversus eos defendi possint, et considerantur diligentius et intelliguntur clarius et instantius praedicantur, et ab adversario mota quaestio, discendi existit occasio.<sup>1</sup>

If, however, some there be who maintain that these medieval writers were opposed to what the Church has since defined, they may find an argument in favour of their opinion in the words which the Blessed Virgin is said to have spoken to St. Brigid :—

Sed scito, quod Conceptio mea non omnibus nota fuit, quia voluit Deus, quod sicut ante legem scriptam praecessit lex naturalis, et electio voluntaria boni et mali, et postea veniret lex scripta quae cohiberet omnes inordinatos motus. Sic placuit Deo, quod amici sui pie dubitarent de Conceptione mea, et quilibet ostenderet zelum suum, donec veritas claresceret tempore opportuno.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De Civ. Dei*, L. xvi. c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Revelationes St. Brigidae*, Lib. vi. 55., ed. Turrecremata.

Turrecremata, or Torquemada, Master of the Sacred Palace, was one of the commission of theologians at the Council of Bâle, appointed to examine the Revelations of St. Brigid. He went through them, article by article, and defended them. A summary of the 'Epistola D. Joh. Cardinalis de Turrecremata ad omnes Christi fideles' (1435) and a full account of the whole question may be seen in Lederer's *Der spanische*

And if the last explanation be true, then the deliberate utterances of those theologians express only too plainly the notion that the Virgin Mary incurred the guilt of original sin. It would, of course, be impossible to ascertain what led to this error in the case of each individual, but speaking antecedently it might then be safely affirmed that on this group of medieval theologians, three causes were operative. To begin with a negative one. *First*, the very numerous and remarkably explicit testimonies of the Greeks and other Easterns were all but unknown; some works of the early Fathers had indeed been translated, but the treatises of later or of contemporary writers, not to speak of the liturgies, calendars, etc., were so many sealed books. Yet it was precisely in these last that the belief was most clearly expressed and the actual practice indicated.

*Then* some of the defenders appear not to have had an exact idea of what is meant by the Immaculate Conception. To say this is no disparagement to them. The history of dogma shows again and again that it was only in the course of discussion or of controversy, and by means of them, that terms were defined and thoughts accurately expressed. At first there often was doubt and obscurity, then gradually these were eliminated, people began to understand one another, and the truth was elicited. In the present instance that not only ambiguity but even error existed, may be inferred from the reply of one that always speaks to the point and never throws a word away. The whole force and relevancy of his remarks rest on the supposition that his adversaries make the Immaculate Conception to mean that the Blessed Virgin did not need redemption. They imagined that her body was formed from a particle that did not sin in Adam, and had been transmitted from generation to generation intact and unsullied.<sup>1</sup> Years after the

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*Cardinal, Johann von Torquemada*, Herder, 1879. It should be added that Torquemada himself was one of the chief opponents of the opinion favourable to the Immaculate Conception.

<sup>1</sup> It would be hard to say who invented this hypothesis. Hugh of St. Victor had already alluded to it. He observes in his *Summa Sententiarum* (tr. i. c. 16, t. iii.): 'Quidam volunt dicere quod sicut ante pec-

saint's death, Scotus viewed the question from the right standpoint, and, so far as we know, since the time of Eadmer, Scotus was the first to do so. He expressed himself correctly, and stated the question accurately. This has won for him undying fame.

*Thirdly* and lastly, in consequence of the Pelagian and Semipelagian controversies which affected the West more than the East, special emphasis had in the former been laid on the doctrine of the universality of original sin. Indeed, in the Latin Church from the time referred to, this point had been so fully developed and so exclusively dwelt upon, that from the writings of SS. Ambrose, Jerome, Fulgentius, Prosper of Aquitaine, etc., the defenders of the truth appear to have looked for no assistance. One of the watchwords of orthodoxy, *in quo omnes peccaverunt*, was quoted so continually, that in the course of centuries some holy and otherwise learned men fancied its meaning to be that every descendant of Adam conceived in the natural way had, *de facto*, incurred the guilt of original sin. This error need not cause surprise.

When the theologians in question desired to see how the words of the Apostle had been applied in bygone times, they naturally had recourse to works by St. Jerome or St. Prosper, rather than to translations of those by St. Basil or St. Chrysostom. Now in the works of the Latin Fathers, while passages about the universality of original sin and the exclusive holiness of Christ simply abound, phrases about the Immaculate Conception were few, and in addition, their drift and significance seem to have been over-

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catum in Adam fuit illa particula munda et sancta, ita et post peccatum in ipso et omnibus successoribus recta linea usque ad Maria sit conservata. Et hoc dicunt se a Gregorio habere' (P. L., clxxvi. col. 73). Either the same notion or something equivalent to it was held by five or six theologians in the time of the Salmanticenses (v. *De Peccatis*, Disp. xv., Dubium iv. § 1). As an instance of the proverbial longevity of error, it may be mentioned that Rosmini maintained that the hypothesis would sufficiently account for the Immaculate Conception. The thirty-fourth of his condemned propositions is: 'Ad praeservandam B. Virginem Mariam a labe originis, satis erat ut incorruptum maneret minimum semen in homine, neglectum forte ab ipso doemone; e quo incorrupto semine de generatione in generationem transfuso, suo tempore oriretur Virgo Maria.'

looked. But when we reflect on what was alluded to above, viz., the indistinctness and confusion that existed in ante-Nicene days with reference to *ουσια*, *ομοουσιος* and afterwards with reference to *υποστασις*, the doubtful nature of expressions regarding the Sacred Humanity made use of by Athenagoras and St. Gregory Nazianzen, we cannot wonder at the embarrassment of these medieval theologians. If they made a mistake, *humanum est errare*, and the best and wisest are not exempt from it.

For instance, St. Peter Damian, a Doctor of the Church conspicuous for his devotion to the Blessed Virgin, in order as he thinks to glorify Christ, speaks in this way of Christ's Mother :—

Et ipse Dei Mediator et hominum de peccatoribus originem duxit et de fermentata massa sinceritatis azyma absque ulla vetustatis infectione suscepit, imo ut expressius dicam, ex ipsa carne Virginis, quae de peccato concepta est, caro sine peccato prodiit, quae ultro etiam peccata delevit.<sup>1</sup>

The famous Benedictine abbot, Rupert von Deutz (*Tuitensis*) († 1136) was also opposed to the pious belief. In his devotional commentary on Canticles addressing the Blessed Virgin, he says : ‘Cum enim esses de massa quae in Adam corrupta est, haereditaria peccati originalis labe non carebas.’<sup>2</sup> And the words of Hugh of St. Victor<sup>3</sup> leave no doubt as to his opinion. He is imitated by Peter Lombard, in whose *Sentences* the following passages are found :—

Quaeritur autem de carne Verbi ; an prius quam conciperetur obligata fuerit peccato, et an talis fuerit assumpta a Verbo ? Sane dici potest et credi oportet juxta Sanctorum attestationis convenientiam, ipsam prius peccato fuisse obnoxiam, sicut reliqua Virginis caro ; sed Spiritus Sancti operatione ita mundatam, ut ab omni peccati contagione immunis uniretur Verbo. . . . Cum autem illa caro, cujus excellentia singularis verbis explicari non potest, antequam esset Verbo unita, obnoxia fuerit peccato in Maria et in aliis, a quibus propagatione traducta est.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. L., cxlv. c. 129.

<sup>2</sup> P. L., clxviii. c. 841.

<sup>3</sup> *Summ. Sent.*, tr. i. c. 16, t. 3.

<sup>4</sup> III. Dist. 3.

As this was *the* text book of theological students for generations, it is obvious that the error could hardly fail to take deep root and to become widespread. Besides the *Sentences*, a work of perhaps still greater authority must have contributed in no small measure to the same sad result. This was Cardinal Gratian's *Glossa Interlinearis* on the Decretum of the monk Gratian. In no fewer than five places according to Roskovany, it was altogether opposed to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. One being, *e.g.*, Part III., *de Consecr.*, Dist. 3-4. All these passages were expunged at a later date, and now are not to be found in ordinary editions. But as long as students read such a manual of canon law, and such a manual of theology, the *sententia pia* had not much chance.

It would not be difficult to find further instances of holy and able men unwittingly contradicting the truth, but the task would be a painful and ungrateful one, so let us dispense ourselves from it. Cajetan, who, great as he was, erred in reference to the present question, wrote to Leo X that he had on his side fifteen saints and theologians innumerable.

St. Dominic is the first canonised champion of the Immaculate Conception. Among all the servants of God whom the Church honours on her altars, he is one of the most distinguished for devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and one of the most zealous in proclaiming her freedom from all taint of original sin. In his boyhood he had the advantage of being taught this truth by the Abbot Domingo de la Vid (*Lavitensis*), who was himself one of the most strenuous defenders of the Blessed Virgin's privilege against Stephen, Bishop of Osma. Afterwards when he began his mission in the south of France by preaching against the Albigensian heresy, St. Dominic is said by one who knew him personally, Pierre de Vaux-Cernay, to have written a work entitled *De Corpore Christi*, and to have proved the truth of its contents by a miracle. Pierre, a Cistercian, accompanied his uncle Guy, who was the Abbot of Vaux-Cernay, in the crusade against the Albigeois. He was an eye-witness of what he describes in his *Historia Albigensium*

*et sacri belli in eos anno 1209 suscepti.* The work, which reaches to the death of Simon de Montfort (1218), is dedicated to Innocent III. It has been reprinted in Migne.<sup>1</sup> Though Pierre speaks of St. Dominic's triple miracle, he does not specify the contents of what he calls the *schedula*.<sup>2</sup>

According to a writer quoted by Cardinal Lambruschini<sup>3</sup> the saint's purpose in composing the treatise was to refute these three errors of the Albigensis : (1) Christ is not He Who was to come and to redeem man ; (2) The consecrated host does not contain the Body of Christ ; (3) The mother of Christ incurred the guilt of original sin, and therefore she could not be the Mother of the Redeemer—('Tertius, quod sicut Adam formatus fuerat in campo Damasceno (!) ex luto mundo et non maculato, sic ille qui redimere debebat genus humanum nasci debebat ex virgine non maculata. Sed virgo quae dicitur mater Christi fuit maculata per culpam originalem ; ergo natus ex tali virgine non est Ille qui debebat mundum redimere'). The Albigensis are said to have asserted this with particular vehemence, and to have become furious when St. Dominic denied it. His reply was, 'Quod non erat verum quod dicebant quoniam Virgo Maria est illa, de qua Spiritus Sanctus per Salomonem dicit. Tota pulchra es amica mea, et macula non est in te.' As, however, the heretics would not listen to argument, and still persisted in their blasphemies, a proposal was made, viz., that in order to test whether St. Dominic's book was true or not, it should be thrown into the fire. This was agreed to, and the truth of the book was manifested by a miracle. It is to this event that these lines in the Dominican Breviary (August 4th) refer :—

Ter in flammas libellus traditus,  
Ter exivit illaesus penitus.

It is much to be regretted that this treatise of the saint's is no longer extant. The only passage that appears to have escaped the ravages of time is this : 'Sicut primus

<sup>1</sup> P. L., vol. ccxiii.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter 7, *ib.*, c. 555.

<sup>3</sup> Sull., *Immacolata Concepimento*, Roma, 1843.

Adam fuit ex terra virgine et nunquam maledicta, ita decuit in secundo Adam fieri.<sup>1</sup> It is often quoted by theologians, e.g. Galatinus,<sup>1</sup> Suarez,<sup>2</sup> and Vasquez.<sup>3</sup> Vincent of Beauvais and St. Antonius of Florence make mention of the work *De Corpore Christi*, as written by St. Dominic, and Peter de Alva, O.S.F., in his *Militia Conceptionis*, refers to the saint's authority, and remarks that seventy-five writers ascribe the treatise in question to him. We cannot say how long it was preserved, but the Cistercian monk, Gottescalc (anterior to Sixtus IV), appears to have read it, for he says in his own sermon, *De Conceptione B.V.*, that St. Dominic defends the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in his work, *De Corpore Christi*. It may be added that Leonardo de Nogarolis and the Franciscan Canon, Bernardino de Bustis, also quote St. Dominic's authority in the Office of the Conception, which was approved by Sixtus IV.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

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<sup>1</sup> *De Arcanis Catholicae veritatis*, lib. vii. c. v. (ed. Francofurti, 1672 col. 390.)

<sup>2</sup> 3 p. Q. 27, D. 3. sect. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Dist. 17.

## IRISH LEXICOGRAPHY—A REPLY ✓

**A**S the January number of the I. E. RECORD will probably be read by many who are not deeply versed in the Irish Language, or in the subject of Irish Lexicography, and by many also who, though they understand the question, will not refer to the Irish Dictionary published by the Irish Texts Society therein reviewed, the interests of justice demand that an immediate reply be given to the strictures made on that work in an article entitled 'Irish Lexicography—II.' In submitting this reply to the public I crave the indulgence of the reader, as, though the review in question seems the result of a long and laboured study of the Dictionary, circumstances over which I had no control compelled me to make the preparation of my reply the work of a single afternoon. Many readers will accept without question the statements made in the review giving details of words alleged to be omitted from the Dictionary, or wrongly defined therein, without taking the trouble to verify these statements, and will, in consequence, be all the more prone to accept the judgment of the reviewer, delivered as it is in 'words of learned length and thundering sound.' I hope to show, as I proceed, how little real value is to be attached to the whole series of statements in question, and, as a consequence, on what slender foundation is based the denunciation of the Dictionary delivered with such a show of impartiality, and in such a lofty tone.

To begin with, the second paragraph of the review cannot be reconciled with the formal statement made in the 'Council's Preface' to the Dictionary, and is calculated to create a false idea of the work done by the Editor in the compilation of the Dictionary. The review (page 63) says :—

'Coneys' *Dictionary* was to be made the basis of the work, and very properly, so it was transcribed on slips. All the vocabularies that had previously appeared in print were, it



has been stated, similarly dealt with. The various volumes of the *Gaelic Journal*, and other periodicals containing Irish matter, were read, and strange words noted,' etc.

Now, in the 'Council's Preface' to the Dictionary it is stated that about 12,000 words were collected from all sources, and sorted into slip form. These 12,000 words were the material supplied to me. As Coneys' *Dictionary* alone contains some 15,000 or 16,000 words it is hard to see where the words from the various vocabularies and other sources can come in. As a matter of fact, neither O'Reilly's nor O'Brien's *Dictionary* was used in making these slips. The *Gaelic Journal* was not used (except some words from a single volume), the Glossaries to Keating's Poems, to O'Rahilly's Poems, to Eoghan Ruadh's Poems, etc., were similarly left untouched. The 12,000 or so words handed over to me were, as may be gathered from the 'Council's Preface,' so transformed and expanded by me that the work done on them was at least equivalent to what I would have expended on their compilation at first hand. It thus appears, as indeed the 'Council's Preface' states, that practically the entire Dictionary is my own creation, that I am both editor and compiler. The work, from the time I began it till its publication, took two years and nine months. Of this time fully a year and a-half were spent in seeing the book through the press, leaving only fifteen months—to make no allowance for holidays—for the compilation and marshalling into lexicographical order of some 30,000 words, in a language in which there were no previous lexicographical efforts of an analytical character, a language which had fallen into disuse, whose best literature slumbered in manuscripts, and whose unity was disturbed by the clash of conflicting dialects and local corruptions. The reader may judge whether in a work of such proportions, pressed into such a small period of time, it would not be strange if some contentious points were dealt with in such a way as to give the irreconcilable and the faddist something to say, if a shade of meaning here and there were not done justice to, if a word or two of importance got lost.

It should be borne in mind that in the compilation of the work the question of space was of great importance. The Council of the Irish Texts Society were naturally afraid that the work would reach such proportions as to swamp their resources, and, though otherwise hard pressed for time, I had to keep up a constant correspondence with them on the question of the size to which the book was running, and on the advisability of publishing it in parts. In these matters the Council yielded to my wishes. The space limits and the necessity of consulting proportion in the elements of the work, compelled me to omit whole batches of words which would deserve a place in a larger work. I was obliged to select what I considered the most important words and phrases, omitting the others. Whole lists of words, baring terms, scolding epithets, nick-names, slang words, of which the living language is so full, were either entirely omitted or selected from but sparingly, as of comparatively little importance and seldom used in polite literature. Not a single list of words sent to me from correspondents in the country was inserted in anything like its entirety, partly for want of space as explained, partly because the words were of doubtful authority, partly because so many of them were nothing more than very bad spellings or mere local corruptions of well-known words.

I have been accused by an anonymous writer in a provincial paper of provincial bias, because, forsooth, I did not shovel into my retort, without discrimination or selection, all the words sent to me by correspondents from provinces, outside of that of which I have the honour to be native. No charge could be more unjust. I have still in my possession long and elaborate lists of words from Irish speakers and scholars of my native province, only a small fraction of which I felt justified in inserting. It is well known that collectors of words, whether native speakers or not, are liable to extraordinary errors as to the form of the word, and that 'new discoveries' of bogus words are liable to deceive the unwary. As a matter of fact, I was anxious to give, as far as possible, even special

prominence to Northern and Western words and variants, and in the opinion of many scholars I went entirely too far in that direction. It is obvious, too, that it would be a ridiculous waste of space to insert precisely the same word in several places in the Dictionary with just the variation of a letter or so. This, many of my learned friends tell me, I have done too often; but if I were to follow the lines of procedure indicated in the review I am discussing it is hard to say to what size my Dictionary would not reach. Want of space, too, necessitated my not giving in every instance the diminutives and derivatives of words, and not repeating, in some cases under derivatives and diminutives, the full list of meanings which was given under the primary words. The remarks I have been making will be aptly illustrated by a discussion of the following passage from the review, page 83 :—

‘Surely there is no excuse . . . for the omission of words found in the brief Vocabulary to the *Υπὸ Στέλειτα*. This Vocabulary contains in all less than 200 words, only very rare words and variants occurring in the Stories being given. One would imagine that this Vocabulary would have been utilised. Yet in this brief, select, and long accessible Vocabulary are many words which are not to be found in the Dictionary—not certainly in their proper places. The following are specimens of those that are missing :—*αναταμῆσις*, *βαρλαμινὸς*, *βαρραβ* (with the meaning there assigned to it), *βρεακ-κοίλλ*, *καοταμλαετ* (variant of *καοιτεαμλαετ*), *κλαδαίη*, *κυρίη*, *κρεαδαίλκεαδ*, *οἰγεαντα*, *φαλαίθε* (= *βαλλαί*) *πάτράϊς*, *ῥῥυρ* (with meaning there attached to it), *ῥιονταίθε*, *ῥρεάραοιοί*, *ῥεραδαίη* (with meaning here assigned to it), *ῥεραϊδίαραρ*, *τιονόιῤῥ*, *τιορραδ*.’

I pass over a few of these words for brevity. *Βαρλαμινὸς*, which is a dative, is fully accounted for in Dictionary, page 49; the leading word there being *βαρραμιν*, which is the correct spelling, and which accords with the pronunciation. It would be no less than monstrous to write this word with a single *ρ*, because it occurs so spelled in a vocabulary to a tale written down from oral narration. *Καοταμλαετ* appears in Dictionary, page 115, as *καοιτεαμ-*

lact, the only correct form. The word caot is pronounced caot in Munster, just as naoi (nine) is pronounced naot. It would be an absurd waste of space, as well as wrong in principle, to write caotamlact as a leading word in the Dictionary. The word clabdaíne is in Dictionary, page 144, as clamaíne, the proper spelling—compare clám, 7c. There are a great many words written with an m which indifferent spellers write with a b, surely if each of these words were given in Dictionary in both spellings the work would assume enormous proportions, and would be besides needlessly choked with useless matter; cínín is merely a diminutive of cínor, Dictionary, page 195. It would be absolutely ridiculous to insert all diminutives in -ín as leading words, it would be almost doubling the matter of the Dictionary without the slightest necessity.

The next word is cneachtailcead. This precious word is, indeed, to be found in the Vocabulary in question, but it is a misprint; the proper form cneachtailéad being found in the text, page 32, line 41, which the reviewer was too cock-sure to consult. But this is not the worst. There is, of course, no such word in Irish as cneachtailcead, and there is no such leading word even as cneachtailéad (the proper spelling in this case)—it is merely a genitive case of the word cneachtail, which is found in the Dictionary, page 192. Thus, then, the reviewer would have us insert as a leading word in a Dictionary hard pressed for space the word cneachtailcead, which is merely a variant genitive of a word occurring in the Dictionary, with a 'c' misprinted into it, to make it look interesting and novel. This, no doubt, comes under what he terms 'select' and 'very rare' words. What does he mean by cneachtailcead? He could have seen from the notes, page 61, and actually even from the Vocabulary itself, that it is preceded by the word poll, which is the cause of the inflection in the text, page 32, line 41. He evidently did not take the trouble to refer to the text, but, having accused me of copying the mistakes of former lexicographers, proceeds to rebuke me for not having swallowed down wholesale all the bogus words that occur in this childish vocabulary. This, I

suppose, is 'scientific lexicography,' and not 'lexicography by rule of thumb.'<sup>1</sup>

The word *ḡallaire*, he complains, is not inserted. The word is mis-spelled. There should be two l's. I believe that if every word with a double l were to be repeated with a single l, at least 8,000 words would be uselessly added to the Dictionary. He equates *ḡallaire* with *ḡallaí*. Now, let the reader kindly look at Dictionary, page 51, and he will find 'ḡalla, a wall, a rampart (*ḡalla* in M.);' and on page 296 he will see: 'ḡalla, a wall, etc., *see* ḡalla.' Is this honest criticism? The next word, *ḡactáil*, is a gem. It proves the reviewer's proficiency in

'Index learning,' that 'turns no student pale,  
And holds the eel of science by the tail.'

This delightful word occurs in the Vocabulary which he would have us swallow. There is no such word in Irish. It is simply a misprint for *ḡactáil* which is spelled correctly in the text of the Stories, page 23, line 21; and at page 11, line 2; and in the notes in two places, viz., page 59 and page 61. The word is, therefore, given correctly in at least four places in the book. Still the reviewer upbraids me for not inserting this 'very rare,' this unique, word, *ḡactáil*. The proper word, *ḡactáil*, is, of course, in the Dictionary, page 560. It requires very little acquaintance with the language to know that a combination like *ḡactáil* cannot be Irish. I suppose the insertion of this delicious word would be 'scientific lexicography,' and not at all 'lexicography by rule of thumb.' I thank the reviewer for teaching me that word.

Next comes *ḡsur*. In the Dictionary it is fully explained and acted on that *ḡc* is invariably written for *ḡs*. The reviewer complains that *ḡsur* has not in the Dictionary the meaning assigned to it in this precious Vocabulary, viz., 'ḡsur = a notch, nick, gap.' Now, the proper word is *ḡcor* (*ḡsor*), which accords with the pronunciation I have heard all my life; and on page 614 of the Dictionary we have 'ḡcor, a cut, a gash, a section, a mark made by

<sup>1</sup> See review in I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1905, p. 71.

a knife or sword, a slice cut off by a knife ; 'ré mo cóin ve'n noolais rcor ve bhasán, my portion of the Christmas festivities is a section or slice of a salmon ; rcor a cup 'ran élabar, to cut a notch in the mantel-piece, which was done in commemoration of some important event,' etc.

Next comes riontarbe, which he says is omitted. Certainly in that spelling it is very properly omitted. At page 647 of Dictionary the proper word, namely, riotnurbe is given. It would take an able mathematician to compute how many new words would have to be added to the Dictionary if the permutation nt and tn resulted in every case in separate head words.

Next comes rpeárasoi. No such word exists in Irish. No such form occurs in the Vocabulary referred to. There is given in it, indeed, the outlandish form rpeáruíoióe. For the sake of pure ornament it was a pity to exclude this word. It is a real *hapax legomenon*. The reviewer, unfortunately, spoiled its beauty, reducing it to poor rpeárasoi. The reader will please compare the two forms, and bear in mind that the reviewer complains because his own distorted form is not found in its place in the Dictionary. At page 678 of Dictionary we have rpeábrasoióe given and properly defined. I shudder to think how many permutations this, at best straggling word, is capable of. At a guess I should say thirty-three. On page 60 of the little book in question, in the notes, the form given in the Dictionary is actually preferred to the one which appears in the Vocabulary. But of course the reviewer was above the drudgery of looking at the notes, the 'rule of thumb' system being much more simple and effective. I shall not dilate on the next word, rtracaipe, I need only refer the reader to Dictionary, page 685, where he will find rtracaipe, and to page 695 where he will find rtracaipe, and to the notes of the *Uí Scéalta*, page 63.

Next comes rtraióiarar, which, it is stated, has been omitted, though occurring in this renowned Vocabulary. The form in the Vocabulary, however, is rtraióiarar, and has been slightly doctored by the reviewer. In the text of the Stories, page 31, line 1, it is rtráóiarar, so also

is it written in notes, page 61, where it is defined as a 'comic word for a winding blow,' whatever that may mean. In *Δη βυαίεαρ*, page 35, line 3, and in the notes of the same book, page 130, the form is *τραέτμέεαρ*. This is an instance of the class of words which I only sparingly inserted, as already explained. Indeed it would be necessary to insert this word in as many ways as it has letters to meet every possible student who wished to find his own form of it in the Dictionary.

Next comes *τιονόιγς*. The proper word will be found in Dictionary, page 745. The last word of this famous list is *τιορπαθ*. Here the reviewer has not changed the form given in the Vocabulary. Let me say that there is no such word in Irish. The word *τιορπαδ* occurs in the Stories at page 43, line 14, also in the notes, page 62. Thus it is clear that *τιορπαθ* is a misprint for *τιορπαδ*. Still the reviewer would have us swallow it according to the principles of 'scientific lexicography.' The proper spelling is, of course, *τεαρβαδ*, which represents its derivation from *τεαρ*, though the spelling *τιορπαδ* represents well enough its sound in Munster. In Dictionary, page 728, we find '*τεαρβαδ* (*τεαρβαδ*), heat, warmth, sultriness; exuberance of spirits, unrestrained flow of animal spirits, wantonness; *τὰ τεαρβαδ αίη*, he has more animal spirits than he knows what to do with, his blood is too hot; a condition of the body resulting from high feeding and idleness, applied to animals and human beings. There is no corresponding English word (in M. the *θ* is pronounced unaspirated, and is rather *p* than *b*); *νί'λ δον τ. αίη*, he is not very well off.'

Let the reader contrast this elaborate definition of a properly spelled and properly placed word with the miserable definition of the misprinted word *τιορπαθ* given in this incomparable Vocabulary. There it is '*τιορπαθ*, = playfulness, high spirits;' yet, no doubt, my work is 'lexicography by rule of thumb,' while that of this puerile Vocabulary is 'scientific lexicography.'

From a brief consideration of these few words we see what a loss has been sustained by the language in my

failing to act on the principles of 'scientific lexicography.' We have lost for ever such brand-new words as *чреад-аїлсеад*, *рăтрăл*, and *тiorpao*, and the language is so much the poorer for my unaccountable thrift in not ringing the changes, in endless permutation, on *nt*, *en*, *rcur*, *rcor*, *rc.*, and for not presenting such a fine word as *рреăуруіоіоѳе* in the Dictionary in all its facings.

It will be seen that I have so far dealt, and but very inadequately, with only a few lines of this long and straggling review. The reader will bear in mind that it would be impossible in a single article, and to little purpose if possible, to take up and examine every item of it in detail. To what shall I turn next? It matters little. At page 71 of the review, speaking of *зеан зăиѳе*, it is said: 'Its meaning, or at least one of its meanings, corresponds with *рăетеаѳ* зăиѳе, given by Coneys, and properly defined by him, but not found in the Dictionary under review.' I would ask the reader to form his own judgment of the honesty and justice of this criticism after he has read the following three articles from the new Dictionary:—

(a) Page 291. *рăетеаѳ*, an appearance or disposition to laughter (M. *рăтаѳ*, which *see*).

(b) Page 301. *рăтаѳ*, the appearance or disposition to a thing. *ѳі рăтаѳ аѳ зăиѳе аѳ а ѳеаѳ*, the first beginnings of a laugh could be seen on his lips, he smiled. *See рăетеаѳ*.

(c) (Additions and Corrections.) Page 803. *рăтаѳ*, for *see рăетеаѳ* read *see рăетеаѳ*.

Now let us see what Coneys has about this word. At page 153 we have: *рăетеаѳ*, an appearance or disposition (to laughter); *рăетеаѳ аѳ зăиѳе*, an appearance of laughter; *рăете*, *id.*

The phrase is, therefore, 'rightly defined' in Coneys', 'but not found in the Dictionary under review.' I must confess that I shrink from characterising 'criticism' of this nature as I believe it deserves. On same page 71, the reviewer animadverts on the treatment of the word *зпогзăиѳе*. He is not satisfied with the meaning given in



Dictionary, and tries to show that the word means 'a libertine, a voluptuary.' As regards this word it will be well to put before the reader the information the Dictionary gives us about it :—

(a) Dictionary, page 385: 'ḡrōḡḡ, a bent posture; a feeble, ill-fed old animal; also, an enfeebled old man or woman.'

(b) 'ḡrōḡḡḡ, a hunchback.'

Taking these two definitions together, I submit that the word is sufficiently well explained, though it would have been better to add to the meaning 'hunchback,' 'a person in a bent posture.' The word is quite common in Munster, even among English speakers; cf. ḡrōḡḡḡ ḡn tēintēḡḡ, said of a person who habitually sits in a crouching posture over the fire. Of course the reviewer's idea that it has the meaning 'libertine' is ridiculous. And the quotations he advances in support of this extraordinary contention 'have nothing to do with the case.' In the first passage which he quotes the verb is a well-known one, namely, ḡrōḡḡḡ, ḡrōḡḡḡ, I cause envy to; irritate, annoy, persecute; compare—

ḡn ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡeḡḡ ḡuile ḡeo ḡrōḡḡeḡḡ ḡr ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ,  
which occurs in a poem of Pierce Fitzgerald's. From this word undoubtedly the Anglo-Irish and United States word 'grig' comes.<sup>1</sup> The notion that ḡrōḡḡḡ or ḡrōḡḡḡ has any connection with ḡrōḡḡ, ḡrōḡḡḡḡ, especially considering the well-established use of these words, will amuse the reader.

On page 72 of the review occurs the following passage: 'Under ḡḡḡḡ, "sympathy" should be found, and under ḡḡḡḡḡ (ḡḡḡḡeḡḡ) "sympathetic." What more usual than to hear nḡ ḡḡḡḡ éḡn-ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡeḡḡ ḡn ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ, we had no sympathy with that work.' It may be asked, is it correct to speak of 'sympathy' with work? On page 47 of Dictionary we have 'ḡḡḡḡ, love, friendship, hospitality, leniency, humanity; tḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡeḡḡ, I have

<sup>1</sup> See the *Century Dictionary* and Murray's *New English Dictionary* under *grig*.

a feeling of friendship towards you.' Let the reader judge whether the Irish phrase quoted by the reviewer comes sufficiently under the definition given in the Dictionary. In the same page he would have us give *bhuir* to mean 'brush.' A serious omission, truly.

'After the definition of *meang*,' we are told, on page 73, 'phantasy should be added.' Now *meang* is defined in Dictionary, page 473, as 'deceit, fraud, mean device, craft, guile'; I do not believe it can be equated with 'phantasy,' nor does the passage quoted from the *Imitation* prove that it can, viz., 'conturbentur omnes phantasiae inimici,' translated as *oibin meang na naimh*. Here *meang* is equated with 'omnes phantasiae,' which is, at the very best, loose translation. Indeed, 'phantasy' of the reviewer equated with *meang* is a very loose rendering of 'omnes phantasiae.' 'Phantasy' is even but a poor rendering of 'phantasiae,' which has scarcely an exact equivalent in Irish, unless indeed our friend *rpeadhaoinite* be considered as its equivalent. Now, we know that when a translator is reduced to straits for an exact word he casts about for *some* substitute rather than leave a blank. The usual English rendering of 'phantasiae' in this passage is 'phantoms,' that is, delusive imaginings, hence 'deceit.' Thus, probably, the translator arrived at *meang*. I may point out that it is highly unscientific to go to a translation in Irish for the exact shade of meaning of a word like *meang*. Translations even from Irish into English do not always lead to scientific results in the meanings of words.

On page 74 of review the words *cladair*, *cladha*, and *clonn* are treated of. Under *cladair* in the Dictionary the reader is referred to *cladair*. As stated by the reviewer, however, *cladair* is not in its place, the slip containing it having dropped out accidentally. It is found, however, under *rcor*, already quoted, and is the form I have heard all my life. *Cladha* is no doubt a variant. The form *cladair* is given by Peter O'Connell. In note 1, p. 74, the reviewer says: '*cladair*, *cladha*, *clonn*, all mean a mantel-piece or an article of furniture suspended on the

wall over the open hearth in farm-houses and cottages, and in some places called a "clevy." These words mean nothing of the kind. A clevy, indeed, does mean an article of furniture corresponding, roughly, with the modern overmantel, except that it has a shelf-shaped base. It is used for holding such articles as brass candle-sticks, small brass ornaments, and what one might term the farmer's family plate, and is generally, if not universally, affixed above the chimney breast. Now *clabair*, *clabra* is the heavy cross beam over the fire-place which supports the masonry of the chimney front. It enters the wall on either side, and sometimes even projects into the porch. It is thus about twelve feet in length, generally, and from ten to sixteen inches square. It is as erroneous to equate *clabair*, *clabra* with 'clevy' as it is to equate 'fan-light' with 'folding doors.' The word *clonn* mentioned in the text and notes of the review as not given in the Dictionary is given in its proper place and spelling at page 169, thus: 'coláman, a pillar, a prop, a pedestal;' and even the variant *columan*, is given on page 171. This word is used locally in the Youghal neighbourhood for *clabair*, *clabra*, and the propriety of that use of it is obvious. It is ridiculous to speak of these words as meaning a piece of furniture, no matter where suspended—the beam they represent is an essential part of the building, and could not be suspended without the aid of giants.

Near the end of page 77 of the review the word *méao* (*méio*) is introduced, and three pages are devoted to it with great show of erudition. The reviewer is very much startled at finding *méio* only masculine in the Dictionary, and introduces a host of quotations to prove a feminine usage. The modern ordinary usage is certainly masculine, although in the nominative case a feminine usage is sometimes found locally; but it could scarcely be expected that local variations of gender should be given in the Dictionary in every case. As to the difference in meaning between *méao* and *méio*, the reviewer after all his quotations is unable to make up his mind. The distinction made at least in Munster is clear enough, and is that given

in the Dictionary, μέσθ being there defined as 'size, b-lk.'

The reviewer, to do him justice, has made discoveries. He has actually found that the word έσθ is omitted. He, of course, rubs his hands with glee. But he has been anticipated, even in this discovery. A writer in the *Cork Sun* has long ago pointed out the omission of this word, and that of another important word, viz., σειρβήρι. Had the reviewer been so fortunate as to discover that this latter word had been omitted what delight it would have caused him. It should be noted, however, that both έσθ and σειρβήρι are formally referred to in the Dictionary, the former under έσθ, and the latter under ρήρι and σειρβήρι (one of its oblique cases), so that their omission was purely accidental. I very much regret the omission, but out of a total of some 30,000 words, all given to the printer in separate slips, it is not strange that a few should have dropped out. In note, page 74-5, the reviewer states that the words σήρι, σήρις, σήρις, are not given in their proper places, though formally and explicitly referred to under the spelling σήρι, γ. Now, the omission of these words is supplied in the 'Additions and Corrections,' page 801. Thus the reviewer makes a formal charge of omission and fails to inform the reader that the omission is supplied at the end of the book. When an important word was found missing the more prudent and just course would have been to consult the 'Additions and Corrections' before denouncing the writer in leaded type and in lofty language. Is it possible that the reviewer spent three months in the study of the Dictionary without noticing the existence of the 'Additions and Corrections' list? But do we not know now that the 'brief, select, and long accessible Vocabulary,' to the Γρί Σκόλια, consisting of some 145 'words,' has so engrossed his attention for the two or three years that it has been before the public, that he has not yet completed his study of it, and has not dipped even casually into the few pages of text and the fewer pages of notes to which it is affixed?

What I have been saying of the reviewer's idea of

'scientific lexicography' as exemplified in his treatment of the Vocabulary to the *Υρί Σκέδατα*, will prepare the reader for a still more extraordinary effort of his in the same direction. As he would have shovelled into the Dictionary so many bogus words, misprints, and mis-spellings from that Vocabulary of 145 words in all, it is not strange that he should take the *Western People* under his wing. I quote from the review :—

An anonymous writer in a western paper [the *Western People*] has complained of the exclusion of words well known in Leath Chuinn. He gives a long list of words and variants which *he states* [*sic*] are not to be found in the Dictionary, and adds that these words, or most of them, were placed at the disposal of the editor, but for some reason were not included. On what principle most of them could have been excluded is a mystery and will probably remain so (page 75).

And again : 'The list of between two and three hundred words published in the *Western People*, and *not to be found* in the Dictionary, has already been spoken of' (page 84). To discredit the Dictionary any source from which 'words' can be raked together, any authority however contemptible, seems sufficient to the reviewer. He takes the authority of an anonymous writer in an obscure paper for the statement that the list of words in question is not in the Dictionary, and proceeds to give that list (most of them in the first passage, all of them in the second passage above quoted) the stamp of his *imprimatur*. Many will think that it is suggested in the passages quoted that these words were omitted purely through provincial bias, a view which the writer in the *Western People* puts forward in an aggressive fashion. I have that list before me ; it consists of 251 'words,' while the Vocabulary to the *Υρί Σκέδατα* has only 145. But the latter Vocabulary, with all its gross errors and misprints, is almost scientific lexicography when compared to that of the *Western People*.

To adopt the words of the reviewer : On what principle most of the words in the *Western People* could have been *included* as leading words is a mystery, and will probably remain so. I trust the reviewer will publish

the entire list in the I. E. RECORD for the edification of scholars. A very large number of these words are nothing more than gross mis-spellings or corruptions of words properly spelled and treated of in the Dictionary. Many are local slang words which no dictionary, certainly no compendious dictionary, could include. Some are only mere grunts or else real words with just a play on the vowel as 'our, in phrase níor léigeadar our ná dar arda,' 'car, in phrase cor ná car,' just as you would say in English, 'kack,' in phrase 'a kick or a kack;' 'pag,' in phrase 'a pig or a pag;' 'stack,' in phrase 'a stick or a stack,' and so on. I have often heard Irish speakers say, 'ní sudairt ré maidíde ná gmaidíde, ní sudairt ré hóm ná hóm, ní sudairt ré gíocr ná míocr, by góinir i n-éigir, he! he! he! well, well, well,' and hundreds of such expressions, are they all to swell the Dictionary with cross references by the principles of 'scientific lexicography' in this wise:—

gmaidíde, in phrase ní sudairt ré maidíde ná gmaidíde.

See maidíde.

maidíde, in phrase ní sudairt ré maidíde ná gmaidíde.

See gmaidíde.

míocr, in phrase gíocr ná míocr. See gíocr.

hóm, in phrase hóm ná hóm. See hóm.

hóm, in phrase hóm ná hóm. See hóm.

éigir, in phrase by góinir i n-éigir, he! he! he! well, well, well. See góinir, &c.

This kind of lexicography would be, of course, an invaluable boon to students. In the list in question there are vulgarised English words, with an Irish tail, as 'róbáil, doing jobs,' which is our old friend *jobáil*, to be heard all over Ireland. Of course *róbáil* should go into Dictionary under *r*; it would give German scholars an occasion for many learned conjectures as to its origin: *rób*, may be akin to some Sanskrit root, *sab*, 'to drudge'! There are words like *mac fallactain*, 'a sprite,' which is neither sense nor Irish; the proper word being *mac mallactain*, given in Dictionary under *mac* with its proper signification; there are words like 'coillreán, three rush-lights plaited into

one (Raftery),’ which is only a mis-spelling of Dictionary word ‘τῆλεφάν, a torch, a lantern, a lamp, a plaited rush-candle;’ εἰλλερεος, a mis-spelling of εἰλτεος; ριαραδ for τιαραδ, ζῆρό for κηρό, ραδαιτε for ραζαιτε or ραδαιτε (both in Dictionary), calapan for colpan, ριαλ οητ, bad cess to you,’ for ρεαιηλε οητ, ‘cleadaiη, a gadfly,’ for κρεαδαιη, ρλειβιηε for ρλιβιηε, βόριάν for βαδαιριάν. Other words are in the Dictionary just as they stand in the list. But the reviewer does not take the trouble to verify the statements of this anonymous writer. Some words in the list are nothing better than an attempt to reduce to writing local, occasional, imperfect articulations, such as péin for fén. Now this form péin is not confined to Leath Chuinn, it is frequent in Munster as mé péin for mé fén, it is nothing more than a tightening of the f in certain sound-combinations, and it would be an outrage on scholarship and on real, not bogus, ‘scientific lexicography’ to insert all such forms in a compendious dictionary as leading words. I have often heard in England, and even in County Dublin, ‘it’ pronounced as ‘hit,’ and though ‘hit’ is a dialectic form, only the most colossal of English dictionaries gives it in its proper place. ‘Hair’ for ‘air,’ ‘hall’ for ‘all,’ ‘ead’ for ‘head,’ etc., though common in spoken English are not ‘in their places’ even in the largest of dictionaries. The list gives meac = beac, ‘a bee;’ rmeac is also used, why not insert it? Why not insert cnoc for cnoc, etc., etc.? But it is a waste of time and space to discuss this list further. The compiler of it, an anonymous writer, can scarcely be pronounced a success as a word-collector, even though he is fortunate enough to have such a wholesale purchaser of his wares as the reviewer. Of course lists of words like that of the *Western People* have a value of their own, which is not to be despised; I am discussing them now from the point of view of the reviewer.

After all, a dictionary should make some effort at selection. The most colossal dictionaries known, such as Littré’s or Murray’s, do not give all the variant spellings used by writers good and bad, educated and uneducated,

'in their proper places.' Thus the word 'clevy,' referred to above, is not to be found in Murray's *Dictionary* in its proper place, it occurs only as a variant under 'clevis.' A dictionary compiled on the principles indicated by the reviewer, and exemplified in his judgment of the *Western People* list, and of the 'select' Vocabulary to the *Trí Scéalta*, and elsewhere throughout his review, would take cognizance not only of words but of variants, real or bogus, of mis-spellings, of misprints, of defective articulations, and generally of articulate human grunts. It would give, under separate headings, words differing only as *ll* differs from *l* (compare *ḡalarbe* above); words differing only by a single *r*; words differing only as *clamarbe* differs from *clabairbe*, *omar* from *amar*. He would permute the letters in such plastic words as *rpeáuruióirbe*, 'and torture one poor word a thousand ways,' making it to yield I know not how many dictionary head-words. A dictionary compiled on these principles would be one of the wonders of the world. It would take centuries to compile; it would be of gigantic proportions. It would have no circulation outside of Ireland, as no ship large enough to carry it over seas could be constructed; it would be an enduring monument of 'scientific lexicography.'

The reviewer kindly admits that the Dictionary is 'a work to be taken seriously' (page 84). I should, indeed, hope so. But, perhaps, after all it is not such a compliment coming from a man who takes the Vocabulary to the *Trí Scéalta* *au grand sérieux*, and solemnly gives the stamp of his authority, for lexicographical purposes, to the list published in the *Western People*. There is, however, a real danger of his taking the Dictionary *too seriously*. Indeed the picture which one calls up to the imagination as he reads his review of the reviewer, like a well-accounted knight-errant, roaming through the realms of the Dictionary in quest of *lacunae* and adventure is by no means a pleasant one to dwell upon. I would remind him that not every wind-mill that shakes its arms is a giant, nor every barber's basin that glitters in the sunlight the helmet of Mambrino.



He says the Dictionary does not contain words found in Dr. Henry's *Handbook*, that even words found in O'Growney's *Simple Lessons* are missing from it (page 83 text and note). I should not be surprised if some words found in Dr. Henry's *Handbook* were missing. I have not read the book with any care, but I have glanced at some of the current lessons, and I note that Dr. Henry admits 'words' which I should reject as spurious. One example must suffice. I cannot now give the reference. But I remember he introduces *maĩrge* (*maĩrce*) as a word in phrase 1 *maĩrge*, a kind of imprecation. Now *maĩrge* is got thus : 1m' *baĩrce*, 'by my baptism' (the *ð* is pronounced *b*), is a common asseveration, which some people soften down to 1m' *baĩrge*, pronounced 1m' *baĩrge*; hence 1 *mbaĩrge* and 1 *maĩrge*. Both the full 'curse' 1m' *baĩrce* and the softened form of it, 1 *maĩrge* (phonetic), are common all over Ireland. The reader will judge whether *maĩrge* has a right to a dictionary facing. Besides, it is clear that one might risk a corrupt form in a handbook which could not find a place in a dictionary. The reviewer quotes from O'Growney's *Lessons*, *baine* (madness). No such word exists in Irish. At page 48 of Dictionary the reader will find '*bainĩe*, fury, rage, madness; hydrophobia.' But, really, it is sheer waste of time to pursue the reviewer through such a labyrinth of error and misrepresentation. Suffice it to adopt the words of the reviewer himself : 'Very much more might be said on this head and immensely more than half be still left unsaid' (page 76).

The reviewer loftily upbraids me for copying Coney's errors, and shows once more his proficiency in 'index learning' by referring to a short paper in the current *Hermathena*, entitled 'Notes on Coney's Dictionary.' These few 'Notes' had they appeared in time would, of course, have been used by me for anything they are worth. But they come in handy for the reviewer. He quotes an item from them, viz., that the meaning 'perverse' should not come under *ciapálae* in Coney's; and says that in the face of this, 'perverse' is given in the new Dictionary. The writer of the paper in question says it came in from

the English Version (*i.e.*, the Authorised Version). But the question is, what version of the Bible was translated into Irish, was it the Greek or was it the English? If the Greek then there are two good readings, one answering to the word used in the Authorised Version; the other nearer to that of the Vulgate. If an English version was used, as seems highly probable, it is the expression found in whatever English version was made use of that is alone relevant, and nothing could be more uncritical or, indeed, more ridiculous than to quote the Revised Version against Coneys' meaning.

But I have, perhaps, wearied the reader while the review is not half discussed. It is teeming with errors and absurdities, while the amount of useful information or suggestion concerning the Dictionary contained in its 23 pages might be written on a post-card. The reviewer sneers at the editor's 'critical knowledge and capacity for taking pains' (page 84). How does he stand himself in these respects? It is very easy to estimate the 'critical knowledge and the capacity for taking pains' of a man who, after some three months' close study of the Dictionary in a critical spirit, deliberately culls out and writes down words like *riácráil*, *creácaílceac*, *tioppaó* as good Irish words, hands them over to the printer, corrects the proofs, probably more than once, and, finally, sends them out to the world to supply *lacunae* (page 66) in the Dictionary, without his suspicion being for a moment aroused by the form of the words [*creácaílceac* (*poll*) of Vocabulary, though a misprint, could not deceive anyone acquainted with living Munster Irish], without taking the trouble to turn over the few pages of the little text to which 'this brief, select, and long accessible Vocabulary' (page 82) is affixed, and on the strength of these absurdities, and of many other absurdities equally glaring, proceeds to condemn the Dictionary with a show of gravity and judicial impartiality.

The Dictionary has been hailed by universal public

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<sup>1</sup> See I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1905, p. 82.

opinion in Ireland and among the Irish abroad as a work of national importance. Its compilation, under the circumstances I have stated in this paper, and in the face of difficulties not wanting in pathos and of discouragement where help might have been expected, was a work of great and arduous labour. To seek to discredit such a work, even if every blow dealt at it could be proved home by chapter and verse, would be no very creditable proceeding. But to seek to discredit it by trumping up false charges against it, by scouring the dregs of contemptible vocabularies, of local corruptions and slang lists, and raking together an array of bogus words to supply its *lacunae*, by representing mis-spelled words, misprinted words, grossly corrupt forms which are contained in the book in their proper place and spelling, by representing these as genuine words missing from it, and by other devices of which I have given specimens in these pages, and to do all this as an object-lesson in 'scientific lexicography' and as a condemnation of 'lexicography by rule of thumb'—this is a serious matter and is, indeed, destructive criticism; destructive, that is, not of the Dictionary, but of the reviewer's pretensions to impartiality and critical acumen. 'Irish Ireland,' for whose benefit as he alleges<sup>1</sup> he became the self-constituted judge of this important work, will now know what weight is to be attached to his opinion.

Neither the editor nor the Council of the Irish Texts Society intended to put this book on the market as a work infallibly perfect, or sufficiently full for all purposes. From the nature of the case the work has no pretensions to that practical infallibility which can be attained by works of a similar size in modern highly cultivated languages, works that are but condensations, over and over again edited and corrected, of voluminous and encyclopædic dictionaries, on which treasures were expended, and which it took generations to compile. In the time at the editor's disposal, and with his limited assistance, it was utterly impossible

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<sup>1</sup> See I. E. RECORD, Dec. 1904, p. 526.

for him to ransack the monuments of the language that are still locked up in musty manuscripts, it was impossible for him even to verify at first hand every local word and variant. But though the work is necessarily imperfect in many respects, it is capable of improvement and development. Future editions can be improved by the aid of prudent, well-considered, helpful criticism, but no good result can accrue from the self-imposed work of critics who stand convicted of possessing neither the 'critical knowledge and capacity for taking pains' to be accurate, nor the disposition to be even-handed and just.

I may say, in conclusion, that it is with extreme reluctance, and only at the last moment, I undertook the work of preparing this hurriedly-written reply, and I wish to thank the Editor of the I. E. RECORD for his kindness in inserting it in the present number, in spite of its having reached him so late in the month.

ṖÁṬṚAÍḂ ṲA ṲUINNÍN.

## IRELAND, SOLESMES, RATISBON

**I**T may surprise many to hear that Irishmen have reason to be proud of the part played by their countrymen a thousand years ago in the development of Liturgical Chant, and in its happy and much needed restoration within recent years. To speak of this latter point first, it was the discovery and publication of the famous manuscript of St. Gall, an Irish foundation, that gave a right direction to, even if it did not inspire, those historical researches which have been the glory of the Benedictines of Solesmes.<sup>1</sup> In the actual restoration of the ancient melodies as well, and, what is even more important, in the attempt to catch the secret of their rhythm, that same old Irish monastery, or rather the treasured relics of its monks, have had, and still have, a very foremost place. In the Romanian signs<sup>2</sup> we have the only extant echo of the living voice of one who came across the Alps from St. Gregory's own school to teach the inspired chant to the subjects of Charlemagne. Romanus was, indeed, a Roman, taught in Rome; but had he not been enticed by the musical renown of St. Gall to remain there, even when the fever which delayed him disappeared, it is not absurd to think that his works would have missed the patient care that has preserved them for us to-day. And even apart from those signs the manuscripts of this school are oftentimes of paramount authority with the workers in the Isle of Wight, to direct them in the readings of melodies they should adopt. In the one minute specimen of his work which Dom Mocquereau has given to the public it is the four manuscripts of this old Irish monastery itself, and not merely of its school, which remove all doubt, and make certain the sometimes hesitating

<sup>1</sup> *Théorie et Pratique du Chant Gregorien*, par Dom Kienle, O.S.B., p. 16°.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes*, Pothier, p. 82.

affirmations of manuscripts from other countries or from other houses.<sup>1</sup>

In the first development of true liturgical music Irishmen occupied a position more personal, though scarcely more glorious. From the year 600 to the year 1000 A.D. Plain Chant, and with it the Liturgy, reached and maintained itself at its highest level of perfection :—

To-day we can with difficulty form an exact idea of the beauty of the Liturgy at this period. The Divine Office and the Liturgy were the delight of the whole Christian world. Charlemagne considered the Roman Liturgy and Chant to be powerful factors in elevating the religious and intellectual life of his people. Charlemagne himself, Alfred the Great, Otho the Great, Louis le Gros, Robert Capet, Falques of Anjou, assisted every day at the Solemn Office. The whole Christian world seemed to have but one voice to chant the Divine praises in the sublime form which Gregory had given to it.<sup>2</sup>

In this first phase of the golden epoch of Church song and ceremony, the most brilliant of all was the old Irish monastery among the Swiss mountains. Founded, in 612, by a missionary from Ireland, who gave his name to the entire canton as well as to the monastery, the music school of St. Gall was well known before the founder's death, some thirty-four years later.<sup>3</sup> How far the chant cultivated there corresponded with that of Rome I cannot say. Doubtless it was identical, as was most of the liturgical service which St. Patrick introduced. At the request of Charlemagne, two celebrated teachers, Peter and Romanus, left Rome for Metz in 750 ; but one of them only, Peter, was to reach his destination. Romanus, detained at St. Gall by an attack of fever, elected to remain there even when he was quite restored to health, and was thereby the originator of or, perhaps, the agent that developed amongst the Irish monks a school which became in the ancient world what Solesmes has been in modern times, though on a larger and more glorious scale. 'The monastery was renowned for the beauty of its Office and the splendour of its

<sup>1</sup> *Rassegna Gregoriana*. May-June, 1904, p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> *Théorie et Pratique*, etc. Kienle, p. 7\*.

<sup>3</sup> *Rassegna Gregoriana*. April, 1904, p. 254.

chant.’<sup>1</sup> Some of its greatest names were those of Irishmen or their immediate pupils. One of the earliest and most famous was Marcellus, an Irishman named Moengal, who having gone to Rome in 836 with two Irish monks, and thence to St. Gall, in 840, to visit his countryman Grimoald, the Abbot of the Swiss monastery, was made master of the famous music school thirty years later, in 870, and died in 890. Two of his pupils, Tutilo († 915), and Notker Balbulus (912) were, perhaps, the greatest names in all this period. The liturgical chant known as the Sequence, of which only five have been incorporated in the official liturgical books, was invented and developed by the latter with wonderful skill ; while the former, likewise the inventor of a new form, and at once painter, poet, sculptor, architect, composer, was an Irishman, like his teacher Moengal.<sup>2</sup> ‘The compositions of both are noble, full of life, and melodic richness, and betray a thorough understanding of the classical form.’<sup>3</sup> We have mentioned only three, and those the greatest of the children of this old foundation. It is needless to speak to anyone who reads even a few of the present-day publications, of the many other Irish or non-Irish monks who, in the same school, multiplied manuscripts, and distributed them with a generosity to which the many relics that have been preserved bear testimony.

It will be more practical, however, though, perhaps, not more interesting, to pursue another historical reminiscence with some bearing on that which we have so briefly described. The air, at least in ecclesiastical circles, is filled to-day with the rival claims of Ratisbon and Solesmes to be the true exponent of the most perfect liturgical chant. At last the victory seems to be with the children of St. Benedict ; but that its real meaning should be understood, and that a charge of ecclesiastical inconsistency may be intelligently refuted by the clergy, a retrospect is necessary, and cannot but be interesting.

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<sup>1</sup> *Théorie et Pratique*, etc. Kienle, p. 8\*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8\*. *Rassegna Gregoriana*, April, 1904, p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> *Théorie et Pratique*, etc. Kienle, p. 9\*.

And let us begin with the so-called Ratisbon chant. Following on the reformation of the Breviary and Missal, and the publication of the official form of both by Pius V, in 1570, Gregory XIII issued a decree in 1577 authorising Palestrina and Zoilo to revise the chants, and to bring them into line with the official liturgical books, by the removal of 'the barbarisms, obscurities, contradictions, and excesses, with which, either because of the carelessness of printers or the wantonness of composers, they were filled.' Thus described in the Papal decree, and real in some sense, it is still a moot point among authorities as to how far those abuses really existed in the unrevised books of the preceding period. From the close of the fourteenth century Gregorian chant had fallen into a very subordinate position beside the figured music that then began to be developed. Its execution was left more or less to chance, its manuscripts were carelessly copied, and a period of general contempt and neglect succeeded to the universal honour and esteem in which it had been held ever since the days of the great St. Gregory. Decay was, therefore, natural. A rank, wild growth, characteristic of such decay, succeeded to the scientific and tasteful development and ornamentation of the ancient melodies. It seemed high time to trim and prune, lest the weeds of false taste or modern sentimentality should choke the precious flowers of melody still blooming in the garden of the Church's song. There was a danger lest the trimming and the pruning should be conducted on wrong lines, and Spain, through her ambassador, protested vehemently and repeatedly against a threatened desecration. 'These things which you, musicians, deem barbarisms,' said he, 'are really miracles of musical perfection.' And time has proved the ambassador's statement to be true. However this may be, the fact remains that the purpose of the decree of 1577 was not fulfilled. Palestrina executed portion of his task by revising the offices of the *Proprium de tempore*, but neither his work, nor that of his *collaborateur* on the Offices of Saints, saw the light at this period. After a law suit with Iginio, the master's son and heir, the manu-



script was placed, by the order of a Roman Congregation, in the custody of a *Monte di Pietà*. Whether it ever was moved therefrom has been hotly discussed by musicians. The reformation it was intened to inaugurate fell through, at least for a time, and both were not heard of practically for more than fourteen years.

At the end of that period the reigning Pontiff, Paul V, once more began the long-suspended work. A commission was appointed, on which Bellarmine was to act. By its orders two celebrated musicians, Felice Anerio and Francisco Soriano, were entrusted with the task of revising and editing the musical portions of the Liturgy. Within a twelvemonth they had the work completed, and it was published in 1615, by the order of Paul V, at the Medicean press, in two huge volumes. This was the famous Medicean edition of which the Ratisbon books, so familiar to-day, were merely a reprint, with the insertion of music for the new Offices introduced since 1615.

The part played in the edition by Palestrina's manuscript has been much disputed. Haberl of Ratisbon has fought on one side, Respighi, now Cardinal, of Rome on the other; but their arguments leave matters very undecided. It seems absurd to think that Anerio or Soriano did not know of the manuscript round which, within their own memories, such a law-suit had been waged; and it seems no less absurd to think that these two busy men would not utilise a work, for the author of which they must have had such reverence, however little the age in which they lived did honour to his supreme genius. However that may be, and it is a barren controversy now, since 1868 the Church has used the Ratisbon reprint. That year it was declared official, and such it continued to be until the present Pontiff, with characteristic energy and courage, declared against it in the *Motu Proprio* of November, 1903, and ordered the restoration of the true and primitive chant to the Church.

Two faults, and those fatal, seem to distinguish the Medicean edition, and consequently, the Ratisbon reprint of the liturgical chant. The first of those lies in the undue

prominence given to the verbal accents, with the consequent destruction of the musical balance and flow ; the second in the apparent utter misunderstanding of the true function of Gregorian music, which is to be not only a prayer in itself, but to be as well the melodic and natural expression of those affections and aspirations arising in the soul from the devotional recital of the Church's grand liturgical prayer. 'Contemplative in its nature, it limits itself to the expression of the sentiment which prayer causes to spring up in a Christian soul ; and while the Liturgy and the ascetical life gives the widest scope to the feelings, the Gregorian melodies are the fullest and most perfect expression of these feelings.'<sup>1</sup>

Comparatively few, up to recent times, have realised the Philistinism which these extracts discover and place at the doors of Ratisbon and the princely house of Florence. Abuses and excrescences there undoubtedly were in the time of Gregory XIII. But they were modern, the growth of a hundred years, and there were still at hand the manuscripts, and the traditions, with all their wealth of purest music undefiled which charms our ears to-day in the valleys of France, or in the English island where the Benedictine Fathers work and pray. Those might have been lopped off, the long-drawn, lifeless sequences, the weary artificial *jubili*, added to the careless hurried *alleluia*, the other false growths of the centuries between the twelfth and the sixteenth ; but the genius of a Palestrina might have seen beyond those thick, unsightly weeds, the true flowers of the old and sacred song, and might have shown their beauty to and preserved them from his profane age. The Spaniards saw them thus, and strove to save them for a future generation ; the editors of the Medicean *Gradual* did not do so, and thereby seem to forfeit all claim to the honour of having Palestrina in death as a *collaborateur*. Their work was different. Though possessed of a rhythm of its own, as all true music must have, these editors would allow none but that of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Théorie et Pratique*, etc. Kienle, pp. 34\*-5.\*

words. Where the former required a group of notes to be placed upon an unaccented syllable, to restore the balance and secure a smooth flow of melody, the Medicean editors saw a violation of the tonic accent of the word, and though a suitable declamation of the notes would actually avoid the abuse, they, perhaps through ignorance, perhaps through commiseration for the carelessness of choristers, dragged the notes from their natural position and piled them with diligence on the accented syllable of the word.<sup>1</sup> The result is but too obvious: an unevenness in flow and balance, a dull heaviness in certain portions of the melody, the absence of that ease and smoothness which alone can be the adequate expression of powerful affection and aspiration. And the pity of it all was that it was not necessary. The proper accentuation of the words might have been preserved, even had the arrangement of the neums remained unaltered.

Equally destructive with this, the second fault of this edition was more excusable in mere musicians, because of the finer spiritual insight and deeper religious feeling required to discover and avoid it. Undoubtedly, again, the length of many neums had become excessive; in some cases the suspension of a syllable for thirty or forty notes had led to the impossibility of understanding the word thus sung; and in addition the whole piece, and thus the whole service, was unduly prolonged. This was an abuse which certainly required correction; but all this might have been done when necessary and there would still remain untouched the long-drawn wondrous phrases, which express with a very miracle of skill the feeling of the singer, 'which sometimes flow in winding torrents of melody, and close finally with a noble salutation in which the music throbs, palpitates, and spends itself like a bird wounded unto death.'<sup>2</sup>

The editors apparently did not understand matters

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<sup>1</sup> For examples see *Storia e Pregio dec libri Corali Ufficiali*, by Haberl. Pustet.

<sup>2</sup> Filson Young, in *Daily Mail*, 1st April, 1904.

thus. They regarded it as an unmixed advantage to reduce<sup>1</sup> the forty notes of an *Alleluia* and its *jubilus* to one-half that number, the thirty on the word *amoris* to eight, and others in a like proportion; the while they spoiled the carefully constructed melody, the expression of the feelings became incoherent, and inadequate, and very little if any time was gained. Sung in the smooth and meditative manner of Solesmes the longest neums or at least the whole piece is finished almost as quickly as, and with far more satisfaction than, the mutilated remnant the Ratisbon books retain.

Such a reformation, based on wrong principles, and issuing in such deplorable results, could not introduce a permanent or abiding stage in the liturgical music of the Church. Fortunately for the future of the art other hands and other hearts were working patiently along lines of which even the directors could not suspect the splendid issue. Dom Gueranger had begun, some sixty years ago, in 1845, a liturgical revival in his humble monastery of Solesmes.

If the humility of a beginning be a happy augury of future greatness, everything might have been expected from the new foundation for nothing could be poorer than the little monastic home. The monks had neither breviaries nor choir books of a uniform type. For the chanting they had several parish manuals of Dijon, some books from Einsiedeln, some copies of an edition of the seventeenth century, and some huge folio volumes which, because of their size, had always to be left resting on their stands. Five or six manuscript leaflets, containing the 'proper Offices,' completed this collection.<sup>2</sup>

Necessity is commonly called the mother of invention. Here it was more, for it became the mother not only of wonderful inventions to steal from past centuries the most hidden secrets of its spiritual songs, but also of the successful restitution to the whole Christian world of that music which once was its glory and delight, and may again, please God, be its powerful agent in sanctifying its own

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<sup>1</sup> Haberl, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Dom David, O.S.B., in *Rassegna Gregoriana*, April, 1904, p. 227.

children and winning, or at least attracting, the more refined among the souls that are still outside the fold. One of the priests of the little community, Dom Jausions, was entrusted with the task of studying the question of Plain Chant with the view of preparing books for his brethren. A young secular priest, lately admitted to the novitiate, Dom Pothier, was selected as an assistant, and thereby began the course of labour which has made him the pioneer of a splendid discovery.

The founder himself, Dom Gueranger, seems already to have made a great advance by the discovery of the true rhythm of Gregorian Chant, such as it existed in the editions of that time. It was the first marked and most necessary step towards the light. Dom Kienle, in his work, so often quoted by me, gives the glory thereof to the Abbé Gontier of Mans, an intimate friend of Gueranger<sup>1</sup>; but in the *Rassegna Gregoriana*, for April of 1904, Dom David describes the Abbé rather in the part of applying the discovery to the Rheims-Cambray edition than in the more important role of originator thereof. However this may be, certain it is that the Abbot of Solesmes, with a rare penetration, had grasped the true function of the chant, and in the method of execution adopted in his monastery anticipated and inspired the matured results of the present day.

This was an all-important step in music 'unmeasured,' *i.e.*, without bars, such as Plain Chant. The mere possession of the true original melodies in manuscripts, even though it were to be assured by the labours of Pothier and his successors, would have been little without this. It would have been a body without a soul, and it was this latter that Gueranger found some way. It had been lost since the Renaissance.

The artificiality of this great movement had destroyed the perception and appreciation of all rhythm save that which was cut, as it were, to measure; bounded by the narrow limits of the ancient verse. In music, at least,

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<sup>1</sup> *Théorie et Pratique*, etc. Kienle, p. 96.

they failed to recognise a rhythm which is free and untrammelled by such restrictions, the rhythm of noble prose, which can possess all the flow of the noblest poetry, and in addition the strength of freedom. We all know the power of such a rhythm in the best productions of our modern masters, where, though marked in bars, the music seems quite independent and even impatient of such artificial divisions in its movement. In this there is merely a return to the natural spirit of more primitive times. Such a spirit was foreign to or despised by the *savants* of the sixteenth century. Further, as for their predecessors and for all times, a proportion between the various divisions of music or speech constituted rhythm. They elected to base this proportion on fixed and immovable measure and they came to lose that rational instinct of the ear which is a higher and more flexible, though still definite, arbitrator in such a matter. Hence the efforts at the execution of Plain Chant in the years before Gueranger came, and hence the universal and well-deserved contempt heaped upon this music, sung, as it often was, to notes all of exactly equal duration.<sup>1</sup> The chant of St. Gregory had come to be classed among the things of life, or rather of death, which possessed no rhythm.

Visitors to the new foundation of Solesmes were delighted at the beauty that was now seen in the old and meaningless combination of the manuscripts. A proportion, a balance, was discovered which made the music a prayer in itself, and a perfect expression, higher than words, of the affections and aspirations that arise in the heart of him who prays.

Meanwhile Jausions had been moving somewhat too fast in the fulfilment of his prior's orders. Against the advice of his young assistant he proposed to print a *Directorium*, and desisted from his purpose only when the old Abbé Gontier said to him, authoritatively, 'Vous n'y êtes pas du tout, mon Père ; vous n'y êtes pas du tout.'

The field was now clear for Dom Pothier, as after some

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<sup>1</sup> Kienle, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

delay the less scientific Jausions abandoned the study of the chant, and devoted his energies to that of history.

He read the ancient and modern works on theory, followed the discussions of musicologists. He studied the manuscripts, translated the neums, took notes, copied entire Graduals, borrowed from the Ministry manuscripts of every province of France, Germany, and other countries. Not only by patient and erudite labour, but by the spirit of prayer, the love of beauty, natural and supernatural, an understanding of the Liturgy, of history, of the needs of practical life, he came to grasp the silent language of the witnesses to tradition.<sup>1</sup>

It was a laborious effort to catch the true tradition of the past across the false echoes of the ages since the chant had been in honour; and for many years no results appeared in public. The old Abbé Gontier remonstrated with the conscientious worker. 'Vous n'en finirez jamais!' he is reported to have said, 'c'est une œuvre de science que vous faites là, mais aussi une œuvre de patience.' Between 1880 and 1883 the results at last appeared in the two epoch-making books, *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes d'après la tradition*, and the *Liber Gradualis*. The former gave in the form of a memoir presented to, and approved by, Dom Gueranger, the theories of the revival; the latter contained the application of those theories to the manuscripts and the melodies reprinted in accordance therewith for the liturgical services of the monks.

None knew better, or acknowledged more openly than the great Benedictine and his friends, how far from perfect such a work must necessarily be. In the effort to restore a lost tradition, to rediscover the true original form of the Gregorian melodies, finality can only be attained when all, or nearly all, the available witnesses to tradition, the manuscripts of the centuries from the ninth to the eleventh, when the chant was uncorrupted, have been examined, classified, and then interpreted. Some of this had been done by Pothier, but not all by any means. Moreover, in his work he had been more or less alone, and, therefore, missed the mutual criticism which, in a school of workers,

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<sup>1</sup> *Rassegna Gregoriana*. April, 1904, p. 230.

usually ensures the absence of personal peculiarity or prejudice from the work produced.

His successor in the labour, Dom Mocquereau, now living with his monks in the Isle of Wight, has been most fortunate in both respects. He is but one of a school of ten or fifteen experts<sup>1</sup> in the work which Dom Pothier inaugurated; and though he is the leader of the school, from time to time his judgment is forced to bow before the superior insight of some of those who labour under him.<sup>2</sup>

In the matter of manuscripts the change is still more remarkable. The earlier master had but comparatively few from which to build his reproductions. In the library of his own convent we know from Dom Mocquereau himself that the photographs and other copies of the extant manuscripts of early ages are at present counted by thousands.<sup>3</sup> These have been arranged with wondrous skill. Not only each piece, each Introit, Offertory, or Communion, has a column or columns to itself in which the various versions of different schools or countries can be seen at once, but each neum has its column as well, and its variations or its permanence can be at once seen as they arose or disappeared in the ages which the manuscripts represent. Nothing could be more convincing, nothing could ensure more perfectly the fullest representation of the melodies as they existed in the period of their fullest life and honour. According to such a method, and from such resources, the monks of Solesmes have compiled the latest editions of their books, and still labour to render more and more true to past ages the Chant which bears their name.

The beauty of the music thus happily restored at last has been written of in enthusiastic terms by authorities of ancient and modern times. At a period when decay had already begun to manifest itself, St. Bernard tells us how, 'in the chant of the Church the sad of soul find joy, weary spirits consolation; tepid Christians feel the stirrings

<sup>1</sup> *Rassegna Gregoriana*. April, 1904, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 236.



of a new fervour, and sinners are moved to repentance ; however hard the heart of worldly men may be let them but hear a lovely chant, and straightway they experience some motions of affection for the things of God.'<sup>1</sup>

And it cannot but be so to-day wherever the execution corresponds to the intentions of its old originators, and where the function of the music in worship such as ours is not misunderstood, as it has been for so many years.

The melodies are wonderfully rich, and simple withal :—

Melodic figures bubble up from a source which is inexhaustible. Anyone who has, in some solemn function, seen, as it were, pass before his soul the calm majestic jubilations of a Gradual, the throbings of an Alleluia, long drawn and filled with meaning, cannot help seeing partially at least the musical wealth contained in those books.<sup>2</sup>

Their rhythm is free, possessing all the beauty of that which is strictly measured, while there is contained in it a breadth and a spontaneity which perfectly enables those melodies to voice the natural affection of the heart at prayer. Light and flowing in its movement, at one time tinged with the melancholy of compassion or compunction, at another bold and graceful in the expression of religious joy, the chant has one grand perfection which embraces all, in being closely united to the Church's liturgical prayer and in having been expressly composed by saintly men to utter forth the feelings of the soul which that prayer is intended to evoke.

Its mission is to give the sacred text a greater energy, a more lively eloquence, a deeper depth of feeling. It gives wings to the formulas of the Church's prayer. The communication between God and His people around the Christian altar does not consist in a lifeless, mute inaction on the people's part. No. There is joy, praise, thanksgiving, which overflow and spread abroad ; or there are even sighs and the plainings of pity and compassion ; and then, again, joy and praise ring from a thousand hearts, new accents of enthusiasm. which shake the very sanctuary and spread beyond its walls.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Kienle, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129\*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188.

Herein precisely lies the great perfection of the chant rediscovered in Solesmes. It is the true music of worship, it teaches man to pray in union with the priest<sup>9</sup> and sacred ministers, it helps the people to participate, as they should do, with the representative of Christ when he is offering for them once more the great Sacrifice of Calvary. It does not exclude harmony, ancient or modern, but it teaches harmony the end at which it should aim, and it lays down the condition on which alone this harmony will be allowed within the Holy Place of our Faith.

To others more capable than I am must be left the duty of discussing the difficulties that are likely to hamper the re-introduction of this ancient chant in modern times. Our people do not understand Latin, and are likely to be more and more removed from the possibility of doing so ; while much of the beauty of this music depends undoubtedly on the relation which it bears to the sublime language of the Liturgy. Could nothing be done to help the matter in our already overburdened schools ? One thing must be done if our very Liturgy, the Mass, and other services of the Church, are to continue : our people, young and old, must learn, in or out of school, what is the meaning of the ceremony or functions at which they must attend, and how to take therein a part more intelligent than that which has been theirs in recent times. The brief history, sketched in the foregoing pages, shows us what that part should be, and what it was in the years of long ago ; the history of other days to come will tell to future generations whether we have acted up to these new lights which Gueranger and his children have rekindled for us in those times, and whether we are legitimate descendants of St. Gregory and his priests, and true custodians of the grand liturgy they loved.

P. SEXTON, D.D.

## PHILOSOPHY AND THE SCIENCES—II

### I—DECADENT SCHOLASTICISM AND MODERN PHYSICS

ABOVE the Physical and the Mathematical Sciences there is a third science of Real Being as such. To this higher science, which is Speculative Philosophy in the strict sense,—the *Philosophia Prima* of the schools,—we have given the name of Metaphysics. It is one science, having one definite point of view, one *objectum formale*. The division of Metaphysics into general and special is, therefore, a material division, a division of subject-matter merely.

In a former article<sup>1</sup> we saw that that division was understood in one way by the scholastics prior to the eighteenth century, and in another way since the division that originated with Christian von Wolff, was adopted in our schools. For St. Thomas, General Metaphysics was the study of Being that was material, negatively or by mental abstraction ; Special Metaphysics was the study of Being positively spiritual. For Wolff, the former—which he called Ontology—was the *a priori* study of the general principles of Being as such ; the latter was the application of that general study to the world, to the soul, and to God, in Cosmology, Psychology, and Theodicy.

Now, what we wish, first of all, to remark about this diversity of view is that, looked at in itself, it is really not a matter of any great moment. Provided we understand aright the point of view proper to Metaphysics, and are able to keep to this point of view throughout, it does not matter very much in what order we treat the various real beings that go to make up its subject-matter. Hence, there is no reason for finding fault with the modern division if we look at it apart from the motives that inspired it. There are numerous questions about being, substance, accident, essence, nature, personality, existence, cause,

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<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1905, p. 43.

etc., that must be studied mainly *a priori*. There is quite a number of principles of pure reason,—the principles of identity and of contradiction, of causality and sufficient reason, for example,—which need only the abstractive activity of the intellect as a pre-requisite to their investigation: and all these may form the subject-matter of a distinct treatise apart from Cosmology, Psychology, and Natural Theology. In point of fact, moreover, a slight acquaintance with our text-books of Scholastic Philosophy will convince us that there is a wide divergence of practice as to the places in which several of these questions are treated. We may deal at another time, perhaps, with some of these differences of practice, but in themselves they are of little moment, and need not arrest our attention for the present.

What is important in Metaphysics,—as, indeed, in every other science,—is, that we have clear and accurate notions about its proper point of view. And this implies, in the present case, that we understand clearly the relations between Metaphysics and Logic on the one hand and between Metaphysics and Physics<sup>1</sup> on the other. Now, Philosophy, from the time of Descartes, has confused and complicated these relations. It abandoned all experimental study of nature, including living things and man himself, to the physical sciences. In that it is not to be censured, but it did more. It turned its back on the physical sciences, and degenerated into a subjective study of the content of consciousness. It occupied itself deducting, from *a priori* speculations, a body of doctrine about our concepts of the world and its constitution, the soul and its nature, the Divinity and His attributes.<sup>2</sup>

Now Scholasticism, with its deductive traditions, was bound to suffer from the infiltration of these new conceptions about the nature and scope of Philosophy. The natural tendency of Scholasticism had ever been rather towards the supra-sensible: it was always a Spiritualist

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<sup>1</sup> For all practical purposes we may here include Mathematics with Physics.

<sup>2</sup> See I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1905, p. 27.

Philosophy, and abhorred the tenets of Sensism and Materialism. It would, therefore, have naturally been less antagonistic to the idealist current of thought that followed Cartesianism than to the glorification of the experimental study of physical nature. And hence it was, that the physical scientists, who were allowed to make a monopoly of the inductive method, could ridicule with impunity not merely the excessive subjectivism of German Idealists, but also the decadent Scholasticism that neglected the study of the physical universe and clung to the long-supplanted Physics of the Middle Ages.

Down to the last quarter of the last century many exponents of Scholasticism assumed this attitude of suspicion and hostility towards the physical sciences. But their voices passed unheeded, and were soon no longer heard outside the narrow precincts of their own schools. Some of them, failing, apparently, to reconcile the modern discoveries,—which they understood only imperfectly at best,—with the Physics of St. Thomas,—which they had allowed to get mixed up somehow with his Metaphysics, and which they felt themselves bound to defend at any cost,—seemed to content themselves either with closing their eyes to modern facts, or with endeavouring to make themselves and others believe that one explanation of things may be true in Physics and another in Metaphysics,—that there is really no common ground, no point of contact between these two sciences.

Others there were who accepted freely the new facts and laws brought to light by Physical research, but who failed, unfortunately, to extricate these new arrivals from the swaddling clothes of erroneous Metaphysics in which they were invariably wrapped by ‘anti-metaphysical’ scientists as soon as they were born. And these same scholastics made just the converse mistake when, on rejecting the erroneous physical theories of the schools, they thought they must reject its Metaphysics as well. This latter they did in fact. And so while the semblance of Scholasticism clung to them the true traditions of that system were lost sight of, and its genuine spirit was alien to their minds.

Even the semblance of Scholasticism wore off in due time. Soon it came to be treated in many Catholic schools with a very thinly-veiled contempt.

A growing ignorance and consequent misrepresentation of its real character as a system fostered that feeling in a large degree. All this was the outcome of an imperfect understanding of both the philosophy and the science in question; but none the less it had its pernicious effect—it drove many Catholic philosophers to reject Scholasticism as incompatible with modern science. Then, these latter openly discarded Scholasticism, and attached themselves to some one or other, or successively to many, of the shifting and unsteady systems of the day. Nor did they seem to see the incongruity of adopting, in their philosophical ramblings, principles quite at variance with some of the principles inseparably wound up with the theology of the Catholic religion, which they loyally continued to profess and practice. A recent writer in the *Revue du Clergé Français* says well of this class of philosophers:—

Ils reconnaissent que le point d'attache qui relie les vérités métaphysiques aux vérités religieuses s'y laisse à peine deviner. Ici sont les unes, là les autres. On ne sentait pas, en ce temps-là, le danger qui résulte de la separation des deux ordres, le naturel ou philosophique, et le surnaturel ou theologique. On vivait encore sous cette loi cartésienne : qu'on peut suivre, dans ses opinions, le plus grande liberté, pourvu qu'en religion 'on retienne constamment celle en laquelle Dieu nous a fait la grâce d'être instruit.'<sup>1</sup>

So, it came about that while the false philosophies conceived in the sixteenth century,—alike only in the critical, sceptical spirit that animated them, and in their common contempt for the past, and for the authority that symbolized it,—while these philosophies were working

<sup>1</sup> Descartes, *Discours de la Méthode*, III<sup>me</sup> partie.

*Deux Centres du Mouvement Thomiste : Rome et Louvain*, par C. Bease du clergé de Versailles. Extrait de la *Revue du Clergé Français*, No. du 1<sup>er</sup>, du 15, janvier, et du 1<sup>er</sup> février, 1902. (Paris, Letouzy et Ané, Editeurs, 17 rue du Vieux-Colombier). These three articles, reprinted in pamphlet form, are at once historical and critical. They are well written and very interesting. They give a full and life-like account of the rise and progress of the whole Neo-Scholastic movement.

themselves out in revolution, and irreligion and anarchy,<sup>1</sup> the Catholic Church found the philosophy she had long fostered now lying largely neglected, and apparently grown out of date,—a once powerful weapon against error now decaying because uncared for, and rusty for want of use.

## II—MODERN SCIENCE AND THE NEW SCHOLASTICISM

Fortunately there had been, through all those generations, men who had gained in their own time, and handed on to others after them, a true insight into the genius of Scholasticism: men, too, who had closely watched and studied the findings of the physical sciences: men who were able to distinguish facts from theories, and scientific conclusions from hypotheses: men for whom an established physical law was one thing, and the philosophical explanation thereof another thing altogether: men who saw many of the schoolmen's physical theories exploded, without seeing therein any reason to fear for the soundness of the great, broad, philosophical framework in which those schoolmen had cast their teaching: men who could cordially welcome every new experiment, every strange discovery, each successive law of physical science, without taking over with them one scintilla of the metaphysical speculations in which Modern Philosophy had clothed them. These men saw that the real conflict of the experimental sciences was not at all with the Christian religion, nor with the scholastic metaphysics so largely embodied in its theology, but rather with the critical subjectivism that would deny the reality of material or extra-mental being, and reduce all things to a vapoury dream. But they saw that same science itself erring and

<sup>1</sup> 'Si quis in acerbiteriam nostrorum temporum animum intendat, earumque rerum rationem, quae publice privatimque geruntur, cogitatione complectatur, is profecto comperiet, fecundam malorum causam, cum eorum quae premunt, tum eorum quae pertinescimus, in eo consistere, quod *prava de divinis humanisque rebus scita, e scholis philosophorum jampridem profecta*, in omnes civitatis ordines irrepserint, communi plurimorum suffragio recepta.'—Leo XIII, Encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, 1879.

inconsistent on account of its half unconscious espousals with Materialist Metaphysics all the while it flattered itself on its 'emancipation' from all such 'reactionary' alliances with metaphysics of any sort. They even felt that the only metaphysic which could fit in with modern science, which could enlighten, explain, and direct it in its vast field of research, which could bring peace to the troubled minds of those for whom ill-interpreted physical phenomena would not square with unexplained religious principles,—was the little known and highly discredited Metaphysic of the schools.

During the third quarter of the last century some of these men began to make their voices heard in the chaotic world of philosophical thought. Naples, Bologna, Perugia, were the first centres in which the old ideas were ventilated anew. The coteries of Cartesians and Ontologists in the various Italian cities, including Rome itself, looked on those manifestations as a passing freak of some adventurous spirits, not to be taken seriously. But they were soon disillusioned; for the project caught the ear and the approval of Pius IX. Sanseverino,—whose *Philosophia Christiana cum Antiqua et Nova Comparata* was the first fruit of the new spirit,—died in 1865. His pupils, Signoriello and Talamo, with Cardinal Sforza, the Archbishop of Naples, continued to propagate his teaching. The latter, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Perugia, Cardinal Joachim Pecci (the future Leo XIII), drew up a refutation of the principles of Ontologism,—already censured by the Holy Office in 1861. Cornoldi founded his famous theologico-medical academy of St. Thomas at Bologna, and commenced to publish the *Scienza Italiana*. The new Scholastic movement was steadily gaining ground, when the providential election of Leo XIII to the Papal Chair placed it on an altogether new and firmer footing. Leo was not only great as a philosopher; he was a great man amongst great men. Raised by Providence to that high place whence his voice could be heard throughout the world, he spoke not only with the wisdom of a real philosopher but with the authority of one raised up to teach



the truth. From the moment of his accession the history of the new movement in Italy, and especially in Rome itself, assumes an absorbing and dramatic interest. Fathers Joseph Pecci and Cornoldi are called to Rome to give courses in the new Thomistic Philosophy,—the latter to give a free public course in the Gregorian University, in presence of the hostile professors, Palmieri and Caretti. This was during the academic year 1878-9; and the names of Lorenzelli, Zigliara, and Satolli become prominent as champions of the *Philosophia Antiqua Renovata*. In the August of 1879, Leo's famous Encyclical, *Aeterni Patris*, on Philosophical Studies, appears. Palmieri and Caretti are quietly sent away. Cornoldi, Zigliari, Lorenzelli, Satolli, Talamo, and Liberatore become the leading professors in the various Roman colleges. Lepicier, Lepidi, and Billot are of a later date.

For now a quarter of a century the new Scholastic Philosophy has been free to develop in Rome,—free, at all events, as far as extrinsic obstacles to the teaching of it are concerned. Before we can judge whether that development has been true to its early promise, we must see what we can gather from Leo's Encyclical about the spirit and the aim of the new Scholastic movement.

### III—THE ENCYCLICAL 'AETERNI PATRIS' OF LEO XIII ON PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES

#### (a) THE WORTH OF SCHOLASTICISM

During the third quarter of the last century the Holy See had confined itself to the negative duty of checking the philosophical wanderings of those Catholics who had largely renounced Scholasticism. It merely indicated, in a general way, the necessity of a more serious study of the old and unpopular philosophy.<sup>1</sup> It was reserved to

<sup>1</sup> 'Le fait est qu'on n'attacha pas d'abord grande importance à cela. La route du moyen âge était encore barrée, et personne ne songeait à l'ouvrir. Les opinions d'un pape là-dessus étaient très respectables. Qui en doutait? Mais de là à s'organiser immédiatement et à devenir péripatéticien par amour des encycliques, il y avait loin. Il est remarquable au contraire que les grands mouvements de philosophie religieuse

Leo to lay his finger on the root of the many social evils of the day, and to point out to the world where the real remedy for them was to be found : to tell the world, 'quo tandem loco sit praesentium malorum radix, et unde petenda remedia.'<sup>1</sup>

The root of the evils lay in the '*prava de divinis humanisque rebus scita, e scholis philosophorum jampridem projecta . . . communi plurimorum suffragio recepta.*'<sup>2</sup> And the remedy,—where was it to be found? The remedy consisted simply in this, 'ut ad fidei Catholicae normam ubique traderentur humanae disciplinae omnes, praesertim vero *philosophia* a qua nimirum magna ex parte pendet ceterum scientiarum recta ratio.'

Yes, but what is this *philosophia, ad fidei catholicae normam*? this *veri nominis scientia*, as the Pope called it? Catholic philosophers were hungering after truth, seeking it everywhere amongst current systems,—and failing, for the most part, to find it. Where, then, was it to be found? The Pontiff's solemn and emphatic answer to that ever-recurring question disappointed very many, and astonished many more. It was to be found, he said,—and it required no small courage to assert it,—in the well-nigh discarded Philosophy of the schools, in that Philosophy which had flourished with such splendour so far back as the thirteenth century, and whose most faithful and gifted exponent was St. Thomas Aquinas. This was the true Philosophy which had been abandoned by non-Catholics in the sixteenth century to give place to erroneous systems that are accountable for most of the social evils of the end of the nineteenth century :—

. . . judicamus temere esse commissum ut eidem suis honor

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en France, et en Italie, du moins à cette époque, ont eu précisément un caractère d'opposition à la tradition thomiste. Ce n'était pas par fronde, puisqu'en ce temps-là, je viens de le dire, personne ou presque personne ne professait le thomisme ; c'était par absence totale de goût, d'entraînement pour une espèce d'exercices qui paraissait oiseux.'—Besse, p. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Leo XIII to Cardinal de Luca, founding the Academy of St. Thomas, at Rome, 1879.

<sup>2</sup> Encyclical, *Aeterni Patris*. All further quotations are likewise from the Encyclical, unless otherwise stated. The italics are ours almost entirely throughout.

non semper, nec ubique permanserit. . . . atque in veteris doctrinae locum nova quaedam philosophiae ratio hac illac successit unde non ii percepti sunt fructus, optabiles, ac salutare, quos Ecclesia et ipsa civilis societas maluissent. Adnitentibus enim Novatoribus saeculi XVI, *placuit philosophari citra quempiam ad fidem respectum*, petita dataque vicissim potestate qualibet *pro libitu ingenioque* excogitandi. . . . Domestica vero atque civilis ipsa societas, quae ob perversarum opinionum pestem quanto in discrimine versetur, universi perspicimus, profecto *pacatior multo et securior consisteret*, si in Academiis et Scholis *sanior traderetur*, et magisterio Ecclesiae conformior *doctrina*, qualem *Thomae Aquinatis volumina complectuntur*. Quae enim de germana notione libertatis, hoc tempore in licentiam abeuntis, de divina cujuslibet auctoritatis origine, de legibus earumque vi, de paterno et aequo summorum Principum imperio, de obtemporatione sublimioribus potestatibus, de mutua inter omnes caritate; quae scilicet de his rebus et aliis generis ejusdem a Thoma disputantur, *maximum atque invictum robur habent* ad evertenda ea juris novi principia, quae peccato rerum ordini et publicae saluti periculosa esse dignoscuntur.

This is the Philosophy that even Catholics gradually abandoned and allowed to decline: a desertion for which the Pontiff reproaches them as for betraying a noble cause.

Hoc autem novitatis studium, cum homines imitatione trahantur, *catholicorum quoque philosophorum animos visum est alicubi pervasisse*; qui patrimonio antiquae sapientiae posthabito, *nova moliri, quam vetera novis augere et perficere maluerint*, certe minus sapienti consilio, et non sine scientiarum detrimento. Etenim multiplex haec ratio doctrinae, cum in magistrorum singulorum auctoritate arbitrioque nitatur, mutabile habet fundamentum, eaque de causa non firmam atque stabilem neque robustam, sicut veterem illam, sed mutantem et levem facit philosophiam.

And if certain Catholics would replace Scholasticism by any of the modern systems, whether it be Eclecticism, or Voluntarism, or Neo-Kantism, or Traditionalism, or Ontologism,<sup>1</sup> let them beware, lest, philosophizing, *citra quempiam ad fidem respectum*, they find their philosophy insensibly weakening the foundations of their faith, instead of supporting it and giving reasons for it. If they find such philosophy incapable of warding off the attacks of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bease, pp. 10-13.

irreligion and infidelity,<sup>1</sup> they will have only themselves to blame. 'Cui si forte contingat, *hostium impetu ferendo vix parum aliquando inveniri*, ejus rei agnoscat in seipsa residere causam et culpam.'

(b) FAITH NOT AN OBSTACLE TO AN AUTONOMOUS  
PHILOSOPHY : MISCONCEPTIONS OF SCHOLASTICISM

The foregoing paragraphs bring us face to face with a very common misunderstanding of the scope and mission of Scholastic Philosophy. Non-Catholics have been taught to look on Scholasticism as a mere futile attempt at a rational defence of the Catholic religion, a bald introduction to Catholic theology, involving at least as many errors as the latter, and utterly unworthy of serious consideration as a system of philosophy. More through ignorance, perhaps, than through malice, they have persistently misrepresented the relations of Scholasticism to the theology of the Catholic Church. Presumably on the ground that it is no disgrace, even to a philosopher, to be ignorant of a system that has become antiquated, the moderns have grown accustomed to the tradition of dismissing Medieval Philosophy with the remark that it is an offshoot of a certain theology, chained down by the trammels of authority, devoid of any independent or original element of thought, and entirely undeserving of the attention of philosophers. Of course such an attitude merely betrays a profound misconception of what Scholastic Philosophy really is, and what the true relations are between Philosophy and Religious Faith, between reason and revelation.<sup>2</sup> For Leo XIII, the bare mention of that error is its sufficient refutation :—

Novimus profecto non deesse, qui facultates humanæ

<sup>1</sup> 'Il fallait se hâter, et, comme il n'y avait, en aucun genre, de principes arrêtés, on acceptait de toutes mains des arguments, des preuves, des démonstrations, associant un peu au hasard les noms et les programmes et empruntant souvent aux adversaires par tactique ou par indigence.'—Besse, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Schwegler, for instance, in his *History of Philosophy*, passes over Medieval Philosophy almost without mention. For an able and interesting discussion of the various views that have prevailed on the

naturae plus nimio extollentes, contendunt, hominis intelligentiam, ubi semel divinae auctoritati subjiatur, nativa dignitate excidere, et quodam quasi servitutis iugo demissam plurimum retardari atque impediri, quominus ad veritatis excellentiaeque fastigium progrediatur. Sed haec plena erroris et fallaciae sunt ; . . . qui philosophiae studium cum obsequio fidei christianae conjungunt ii optime philosophantur. . . .

It must be admitted, indeed, that many Catholics have partly fostered that misconception in the minds of non-Catholics by acquiescing more or less in the idea that Scholastic Philosophy is first, and before all else, a system of thought officially subservient to the needs and to the defence of Catholic Dogma. This is simply mistaking what is accidental for what is essential. For, essentially, Scholastic Philosophy is an independent and autonomous system of speculative thought on the totality of things. It is, no doubt, in harmony with Catholic Dogma,—and, therefore, all the more certain of its soundness,—but this consideration is extrinsic to itself, to its own inner content. Harmony does not destroy autonomy. Not only the best Catholic philosophers, but the best Catholic theologians, and the authoritative exponents of Catholic doctrine have always and most clearly insisted on the autonomy of Philosophy as a science side by side with Theology. If non-Catholics, therefore, will continue to misunderstand the matter they have only themselves to blame ; it is gratifying to note that recently a truer conception of philosophical perspective has become apparent in the treatment accorded to Scholastic Philosophy by modern writers.

It was hardly to be expected that Leo XIII, dealing with Philosophy mainly from the point of view of its religious and moral and social bearings, would lay any stress upon this essential characteristic of Philosophy as a science. Nevertheless, when dealing with the relations of Reason to Revelation, of Philosophy to Theology, he

question, What is Scholastic Philosophy ?' see *Introduction à la Philosophie Néo-Scholastique*, par M. De Wulf, Docteur en Droit, Docteur en Philosophie et Lettres, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain. 1904. Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1 rue des Flamands, Louvain ; Paris, Alcan, 108 boulevard Saint Germain.

makes use of language which places his views on this particular point beyond all doubt : ' In iis autem doctrinarum capitibus quae percipere humana intelligentia naturaliter potest, aequam plane est, *sua methodo, suisque principiis et argumentis uti* philosophiam : non ita tamen ut auctoritati divinae sese audacter subtrahere videatur.'

### (c) SCHOLASTICISM CALUMNIATED

A kindred calumny to that of intellectual slavery is the one we often hear to the effect that Scholastic Philosophy is narrow and illiberal, obscurantist and retrograde, and hostile to the advance of science. Such a charge never would come, and never has come, from anyone deserving the reputation of a true scholar. But it is made ; and the Holy Father takes the opportunity of repelling it. When he warns Catholics against the danger of exchanging Scholasticism for modern systems, he takes care to add these significant words : ' Quae cum dicimus, non eos profecto improbamus doctos homines atque solertes, *qui industriam et eruditionem suam, ac novarum inventorum opes* ad excollendam philosophiam afferunt : id enim probe intelligimus ad incrementa doctrinae pertinere.'

These are not like words of obscurantism or hostility to scientific research and progress. In themselves they are quite sufficient to give the lie to all such prejudicial charges. We could not expect more from a Pope speaking in the interests of religious faith ; but Leo was also a philosopher to whom the interests of truth for its own sake were ever dear ; and hence nothing less than a positive and warm approval and recommendation of scientific progress would satisfy him. When, therefore, he was exhorting all Catholics, for the defence and honour of their faith, for the good of society, and for the progress of learning, to revive and propagate the *auream sancti Thomae sapientiam*, he takes care to lay down, with the greatest emphasis,—*edicimus*,—that 'libente gratoque animo excipiendum esse *quidquid utiliter fuerit a quopiam inventum atque excogitatum*.'

Are not these words the expression of a liberal and

broadminded and enlightened outlook on the scope and mission both of Science and of Philosophy? Well, such was the spirit in which the Pontiff recommended a revival of the Philosophy of the schools.

(d) 'VETERA NOVIS AUGERE ET PERFICERE'

Such was to be the genius of the restoration he contemplated. Its guiding principle, its watchword, its motto has been, and still is, '*Vetera novis augere et perficere.*' A revival on such lines would surely have everything to recommend it: and those who had been attempting the like already, deserved to have such praiseworthy efforts encouraged in every way possible. So Leo thought, at any rate, when he decided to bring the project under the notice of the world at large:—'*Optimo itaque consilio cultores disciplinarum philosophicarum non pauci, cum ad instaurandum utiliter philosophiam novissime animum adjecerint, praeclaram Thomae Aquinatis doctrinam restituere, atque in pristinum decus vindicare studuerunt et student.*'

And it was not merely religious and social problems that were to benefit by such a revival, but every branch of human knowledge and activity,—including even the fine arts:—

Demum *cunctae humanae disciplinae* spem incrementi praecipere, plurimumque sibi debent praesidium polliceri ab hac quae Nobis est proposita, disciplinarum philosophicarum instaurazione. Etenim a *philosophia*, tamquam a moderatrice sapientia, sanam rationem rectumque modum *bonae artes* mutuari, ab eaque, tamquam vitae communi fonte, spiritum haurire consueverunt. Facto et constanti experientia comprobatur, artes liberales tunc maxime floruisse, cum incolumis honor et sapiens iudicium philosophiae stetit; neglectas vero et prope oblitteratas jacuisse, inclinata atque erroribus vel ineptiis implicita philosophia.

(e) 'RETROGRADE, AS USUAL'

Now, all this was decidedly a large claim to make for the mere renovation of an old Philosophy, even were the project of such a restoration in itself feasible or

desirable. And it is very easy to imagine modern philosophers, even Catholic ones, shrugging their shoulders in dissatisfaction at the whole idea, and impatiently exclaiming : But, where is the real use of all this ? It may be all very well if we take it as the pious opinion of a holy Pontiff ;<sup>1</sup> but are we to be asked seriously to believe that the revival of an antiquated, medieval system at the end of the nineteenth century can be anything better than a retrograde step at the best, an attempt to move back the marked and mighty progress of human thought by five full centuries ? Well, we would answer such rhetorical individuals that there is no reason for such excitement or alarm. They are not asked to believe that any such disastrous steps are contemplated. But we fear we must venture to tell them that their alarms arise from a misunderstanding of the whole aim and object of the new movement. We are even tempted to remind them of a saying of one of our writers who was no less a philosopher than a true patriot,—Thomas Davis,—a saying which is here very much to the point : ‘ They who trample upon the past do not build for the future.’ However, let that pass ; and let us merely ask our very modern philosophers to remember that if thought may progress and truth be added to, yet truth itself is neither old nor new, or rather it is both. True wisdom is eternal : ever ancient and always new. But, also, it can be lost after it is found. Now, it is this true wisdom, and it alone,—in so far as it has been temporarily lost sight of by the modern world, and allowed to lie concealed in the works of the Middle Age Scholastics,—that the new movement is to bring forth from that hidden treasure into the light of day.

That the modern world is in sore need of that wisdom few, if any, will deny. No longer is it merely from the Church or from Christianity, but from God, that the modern world is moving or trying to move away. Not so much nowadays against simple heresy has the Church to do battle, but against the Infidelity that regards religion as

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 162 above, *note*.



a myth, or a mere matter of sentiment ; against the Naturalism that makes a God of nature, but knows no God above nature, and for which miracle is only a word without a meaning ; against the Rationalism that makes reason the measure of all truth, the test of all reality, the solvent of all mystery, and the proof against all that pretence which men call revelation ; against the newest blend of Evolutionism and Subjectivist Pantheism which interprets the deposit of Divine revelation—whether in the Scriptures or in Tradition—and the development of doctrine itself, as a natural evolution of the consciousness of some inherent divine element abiding in and identical with the race. If ever there was a time when true Philosophy was needed for the defence and shewing forth of truth, it is at the present day. Since the early ages of Christianity, when the Church closed in conflict with the great errors on the Incarnation, the Atonement, the end of man and the means thereto,—grace and nature and their relations,—she has never experienced attacks so fundamental and so searching in their character as those of the present time. And just as it was true Philosophy that fought the Church's battles against erring human reason then, so must it be in the twentieth century. But the *aurea sapientia* must be brought forth into the strife if it is to serve the cause of God and Truth. It will be of little use as long as it is allowed to lie mouldering within the academic precincts of the schools. There is a rougher arena and a sterner conflict in which those who wield the weapon of Christian Philosophy must have the courage and the zeal to use it.

Nor will anyone deny in the second place that such a movement must make for the benefit of the old Philosophy itself. Contact with new truths, as well as with new errors, will put its value to the test. Whatever elements are seen to be useless or erroneous in view of the changed circumstances of the scientific world, will be rejected ; and its vast content of truth will be vitalized by contact with modern thought. The questions that were far-fetched, cumbersome, or unpractical in the decadent form

of Scholasticism will be passed over, unnoticed except by the historian; the truth alone of Scholasticism is to be proposed to the modern mind. Again the words of Leo are unmistakably clear: '*Sapientiam sancti Thomae dicimus: si quid enim est a doctoribus Scholasticis vel nimia subtilitate quaesitum vel parum considerate traditum, si quid cum exploratis posterioris aevi doctrinis minus cohaereus, vel denique quoquo modo non probabile, id nullo pacto in animo est aetati nostrae ad imitandum proponi.*'

But that is not all. The new movement will have achieved so far but half its task. The other half will be to supplement the content of the older Philosophy by all the best fruits of modern thought,—*vetera novis augere et perficere*. Thus, its whole effect will be to liken its disciple to the scribe in the Gospel, 'who bringeth forth out of his treasure new things and old.'<sup>1</sup>

#### IV—THE ENCYCLICAL ON PHILOSOPHY AND PHYSICS

We now come to the last and most interesting, because the most characteristic, feature of the Papal document, and of the new Scholastic movement to whose principles and tendencies it gives such clear and valuable expression: the relation between Scholastic Philosophy and the physical sciences. Here it is that we can get a full and complete insight into the genius that animates the whole movement.

Firstly, what are we to do with the erroneous Physics of the schools?—for example, with the doctrine of the four chemical elements, the inferiority of terrestrial to sidereal matter and the incorruptibility of the latter, the relative perfection of circular or spherical, as compared with linear motion; the *locus naturalis*; the Ptolmaic astronomy; spontaneous generation—for these are but a few of the many physical theories and conceptions that prevailed during the Middle Ages. Well, the answer is very simple: In so far as they are erroneous or improved upon by more modern theories, we are simply to reject them *en bloc*. They never formed an essential part of

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xiii. 52.

the fabric of Scholastic Philosophy, and it will be all the better from getting rid of them.

Secondly, what is to be the attitude of the renewed Scholastic Philosophy itself towards modern Physics? Just the same as that of the Middle-Age Scholasticism towards the Physics of that time; just what the attitude of Scholasticism towards Science has ever been in the hands of its ablest and most accredited exponents. And what is that attitude? Well, let us describe it by first laying down clearly what it certainly is not. It is not what, by common misrepresentation, many believe it to be: an attitude of veiled hostility, of irreconcilable opposition to all scientific progress. Of course scientists have kept repeating the charge, and asking what fellowship can there be between Physics and Metaphysics; and by dint of repetition many have come to believe in the alleged antagonism. And if the scientists meant to designate by Metaphysics a certain subjectivist assumption or strain in most modern Philosophy, perhaps we should not be inclined to dispute the matter with them. But if they refer to the Metaphysics of the Schools we must beg leave to demur to the charge; for it is groundless and untrue:—‘*Qua in re,*’ says the Encyclical, ‘*illud monere juvat, nonnisi per summam injuriam eidem philosophiae vitio verti, quod naturalium scientiarum profectui et incremento adversetur.*’

How close and cordial the real relations were between the Physics and Metaphysics of the schools we have already seen in a previous article.<sup>1</sup> Such relations were the inevitable outcome of the Schoolmen’s very conception of these two sciences, and of the analytico-synthetic method they employed in both. The Encyclical is clear and emphatic in vindicating for the great Scholastics the employment of this combined inductive and deductive method, and the adoption of principles from which that intimate union between Physics and Metaphysics necessarily sprung:—

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1905, pp. 36, sqq.

Cum enim Scholastici, sanctorum Patrum sententiam secuti, in Anthropologia passim tradiderint, humanam intelligentiam *nonnisi ex rebus sensibilibus* ad noscendas res corpore materiaeque carentes *evehi*, sponte sua intellexerunt, *nihil esse philosopho utilius, quam naturae arcana diligenter investigare, et in rerum physicarum studio diu multumque versari*. Quod et *facto suo confirmarunt*: nam S. Thomas, B. Albertus Magnus, aliique Scholasticorum principes, non ita se contemplationi philosophiae dediderunt, ut non etiam multum operae in naturalium rerum cognitione collocarint: *imo non pauca sunt in hoc genere dicta eorum et scita, quae recentes magistri probent et cum veritate congruere fateantur*.

From all which it is pretty evident what the future relations between Scholasticism and modern Physics are to be. The groundless estrangement initiated by the disciples of Descartes, and fostered by the equally groundless misgivings of the later Scholastics, will be removed by the renewal of that close and cordial bond of union that once existed between those two great branches of human thought. The temporary aloofness which has wrought such mischief in both departments will give place to a better understanding all round. Not only will Philosophy benefit by the renewal of such relations, but even physical science itself, in its highest and best sense, perhaps, even more. For modern physical science (in the widest acceptation of the title) is growing indeed, and rapidly; but whether it is *progressing* in the true sense is not altogether so clear. It is accumulating facts, multiplying experiments, discovering laws, and applying its knowledge to control and utilize the vast and various forces of physical nature. But then it is practically unable to co-ordinate, and nearly voiceless to explain and interpret, the mysterious facts, and forces, and phenomena with which it is constantly coming in contact. It is knowledge, indeed: but not all knowledge is science. It gives power, therefore,—of a kind,—but power is not wisdom. It serves well enough the lower wants of man. It panders right richly to the importunate demands of the body. But, then, if it is man's kind ally in procuring bodily comfort and luxury, it is also his terrible ally in the slaughter of his fellow-man.

It enables him to replace the simpler savagery of his so-called savage ancestors by the scientific savagery of modern warfare! Then, moreover, man is not all matter. The mind has its wants, too. But modern science has not wherewith to satisfy these wants: it is devoid of any message for the hungry mind of humanity. Not, indeed, that modern science in itself should supply all those demands. No one expects it to do so. Rather we blame it for claiming to be all-sufficient,—itself, that is, and the helpless, incoherent Metaphysic it has half-unwittingly assimilated. For this is the root of the evil. Science is sick for want of a sound philosophy to strengthen and sustain it. Since it got divorced from Scholasticism it has travelled far without finding better. It may travel still farther and fare worse, unless it decides to renew the old espousals. This is, likewise, the opinion of Leo, whose words here are worthy of careful consideration, for the profit of some of our scientists:—

Quapropter etiam physicae disciplinae, quae nunc tantum sunt in pretio, et tot praeclare inventis, singularem ubique cernunt admirationem sui, *ex restituta veterum philosophia non modum nihil detrimendi, sed plurimum praesidii sunt habiturae.* Illarum enim fructuosae exercitationi et incremento *non sola satis est consideratio factorum, contemplatioque naturae; sed, cum facta constiterint, altius assurgendum est, et danda solerter opera naturis rerum corporearum agnoscendis, investigandisque legibus, quibus parent, et principiis, unde ordo illorum, et unitas in varietate, et mutua affinitas in diversitate proficiuntur. Quibus investigationibus mirum quantum philosophia scholastica vim et lucem, et opem, est allatura, si sapienti ratione tradatur.*

That last sentence suggests a final consideration. It is this: that the Philosophy of the schools is not only reconcilable with the most up-to-date conclusions of the physical sciences, that not only is it in the fullest harmony with them, as no other modern Philosophy is, but that it is also, and for that very reason, capable of aiding, explaining, and corroborating every new step that science takes along the steep but royal road to truth. It has

proved that capacity already. It has assisted scientists who followed its principles. Scientists from outside its pale have acknowledged the justice and truth of its teaching and its conformity with physical facts. 'Praeterea,' continues the Encyclical, 'hac ipsa aetate, plures iisque insignes scientiarum physicarum doctores palam aperteque testantur, inter certas ratasque recentioris Physicae conclusiones, et philosophica Scholae principia nullam veri nominis pugnam existere.'

Some of them have even been led so far as to see in the phenomena of modern Experimental Psychology, striking indications of the superiority of some Scholastic theories. Thus, for example, Professor Wundt, of Leipzig, does not hesitate to write, at the conclusion of his monumental work on the *Elements of Physiological Psychology*, these remarkable words: 'The results of my work do not fit in either with the materialist hypothesis or with the dualism of Plato or Descartes; Aristotelian Animism alone, connecting, as it does, Psychology with Biology, is the metaphysical conclusion to which Experimental Psychology points.'<sup>1</sup>

In order that the new Scholastic Philosophy fulfil all those rich promises an important condition must be verified: *si sapienti ratione tradatur*. When Leo XIII wrote his Encyclical on Philosophical studies he meant very seriously every word that he said. No sooner had he spoken than he took action. Not content with what he could do in Rome, he sought for a suitable centre of the new movement in Northern Europe. Happy in his choice beyond measure, he fixed on the Catholic University of Louvain, in Belgium. There, at his own expense, he founded a Philosophical Institute, to teach and to propagate the Neo-Scholastic Philosophy.<sup>2</sup> It has been doing

<sup>1</sup> Wundt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 540; *apud* De Wulf: *Introduction à la Philosophie Neo-Scholastique*, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> On this subject two articles that may be read with profit, have recently appeared in the I. E. RECORD: one on Experimental Psychology, by the Rev. T. P. H. Russell, July, 1903; the other on Neo-Scholastic Philosophy, by the Rev. J. Kelly, Ph.D., September, 1904.

so since its foundation, with an ever-increasing measure of success. From every point of view its history is of absorbing interest to all who follow the fortunes of present day Philosophy. An outline of its most salient features will form the subject of a separate article.

P. COFFEY.

## IRISH LEXICOGRAPHY

## A NOTE

**I**N an article contributed by the undersigned to the I. E. RECORD (December, 1904, and January, 1905), there are some misprints which, as one cannot be too careful in dealing with a subject of this kind, he desires to correct. Those found in the concluding portion of the article, the proofs of which were corrected during the hurry of the Christmas holidays, are more numerous and serious than those found in the earlier portion.

I. DECEMBER, 1904.—Attention is called to the following :—

P. 524, footnote, l. 4, <i>for</i>	<i>ar na</i>	<i>read ar na.</i>
" " " "	" " <i>bruan</i>	" " <i>bruan.</i>
" 530, l. 12, "	" " <i>orod-éor</i>	" " <i>orod-éor.</i>
" " l. 19, "	" " <i>rprionnlóir</i>	" " <i>rprionnlóir.</i>
" " l. 30, "	" " <i>imfniomac</i>	" " <i>imfniomac.</i>
" " l. 35, "	" " <i>rmiuiríni</i>	" " <i>rmiuiríni.</i>
" 531, l. 4, "	" " <i>crappolar</i>	" " <i>crappolar.</i>

It may also be again pointed out that on p. 524 (l. 18) 1821 should be 1817, and on p. 525 (l. 18) 1877 should be 1864 (*vide* I. E. RECORD, January, 1905, p. 68, footnote 2).

II. JANUARY, 1905.—Attention is called to the following :—

P. 67, l. 14, <i>for</i>	<i>Chigeanna</i>	<i>read Chigeanna.</i>
" " footnote, l. 2, "	" " <i>mbliaðain</i>	" " <i>mbliaðain.</i>
" 68, " l. 16, "	" " <i>búga</i>	" " <i>búga.</i>
" 71, l. 23, "	" " 'visible'	" " 'risible.'
" 73, l. 5, "	" " <i>prácaí</i>	" " <i>prácaí.</i>
" 74, l. 21, "	" " <i>riocad</i>	" " <i>riocad.</i>
" 76, l. 23, "	" " <i>alcóir</i>	" " <i>alcóir.</i>
" " footnote, l. 3, "	" " <i>da</i>	" " <i>da.</i>
" " " l. 7, "	" " <i>haicrige</i>	" " <i>haicrige.</i>
" 77, l. 5, "	" " 'First'	" " 'Second.'
" 80, l. 28, <i>after</i>	'Irische Texte,'	<i>insert 'First Series.'</i>
" 81, footnote, l. 10, <i>for</i>	<i>háiríoin</i>	<i>read háiríoin.</i>

On p. 75 (footnote, l. 11) attention is called to the fact that *amrán*, *amránac*, *amránaióeac*, though given under variants, are missing where the alphabetical arrangement would place them. It is proper to state here that they are to be found, as has since been ascertained, at the end of the Dictionary, under 'Some Additions and Corrections.'

M. P. O'H.



# Notes and Queries

## LITURGY

### CAN AN INTENTION 'PRO VIVIS' BE DISCHARGED BY A REQUIEM MASS?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly in your next, or subsequent issue, give a solution to the following difficulty:—

Can a Dead Mass be said for the living, or for an intention the purport of which is unknown to the celebrant? I was under the impression that in either case a Mass *de Requie* might be said. But in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, November, 1902, in an article entitled 'Complete Legislation regarding Masses for the Dead,' in the last paragraph, page 501, I find the following: ' . . . Frequently stipends are offered to celebrate Mass *ad intentionem dantis*, and at times it is impossible to find out whether they are for the living or for the dead. The question arises, can in such cases a Mass *de Requie* be celebrated? In most authors, moral theologians and liturgists, a Decree of the S.R.C. is quoted which says *affirmative*—but it is not found in the *Collectio Authentica Decret. S.R.C.*'

I do not know to what Decree precisely the writer here refers, but I find in Bucerone's *Enchiridion Morale*, edition 1887, page 95, the following:—

1. An licet sacerdotibus uti paramentis nigris et celebrare Missam de Requie ut satisfaciant obligationi, quam susceperunt, celebrandi secundum intentionem dantis eleemosynam, quando prorsus ignorant, quoniam sit illius intentio, pro defunctis necne? 2. An licet sacerdotibus uti paramentis nigris et celebrare Missam de Requie ut satisfaciant obligationi, quam susceperunt, celebrandi pro vivis? S.C.R. rescripsit ad 1<sup>am</sup>, Affirmative. Ad 2<sup>am</sup>, Affirmative, modo non diverse praescripti qui dedit eleemosynam.—S.C. de P.F. 13 Oct. 1856.

Again, in Schneider's *Manuale Sacerdotum*, edition 1881, a similar answer is given to each question, though the date assigned for the Decrees S.R.C. is slightly different, 29 Nov., 1856. But in a footnote to the second Decree it is said that this decision holds good only when no other vestments except black are left out for the celebrant.

Now I would ask (1) Is there no authentic Decree allowing a dead Mass to be said in either case ? and (2) If there be no Decree on the subject, is there otherwise sufficient warrant to justify the practice, especially in the case when the celebrant does not know whether the Mass is to be offered for the living or for the dead ?—Faithfully yours,

CLERICUS.

The Decree quoted by our correspondent from Buccerone is, no doubt, the same as that referred to by the writer in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*. It is not, indeed, found in the new authentic collection. Van Der Stappen, however, is of opinion that it nevertheless exists. 'In Collectione Authentica Decretorum,' he says, 'non invenitur quidem sed revera existit.'<sup>1</sup> It is quoted in the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*,<sup>2</sup> and *Monitore Ecclesiastico*,<sup>3</sup> with apparent good faith in its genuineness. Granted, then, the existence of this decree there can be no doubt about the answer which the question proposed must receive. But, since the absence of the Decree from the Collection necessarily casts some doubts upon its authenticity, or at least on its abiding authority, we shall endeavour to justify on other grounds the conclusion it points to.

The faithful, as a rule, do not distinguish between the *rite* of a Mass and its *application*. What they desire, generally speaking, is that the fruits of the Sacrifice be offered up for a certain intention known to them. There may be, occasionally, an express understanding between them and the Priest as to the *quality* of the Mass requested. If this be so the precise contract must be carried out, and the particular Mass they want must be celebrated. Hence where, for instance, a Mass is requested with a view to honouring a certain Saint or Mystery and it is clear that a Votive Mass *pro vivis* is desired, the obligation will not be satisfied by saying a Requiem Mass, or even a Mass in conformity with the Office of the day whenever the Votive Mass is permitted.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 373.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xxviii. pp. 127, 128.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. vii. p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> S.R.C. Decr., nn. 321, 2461, 4031, ad iv.

The present query, we presume, abstracts from these special cases, and asks when, in a general way, a Mass is petitioned for the spiritual or temporal welfare of a living person, is the Priest free to say a Mass *de Requiem* in full discharge of his obligation. We believe that practically he is, and the following are the reasons for our opinion.

1. The following question was proposed to the Propaganda, which in turn submitted it to the Congregation of the Council :—

An Sacerdos in exequiis persolvendis Missam celebrans non recepto stipendio debeat pro ipso defuncto vel potius pro aliis petentibus et eleemosynan offerentibus sacrificium applicare queat.

The response was :—*Negative ad primam partem ; affirmative ad secundam.*<sup>1</sup> From which it follows that the celebration of Mass is one thing and the application another, and that a Priest may apply a *Requiem* Mass for the benefit of the living.

2. Again, the fruits of the Mass *ex parte participantium* may be classified under three heads. There is the *fructus generalissimus* in which all the faithful participate by virtue of the delegation of the Priest to pray in the name of the Church ; the *fructus specialissimus* which the celebrant also enjoys ; and the *fructus medius* or *ministerialis* which goes to those for whom the Mass is offered. Now this *fructus medii seu specialis* is the same in all Masses, so that as far as it is concerned a *Requiem* Mass may be as efficacious in promoting the desired object as any other Mass. Let us suppose that Mass is being offered for the recovery of a sick person. It is difficult to see how the celebration of a Mass in black vestments is less appropriate to this intention than the celebration of a Festive Mass, seeing that in neither case have the prayers a special fitness or aptness with a view to obtaining the favour sought for.

3. It is alleged that there is a custom among Priests on the Commemoration of All Souls of offering the Mass indiscriminately for any intention, and that this practice

<sup>1</sup> 27 Ap., 1895, apud *Acta Stae Sedis*, vol. xxviii.

has had a certain amount of approbation from the Congregation of Rites.<sup>1</sup> To these arguments might be added others based on the authority of theologians,<sup>2</sup> but enough has been said to justify our contention. So far, however, we have considered the question chiefly from the point of view of the Priest's obligation towards the person offering a stipend for the Mass. But do his obligations towards the Rubrics leave him equally free? De Herdt<sup>3</sup> would require some slight excusing cause. But this cause is of so slender a nature that its presence may invariably be assumed. For instance, he states that it would be a sufficient reason to say Mass in black vestments if these were the only ones arranged on the sacristy bench. Now, it would not be difficult to find a reason as potent as the trifling inconvenience of having to prepare vestments of the proper colour.

Moreover, the necessity for a cause to justify departure from conformity to the Office of the day arises from the Rubrical law, *Quoad fieri potest Missa officio conveniat*. This requirement, however, has been considerably modified by the subsequent legislation of the Congregation of Rites sanctioning on a large scale Masses not in harmony with the Office, so that some would say that the fact that a *Requiem* Mass is permitted leaves the Priest free to select it even without any cause.

We have given, as far as we know, the authentic Decrees bearing on our correspondent's question. Apart from the authority of these Decrees, and in the absence of anything to the contrary, we have established that a Priest, who undertakes to celebrate a Mass *pro vivis*, may legitimately discharge his obligation by saying a *Requiem* Mass. Lastly, we have shown that to do this without being guilty of a want of regard for the Rubrics any reasonable cause will, at the very most, be all that is necessary.

P. MORRISROE.

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* S.R.C. Decr., n. 1275.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Many, *De Missa*, p. 107; Lehmkuhl, vol. ii. p. 148 (1888); Schneider, *Manuale Sacerdotum*, ii. p. 41 (1900).

<sup>3</sup> *Praxis Liturgiae*, i. n. 67.

## DOCUMENTS

## RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH BISHOPS

At the usual quarterly meeting of the Standing Committee of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, held on Tuesday, January 17th, his Eminence Cardinal Logue in the chair,

The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted and have been sent for publication :—

## I.

**RESOLVED :** That in view of the insidious attempts now being made by the authorities of Trinity College and some of its Protestant supporters to induce by pecuniary bribes the youth of our Catholic schools to enter that institution so often condemned by their pastors, we feel it our urgent duty to warn our flocks against the danger of accepting those educational bribes.

The present attempt in no way differs in principle from the attempts made by Trinity College for the past 300 years, to wean away the Catholic youth of Ireland from their allegiance to their faith and their country. It is, in spirit, an offering of pecuniary bribes, in no way differing from those so often offered to Catholic boys to induce them to frequent proselytising schools in the West of Ireland and elsewhere.

Trinity College, unsectarian in theory, is Protestant in its government, its teaching, and its atmosphere. Numbers of its most distinguished men have recently boasted that the College is Protestant, and hope it will always remain so. It is no place for loyal Catholics. They cannot frequent its halls without the greatest danger of detriment to their faith, which is their highest blessing and greatest treasure.

As their pastors we call upon them in the most earnest manner to spurn this new bribe, as their fathers spurned similar bribes in the past. No true Irish Catholic will accept the proffered scholarships, and those who may be weak enough to do so may rest assured that their fellow-countrymen will never forget their recreancy in this crisis of our struggle for educational equality.

In vain have the Bishops appealed year after year to the Government to do justice to the Catholics of Ireland in the

matter of University education. In vain have Ministers responsible at various times for Irish administration acknowledged the reasonableness of the Catholic claim. In vain have our members of Parliament, representing alike the views of the laity and of the clergy, made an unanswerable case in the House of Commons for a University suited to the wants of the Irish people. At the dictation of an intolerant minority, the Government has abdicated its functions, and nothing is to be done unless it pleases intolerance to say when, and where, and how.

In such circumstances it is our duty to tell our people, whose vital interests are at stake, that they are fully justified in taking up the question in a way that will teach intolerance a lesson it badly needs.

Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges are no places for the intellectually gifted youth of a race that, through all the centuries since we received the faith, has prized religion as its most precious inheritance. It is intolerable that these institutions should hold their endowments, as if to serve the Irish people, when the small sections of the population which they do serve mercilessly bar out the bulk of the people from University education in any form acceptable to the nation at large. A monopoly so oppressive is already doomed, once public opinion is enlightened by a full discussion of the subject, and the eye of the nation fixed on the blighting influence of this degrading form of class privilege.

The device of trying to allure distinguished Intermediate students of Catholic schools into Trinity College by Scholarship bribes is quite in keeping with the history of that institution from the start. But it will only help to build up the determination of our people to have at long last, in a way that suits them, for higher education, their proper share of the income which Trinity College draws from eighteen Irish counties without showing any high example in its dealings with its estates.

If there is an objection against a fresh grant to provide a University for Irish Catholics, as restitution for the plunder of the past, or out of moneys drawn from Ireland in ruinous over-taxation, then the Irish Bishops, the Irish representatives and the Irish people, are bound to take all legitimate means to secure that the endowment of Trinity College and the moneys annually voted to the Queen's Colleges are made available for University education in a way the nation will endorse. There

is only one Irish nation ; but if there were two or more, as has recently been suggested by a distinguished authority, the revenues of those institutions can scarcely be said to go to the right one.

As the Government has shown that reason has no weight with them in the matter of educational justice if the old ascendancy chooses to object, it only remains for the Irish people to say that this ascendancy must altogether cease.

The whole country should rally round our Parliamentary representatives, and give them the whole strength of the nation's support in their endeavour to secure ordinary civic rights for Irish Catholics in educational, and all other matters.

We request the clergy to read this statement in the churches on Sunday, the 5th of February.

## II.

**RESOLVED :** That it would be singularly inadvisable from an educational point of view to diminish the organising staff for music, domestic economy, experimental science, and manual instruction, in connection with the system of Primary education in this country, at a time when everyone interested in Primary education is disposed to help in developing those useful branches of it, and many managers had incurred no inconsiderable expenditure in providing the necessary equipment for the work.

## III.

**RESOLVED :** That until duly qualified persons have been secured in sufficient numbers for organising and developing the practical side of Primary education, and until money is forthcoming, as it ought to be without delay to provide adequate salaries for the teachers, it is premature to arrange for even a suitable grade of higher elementary education in the National Schools, above the Sixth Standard.

✠ MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE, <i>Chairman.</i>	
✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, <i>Bishop of Waterford and Lismore,</i>	} <i>Secretaries to the Meeting.</i>
✠ HENRY, <i>Bishop of Down and Connor,</i>	

**DUTIES OF A MASTER OF NOVICES**

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM  
**MAGISTER NOVITIORUM NEQUIT FUNGI MUNERE EXAMINATORIS  
 PRO ADMISSIONE AD PROFESSIONEM, NISI AGATUR DE NOVITIIS  
 NON SUIS**

*Beatissime Pater :*

Prior Maioris Cartusiae ac Minister Generalis Ordinis Cartusiensis, ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provolutus, sequentium dubiorum solutionem humiliter postulat :

I. Utrum Magister Novitiorum munere Examinatoris, iuxta Decretum ' Regulari Disciplinae,' fungi valeat, etiam pro admissione ad professionem et quando agitur de suis Novitiis.

Quatenus negative :

II. Utrum saltem officium hoc exercere possit pro receptione ad habitum, imo, si agatur de Novitiis, quorum curam non habet, pro admissione ad professionem. Et Deus, etc.

Sacra Congregatio Emorum. et Rmorum. S.R.E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium prae-posita, omnibus mature perpensis, proposito dubio respondendum censuit, prout respondet :

' Ad. I. *Negative* ; ad. II. *Affirmative*.'

Romae, 14 Iunii 1904.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

PH. GIUSTINI, *Secret.*

**DECREE REGARDING DIMISSORIAL LETTERS**

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM

**DECRETUM**

**SUPERIORES GEN. CONGREGATIONUM GAUDENTES INDULTO CON-  
 CEDENDI LITTERAS DIMISSORIALES SUIS SUBDITIS, ILLAS  
 DIRIGERE DEBENT AD EPISCOPUM DIOCESEOS IN CUIUS  
 SEMINARIO PRAEDICTI ALUMNI, NULLI DOMUI ADHUC ADDICTI,  
 IAM AB ANNO, STUDIORUM CAUSA, COMMORANTUR**

Cum, peculiari S. Sedis indulto, superioribus generalibus recentiorum Congregationum, in quibus vota dumtaxat simplicia nuncupantur, impertiri soleat, ad certum tempus, facultas concedendi suis subditis litteras dimissoriales ad ordines suscipiendos, ea tamen conditione, ut easdem litteras dirigant ad Episcopum dioecesis, intra cuius limites pia domus ordinandi



reperitur, nisi hic abfuerit aut ordinationem non sit habiturus, nova quaedam exorta est quaestio, quae ab Emo. et Rmo. S.R.E. Cardinali F. M. B. Richard, Archiepiscopo Parisiensi, huic S. Congregationi Ep. et Reg. neg. et consult. praepositae, nuper subjecta fuit.

Exposuit nempe praelaudatus Archiepiscopus non raro contingere ut huiusmodi Congregationum seu Institutorum sodales, ubi primam votorum professionem emisissent, quin certae Instituti domui inscribantur, ad seminarium Parisiense a suis superioribus, studiorum causa, mittantur, ibique per unum aut plures annos commorentur, vitam communiter decentes cum caeteris eiusdem seminarii alumni. Adiciebat autem quaesitum exinde esse ad quemnam Episcopum, pro ordinatione huiusmodi sodalium, respectivi superiores generales mittere teneantur litteras dimissoriales, magnamque hac de re obortam esse contentionem, aliis alia sentientibus; quare enixe postulabat ut auctoritate huius S. Congr. decerneretur quid in praefatis casibus servandum sit.

Porro manifestum est tam legem veterem pro Regularibus votorum solemnium, ad rem, latam, quam recentes S. Sedis concessionem, illud uti certum praesumpsisse, quod quilibet religiosus seu Instituti alumnus alicui semper monasterio seu Instituti alumnus alicui semper monasterio seu domui sit addictus: quod quidem, iuxta exposita, reapse non obtigit.

Itaque eadem S. Congr., universa rei ratione mature perpensa, decernendum censuit litteras dimissoriales, in casibus de quibus supra, dirigendas esse ad Episcopum dioeceseos, in cuius seminario praefati alumni studiis dant operam, dummodo tamne seu postquam ipsi saltem per integrum annum ibidem commorati fuerint; servata in reliquis forma ac tenore indulti respective concessi.

Facta autem de praemissis relatione SS. D. N. Leoni d. Prov. PP. XIII in audientia habita ab infrascripto cardinali, die 30 Maii 1899, Sanctitas Sua sententiam Sacrae Congr. probare dignata est, eamque uti legem ab omnibus, ad quos spectat, servari iussit, contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria memoratae S. Congr., die 7 Iunii 1899.

S. Card. VANNUCELLI, *Praef.*

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

## LIFE OF PIUS X. Benziger Bros.

THIS is a volume of 400 pages, to which the author, with a modesty quite unusual among his countrymen, forgets to prefix his name. The authenticity of the Life is, however, sufficiently vouched for by His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, who, in an interesting preface, with a few light touches, sketches in outline the life, history, and character of our Sovereign Pontiff. Incidentally, a few remarkable details of the last Conclave are furnished by His Eminence.

The title of the book is scarcely adequate to its contents, as fully half the volume is occupied with a sketch of the Life of Leo XIII and with the history of the Conclave. The story of Pius X is told in considerable detail, chapters being devoted to the years of his youth, of his life as curate in Tombola, as pastor in Salzano, as Bishop in Mantua, and Cardinal Patriarch in Venice.

The author has consulted the most reliable sources of information in the compilation of his work, notably Schmidlin's *Life of Pius X*, and the more comprehensive Life of the same illustrious Pontiff written by Mgr. Anton de Waal, Rector of the German Campo Santo at Rome; for the life of Leo XIII he has had recourse to such well-known authorities as O'Byrne, Keller, Galland, and Justin M'Carthy. The volume is profusely illustrated; the number of illustrations, good ones too, exceeds 200; the book is well bound in decorated linen.

C. M.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ELOQUENCE. Translated from the Spanish of Don Antonio de Capmany by the Rev. W. MacLoughlin, Mount Melleray Abbey. Dublin: James Duffy & Co.

THE original of this work was published in Madrid in 1777. It is an able treatise on Rhetoric. The translation is fluent and idiomatic. The translator divides the work into four parts, *i.e.*, 'On the Qualities of the Oratorical Talent,' 'On Oratorical Language,' 'On Style,' and 'On the Ornaments of Eloquence.' He contributes a preface of eleven pages, to which he supplies,

in an appendix, thirty-five pages of notes. In the notes, the learned translator delivers his soul on the Old Irish MSS., Modern Irish Harps, the injustice of Irish Taxation, and Irish University Education, Tonic Sol-fa, Irish Music and the distinctive Irish Scales, Crushed Civilizations, the difficulties of the English Tongue to foreigners, and on a host of other topics equally interesting.

C. M.

**THE SONS O' CORMAC AN' TALES OF OTHER MEN'S SONS.**  
By Aldis Dunbar. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.  
Price 6s.

THIS is a collection of twelve folk-tales told to children in dialect by an old gardener. The stories are very clever, picturesque, and, like all good tales of faërie, full of unconscious poetry.

C. M.

**STRONG ARM OF AVALON.** By Mary T. Waggaman.  
Benziger Brothers. Price 85 cents.

THIS is a fine moral story of boyish heroism. The scene is laid in Maryland in the days of the Lord-Protector, Cromwell. The persecution by the dominant Puritans of the Catholic Faith, the hunted Priesthood, and the confiscation of the estates of the Catholic settlers, the bold but futile stand for freedom of conscience made by the latter at Providence, their temporary exile, and their ultimate success in the days of the Restoration are the leading incidents of the tale. There is a strength and manly fibre in the book that will recommend it not only to boys, to whom it is especially commendable, but to all who like to read of the chivalrous deeds of noble natures and generous hearts.

C. M.

**THE PESHITTA PSALTER.** By Rev. W. E. Barnes. Cambridge University Press. 1904.

THIS new text of the Western Syrian translation is immeasurably more accurate than that hitherto in common use, viz. : the text edited by Gabriel Sionita in 1625, reprinted not without mistakes in the Paris Polyglot (1645), repeated in Walton's Polygot (1645), and copied, not without some more

mistakes, by Lee (1823, 1825). The work now before us comes as a boon to the student. It is the result of seven years' labour. Rev. Mr. Barnes has collated for it eight printed editions, twenty-eight MSS., and the works of several Syrian ecclesiastical writers, from Aphrahat (fl. 337-345) to Barhebraeus (1226-1286). Among all the MSS. used, one now preserved in the British Museum is considered to be the best by the learned editor. He remarks, 'But on the whole "C" (B.M., Add. 17, 110) seems to me the most valuable authority we possess for the Peshitta text of the Psalms.'

It should be noted that this edition is not a reconstruction of the version common to all Syrians before the division into Eastern (Nestorian) and Western (Jacobite) texts: it is a corrected Western text, the Eastern readings being given in the copious *Apparatus Criticus*.

Owing to the affinity between the Syriac and Hebrew, the Peshitta version of the Psalter cannot but be regarded as one of the most useful aids to its understanding that we possess. It would, however, be a mistake to imagine that the Peshitta Psalter consists exclusively of the work of a Semitic translator, who in his knowledge of his native tongue possessed a great advantage over speakers of any European language. As the learned editor of the work before us says (Introduction, p. xxxiv.): 'The earliest MSS. (those belonging to the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries) exhibit a text which is not a simple translation from the Hebrew but a translation which bears upon it the marks of the influence of the Septuagint.' And three years ago he wrote in the *Journal of Theological Studies*: 'The Syriac translators must indeed have known that their own knowledge of Hebrew was far in advance of the knowledge possessed by the LXX, and yet the stress of Greek fashion had its way now and again. The Syriac transcribers on the contrary were ignorant of Hebrew and ready to introduce readings found in a Greek version or recommended by a Greek father. So the Peshitta in its later text has more of the LXX than in its earlier form. It is only in the Psalter (so it seems to me at the present stage of my work) that any general Greek influence bringing in a new characteristic is to be found. That characteristic is a dread of anthropomorphisms from which the Syriac translators of the Pentateuch were free.'

In conclusion, it may be observed that this scholarly edition

is certain to be most useful to all that make a special study of either Syriac or of one of the most important books in the Old Testament. We wish it a wide circulation.

R. W.

**ECCLESIASTICUS (HEBRAICE ET LATINE).** Fr. Peters.  
Herder. 1905. Price 3s.

ONE of the most interesting discoveries made in recent times is that of large portions of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus. At present nearly the whole of the original is in our hands. It had been lost for centuries, and even though St. Jerome said he saw it, rationalists and other opponents of a deuterocanonical book would not believe him.

The recovery of what Jesus the son of Sirach translated, enables us to understand the value of his and of the ancient second-hand versions. The text of Father Peters' is the faithful reproduction of the Oxford and Cambridge facsimiles, and is therefore much more accurate than the printed texts hitherto in use. His Latin version, critical notes, and glossary make this as good a book as anyone can desire.

**ELEMENTA PHILOSOPHIAE SCHOLASTICAE.** Auctore Dr. Seb.  
Reinstadler. 2 volumina. Friburgi : B. Herder.

THE appearance of a second edition of Dr. Reinstadler's Elements of Scholastic Philosophy affords us an opportunity for recommending to students of Philosophy a work that may be called the key to their efficiency both as philosophers and future theologians. Its author tells us that the 'Elements' owe their origin to the Encyclical of Leo XIII on the Study of St. Thomas. Under the influence of that masterful pronouncement no more succinct manifestation of Thomistic teaching could be found than is offered by these two volumes. It is difficult without having seen them to form an adequate idea of the careful and splendid work they contain. They cover the whole ground of Mental and Moral Science in an admirably concise yet not superficial way.

The author displays an ability for combining brevity and clearness, accuracy and finality. Of course he has not attempted to go deeply into his expositions, nor to discuss every metaphysical puzzle; his work leaves problems still unsolved

But as a manual for a two years' course of Philosophy his book comes very near to being perfect.

Though we have praise for the work as a whole there are many things in it after which we have put interrogation marks. For instance, when treating of the real distinction between essence and existence in finite beings he says that the opinion of those who do not hold a *real* distinction is probable. We should like to have some reasons for his statement. He quotes Father Lepidi; but we could never be convinced by the distinguished author's reasons. Clear recollection have we of what we would call the weak answers he used to give when objected to, that if there was not a real distinction then every finite being would be an *esse subsistens*; an *esse irreceptum*. However, '*unusquisque in suo sensu abundet*.'

Elsewhere he states as a thesis, '*Anima humana est per naturam suam immortalis*.' Well, though we thoroughly *believe* that the soul is immortal, we can find no reason for saying that it is so '*per naturam suam*.' Incorruptible, certainly, it is; but incorruptibility is not a convertible term with immortality.

There are many other questions—especially in his treatise on Ethics, where he has to dissent from the views of non-Catholic philosophers—where we should wish for a fairer presentation of their theories and more constructive reasoning in their refutation. This is to be expected. A manual is always a manual. Looking at the '*Elements*' in this light, they are unquestionably of great worth. It is with great pleasure we introduce them to our readers.

A. J. H.

**FATHER DAMIEN, APOSTLE OF THE LEPERS OF MOLOKAI.**

Translated from the French of the Rev. Philibert Tauvel, SS.CC. With an introduction by Father Damien's brother, Father Pamphile de Veuster. London: Art and Book Co. 1904.

THIS volume is a permanent record of the life and labours of Father Damien. It is not, however, the last word on the Apostle of the Lepers. It gives the main facts of his life; but there are many interesting deductions from these facts that find no place in the volume. Neither do the very interesting discussions to which they give rise. Father Damien's life in the fuller and broader sense has still to be written.

SERMONS PREACHED IN ST. EDMUND'S COLLEGE CHAPEL.  
Collected and arranged by Edwin Burton, Vice-President. With an Introduction by the Archbishop of Westminster. London : Burns and Oates. 1904.  
Price 5s.

IF a great increase in the number of sermon books were any indication of an improvement in modern preaching there could be no doubt that we are advancing. But is it an indication ? We fear not. And judging from the general run of new sermon books to which reviewers under pain of being considered churlish are bound to pay more or less stale compliments on their appearance, we fear that in matter as well as in style there are very few indeed that deserve genuine praise.

The volume now before us has the advantage of variety. It contains sermons by Cardinal Manning, Canon Oakely, Archbishop Ullathorne, Bishop Hedley, Mgr. Ward, etc. In matter the sermons are instructive, solid, well thought out and well arranged. In style they are rather cold for our taste. Irish preachers who are inclined towards the florid style may, however, read them with advantage.

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION OF THE MOTHER OF GOD.  
By Archbishop Ullathorne. London : Art and Book Co.

THIS is a reprint of a well-known book of Archbishop Ullathorne's, which it was thought well to bring out on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Immaculate Conception. It is needless to say that it is a good book on the subject from every point of view.



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## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND HUMAN LIBERTY—I

ASTOR, LENOX  
TILDEN FOUNDATION

**I**T seems to be the universally accepted opinion among non-Catholics that the Catholic Church is the avowed and uncompromising adversary of human liberty, and that, on the contrary, the churches and chapels and the philosophies of the Reformation are the sole depositaries and advocates and defenders of the inestimable prerogative of human freedom. And as the Church is conceived by them to substitute unduly the principle of authority for the exercise of independent individual judgment, so she is represented as unfavourable to the development of personal initiative, to independence of character and to confidence in our own powers; as opposed to the independent study of religion, history, philosophy, and even the experimental sciences; and, in the world of economics, as a most serious obstacle and hindrance to the material growth and prosperity of a nation.

Catholics, needless to say, do not accept this appreciation as a fair presentation of their Church's attitude towards personal, intellectual, religious and economic freedom. They, who live within the Church and have practical experience of the working of ecclesiastical authority in matters of faith and morals, are satisfied that submission to Church authority does not produce civic



or religious enslavement, but secures for the members of the Church wise and unerring direction for the legitimate use of liberty; they have the conviction that defective education and backwardness in material prosperity are due to other causes than to Church authority; and it is to them a subject of unceasing wonder that the non-Catholic world should be ever ready to receive with favour the most extravagant systems of theology and philosophy that deny the very existence of human liberty, and should reserve its denunciations for the Catholic Church, because, while solemnly defining the existence of human liberty as an article of faith, she insists that in its use and exercise Freedom shall not degenerate into mere licentiousness, but shall be guided and governed by law.

I am not going to advance proofs, in these articles, for the existence of Freewill, nor reply to the difficulties which are urged by Determinists against its existence. I shall content myself with the more modest undertaking of submitting a comparative statement of the teaching of the Catholic Church and of the non-Catholic world, ecclesiastical and philosophical, on this vital question of the existence of Freedom of the will. But first I will premise a brief explanation of the various meanings attached to the word Liberty, as obviously it would be impossible to compare the teaching of different Churches and Schools on this question unless the sense in which the subject is understood by all be well defined.

Liberty is generally conceived as the opposite of restraint, bondage, servitude; and besides a definite literal philosophical meaning admits of many more easy and metaphorical acceptations. Sometimes, as in the philosophy of Spinoza, it signifies that calm, deliberate, unbiassed *use of reason*, which delivers its judgment on the great issues of life without fear or favour or prejudice, making its judgment to correspond faithfully to the innate evidence of things; and on the contrary we speak of the insane and the inebriate as slaves to their hallucinations, and of the passionate and the avaricious and the unclean as slaves, even in their mental judgments, to their

vices and passions and prejudices. Again the word Liberty is taken to signify *the beatific state*, and is styled, the Liberty of Glory, where the Blessed transported from the world of the servitude of uncertainty, ignorance and error, of temptation, passion and sin, of disease and death and decomposition, shall enjoy the freedom of truth and sinlessness, and incorruption and immortality in the kingdom of the Father. I shall have, farther on in the course of this article, to refer to the liberty of action of the Blessed in heaven; but in the sense just explained the personal freedom of action is not so much contemplated as the immunity of the *beatific state* from the corruptibility of the present state of probation. Closely allied to the preceding is the usage popular among theologians and preachers who, when they wish to extol the dignity of *the state of grace in this life*, describe it as a state of special liberty, the Liberty of Grace, in which men are translated from the tyranny and slavery of sin into the glorious freedom of adopted children of God. Finally, in the strict philosophical acceptance of the term, there is *the Liberty of Nature*; which may be intrinsic, *ab intrinseco*, consisting in immunity from internal determination to one action or line of action, and extrinsic, *ab extrinseco*, consisting merely in immunity from external compulsion.

When we pass from these definitions, which are of a very general character, to consider the special essential elements of intrinsic and extrinsic liberty, we find a considerable diversity of exposition in the schools of Idealist Determinism, Mechanical Determinism, and Indeterminism. Idealist Determinists ascribe to man, besides his bodily organisation, a supersensible nature, conceived, at least by the more orthodox, as an immaterial soul with intellect and will, and acts of reason and volition. The will, they say, is beyond the reach of external compulsion, but is not endowed with the power of self-determination. Every volition is infallibly determined by a chain of antecedents, by the sum of the character, disposition, principles, views and feelings of the individual who elicits the volition. A definite volition will follow a definite

series of antecedents as certainly as a stone falls to the ground in obedience to the law of gravitation, though the necessity is called moral in the one case and in the other physical; and this definite volition is the only one possible in the circumstances. Many Idealist Determinists candidly confess that in their view man is free only from external violence, but not from intrinsic determination of nature; that he is subject to what they call moral or philosophical necessity, in opposition to the physical necessity of the Mechanical Determinists. But some of the Calvinist and Presbyterian<sup>1</sup> determinist theologians, while contending that every volition is inexorably determined by a chain of internal antecedents, claim nevertheless that man is a free agent, free internally as well as free from external compulsion, and that he is morally responsible for his actions. They call this freedom the *Liberty of Certainty* and the *Liberty of Rational Spontaneity*. They reject the theory of *self-determination of the will*, as it appears to them to separate the will from the agent, to detach it from the other faculties of the soul and to make it independent of and out of sympathy with them. And they advocate the theory of *self-determination of the agent*; which implies, they say, that the agent is the efficient cause of his own act, and that the grounds or reasons of his determination are all within himself; that he is determined, not by any external influence, but by the sum of what constitutes him at the moment a particular individual, by his character, disposition, principles, feelings, to which for supernatural acts would be added the power of the divine supernatural influence.

Mechanical Determinists unequivocally deny the existence of Freewill and moral responsibility. And yet they too may claim that they safeguard the *self-determination of the agent*, and consequently the internal liberty of certainty and spontaneity. No doubt they deny the existence of a spiritual soul with immaterial faculties and acts. Man is dependent for his cognitions and volitions,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, vol. ii., part ii., ch. ix.

in the first instance, on the action of the external world. Some external object will make an impression on the senses : this impression is transmitted to the brain through the afferent nerves : from thence an answering impulse is sent back to the muscles by the efferent nerves, or the motion is transformed into what is called thought in the brain itself. Every new effect or consequent, however, follows mechanically from its group of antecedents. But it might be said that once an external object has made an impression on the senses, the agent is thenceforward independent of external compulsion, and that all the subsequent phenomena that appear within the human organism derive their origin mechanically, by the self-determining power of the agent, from the sum of what constitutes him at the moment a particular individual, his senses, nerves, brain, muscles, disposition, character, principles and feelings. In reality the theories of Idealist and Mechanical Determinism differ rather in relation to the constitution of man and spirituality of the soul, than to the existence of human liberty. The self-determination of the Idealist Determinists merely signifies the self-sufficiency and self-efficiency of the agent ; that his volitions are independent of external compulsion, and have their sole principle in the agent himself, in his will, his intellect, his disposition, feelings and principles ; but, assuming a definite group of antecedents, it expressly denies to the will or to the agent the power of electing, in the last instant, what the next volition or act shall be.

Finally, in Indeterminist Schools internal Liberty is taught to be a power by which, assuming all the conditions required to elicit a volition, taking account too of the totality of the agent's disposition, feelings and principles the agent is able, by the self-determination of his will, to elicit the act or abstain from it, or elicit an act of an opposite or specifically distinct kind. This freedom of the will is not synonymous, as Determinists sometimes assert, with 'ability to do something.' It presupposes the ability to elicit an act. We do not speak of the existence or the non-existence of human liberty in reference, for

example, to the act of flying ; we say that it is impossible for man to fly. Nor, in modern usage, do we speak of the existence or the non-existence of liberty to perform supernatural acts by our own natural powers ; we simply say that it is impossible. But assuming the ability and the conditions required for eliciting an act we might describe freedom of the will as 'the ability to elicit or abstain from eliciting a particular act,' by the self-determining power of the human will. This Liberty is called Freewill and the Liberty of Indifference and the Liberty of Contingence. A free volition, however, is not a motiveless volition. A man, for example, may be deliberating with himself whether he ought to stay at home and attend to his business or take a vacation on the continent for the benefit of his health ; and whether he elects to stay at home or to travel for the benefit of his health, his choice will be guided by reasons, it will not be a motiveless choice, but a choice between motives. Man can will nothing which is not conceived to be good from some point of view. And the great dignity of the faculty of Freewill consists in the sovereign independence with which it invests man in the midst of objects of finite good. He stands independent in the midst of a world of objects soliciting his will, lawful objects and unlawful objects, worthy objects and unworthy objects ; and he can choose or reject according to the self-determining power of his own will.

With these preliminary observations, I will now proceed to submit a statement of the teaching of the non-Catholic world and of the Catholic Church on the subject of human Liberty. I shall take the word Liberty in the sense of Freedom of the will, and shall endeavour to tell what the non-Catholic world teaches about the *existence* of Freewill ; what the Catholic Church teaches on the same subject ; and finally, what all teach about the need of limitation and direction in the *legitimate use* of Freewill.

I.

I think I shall have presented a sufficiently complete statement of the views of the non-Catholic ecclesiastical and philosophical world on the existence of Freewill if I have described what the Lutheran, Calvinist, Anglican, and Presbyterian Churches teach on this subject, and what is taught in the philosophical schools of Kant, of Pantheism, and of modern Positivism and Evolution.

I. The teaching of the Lutherans on Freewill varied very much during the evolution of the Reformation. Luther himself asserted 'that man is devoid of freedom, that every (pretended) free action is only apparent, that an irresistible divine necessity rules all things, and that every human act is at bottom only the act of God.'<sup>1</sup> In the controversies on Synergism or co-operation of man with God the Lutherans taught that man remains quite passive and that God alone is active. 'Even so early as the celebrated disputation at Leipsig, Luther defended this doctrine against Eck, and compared man to a saw that passively let itself be moved in the hand of the workman. Afterwards he delighted in comparing fallen man to a pillar of salt, a block, a clod of earth, incapable of working with God.'<sup>2</sup> Hence our post-reformation theologians teach that Luther denied to fallen man, though moved by divine grace, the power of eliciting supernatural acts, and that he held that such acts are produced and infused by God and merely received by the passive inactive human subject.<sup>3</sup>

Nor was his more moderate and scholarly lieutenant Melancthon less extreme on this question in the beginning of the Reformation. He declared that the term 'freewill' was alien to Scripture, and deplored the introduction of

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<sup>1</sup> Moehler, *Symbolism*, etc., translated by James Burton Robertson, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Suarez, *De Gratia*, l. v., c. iv., nn. i. seqq. Salmant, Tr. xiv. *De Gratia Dei*, d. i., c. ii., § ii., nn. 81, 82.

this word and the word 'reason' from pagan philosophy into the Christian Church :—

He comprised all things in the circle of an unavoidable necessity and predestination, and declared the doctrine, that God is the sole agent, to be a necessary part of all Christian science.<sup>1</sup> . . . In his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, in the edition of the year 1525, he had the hardihood to assert that God wrought all things, evil as well as good ; that He was the author of David's adultery and the treason of Judas, as well as of Paul's conversion.<sup>2</sup> . . . Perceiving, however, after more diversified experience and maturer reflection, especially after the controversy with the Catholics, the prodigious abyss into which such a doctrine must precipitate the Church, he subsequently abandoned and even combated it. On the other hand we are unacquainted with any such recantation on the part of Luther ; and the Formulary of Concord gives an express sanction to the writing of the latter against Erasmus. This doctrine of the Servitude of the Human Will has had the greatest weight ; and its influence, according to Melancthon's assurance, pervades even the whole religious system of the Lutherans.<sup>3</sup>

The denial of Freewill and the doctrine that God alone is active in the work of spiritual regeneration soon began to bear lamentable fruits among the followers of the reformers. Many, the leaders complain,<sup>4</sup> scandalised and depraved by these doctrines gave themselves up to a dissolute life, ceased to frequent the public ecclesiastical services, abandoned all religious exercises and impiously proclaimed their intention of continuing in contumacy against God, or of waiting until He should convert them violently and against their will. In these circumstances the Lutheran doctrine on liberty had to be more distinctly formulated, and a distinction was made between civil or political liberty and spiritual liberty. Man, it was taught, is free in his civil and political capacity : he is free in his external movements : he has the power of locomotion, he can walk to church and read or hear the word of God : but the supernatural conversion comes from God alone,

<sup>1</sup> Moehler, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> *Solid Declar.* ii. ; *de lib. arbit.* s. 33, p. 640.

somewhat as it is conceived to come at the revival meetings of the Methodists.

Lutherans then would agree with Catholics, against the Pelagians, that man can perform no salutary act without the aid of divine grace ; but in this case there is question not of *liberty* nor of *necessity*, but of absolute *inability*. But in the Lutheran theory, unregenerate man, even under the influence of a divine supernatural motion, can give God no co-operation in the work of justification, nor has he the power of determining whether he shall assent or dissent, but remains absolutely passive in the hands of God, like a saw that is moved by the hand of the workman. Finally, Lutherans conceded to man a certain political and civil liberty ; which however is believed to signify merely the *ability* to perform civil and political acts, but not the power to perform an act or abstain from performing it by the self-determination of the will ; a liberty, that is to say, of spontaneity and immunity from external violence, such as is advocated by modern Idealist Determinists. In all departments, therefore, of life, in the religious, political, social and domestic spheres, in the natural and supernatural, spiritual and corporal orders, every human action is determined proximately and necessarily by God, or follows necessarily from a series of antecedents decreed by Him, and can be denominated *free* only by reason of its spontaneity and of the will's immunity from external violence.

II. The Calvinist doctrine of Freewill is closely connected with the notorious Calvinistic theory of Predestination and Reprobation. There appeared in course of time two schools of Calvinists—the Supralapsarians and Infralapsarians. The Supralapsarians teach that antecedently to and independently of the prevision or consideration of original sin, and the merits of the elect or demerits of the reprobate, God selected from the human race, about to be created, a certain number for eternal glory, that He might have subjects in whom He could manifest His divine mercy and goodness, and the remainder of mankind He destined for eternal damnation, that He might have sub-



jects, the vessels of wrath, in whom He could manifest His avenging justice. This law of human destiny was accompanied by a divine scheme, which prescribed the means by which the order of providence, in relation to the Predestination of the Elect and the Reprobation of the Reprobate, should be executed in the successive generations of men unto the end of time. In this scheme of divine providence God decreed for the elect, whom He was to create for eternal glory, regeneration, efficacious justifying faith and final perseverance, and determined in the most absolute manner all the events of their lives and the whole series of acts, political and spiritual, natural and supernatural, virtuous and vicious, which should fill in the span of their mortal existence; and determined in an equally absolute manner for the reprobate, whom He was to create for eternal damnation, all the acts of their lives, and in particular their unbelief and the sins, original and personal, by which they should be kept on the broad road that leads to destruction, that He might have subjects in whom He could show forth His justice by punishing them for their sins. Calvinists always say that the reprobate are punished *for their own sins*. No doubt the sins of the reprobate are the proximate cause of condemnation; but if God preordained sin and impenitence in order that He might have subjects in whom He might manifest His avenging justice, He is Himself the remote cause of sin and reprobation.

And yet, say the Supralapsarians, man is free and God is holy! Yes, man is free; free from external violence, and with the freedom too of internal spontaneity and voluntareity. For, is a man not free when he does what he likes and abstains from what he dislikes? And God will have so preordained and adapted the nature and acts of men in the decrees of His eternal providence, that the elect in accepting justifying faith and rejecting unbelief will be doing what they like and abstaining from what they dislike; and the reprobate, in their unbelief and their avarice and their lust and their drunkenness and their murders, will be doing what they like, what is pleasing to

their vicious natures, and abstaining from what they dislike, a life of faith and virtue. And God is just and holy, they tell us! The relation of God to sin was felt by all the leaders of the Reformation to be a subject of peculiar delicacy and difficulty. If God, it could be asked, had absolutely and efficaciously *intended* and *decreed* all the sins that are committed in the world by the elect and the reprobate, that He might show mercy and grant pardon to the former and punish the latter, how comes it to pass that the same acts are sinful in man and punishable with eternal torments, and remain just and holy and consistent with infinite sanctity in God? The Calvinists replied to this difficulty in various ways. The sinner, they said, is justly punished for his sins because he violates the divine law; but God is holy because, though He decrees the sinful acts, He violates no law, for God is above all law! And again: God, no doubt, has absolutely and efficaciously decreed the infidelity and all the sins and crimes to be committed to the end of time, but God has willed and decreed these evils for a pure motive, for a holy end, to exercise avenging justice on sinners, and therefore God is just and holy; but the reprobate perform these acts not through love of justice, not for a worthy end, but from unworthy motives and for sinful ends, actuated by avarice, lust, covetousness, etc., and are consequently justly condemned and punished! And again we are assured that, though it may be difficult to reconcile this theory of Predestination and Reprobation with the will of God as revealed in Scripture, it is in perfect harmony with the mysterious hidden decrees of divine providence.<sup>1</sup>

The Infralapsarians<sup>2</sup> sought to mitigate somewhat the severity of the Supralapsarian theory of predestination and reprobation. The Supralapsarians conceived the decree of reprobation to be antecedent to the prevision of original sin and independent of it; the Infralapsarians taught that the divine decree was consequent on the prevision of original

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Moehler, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Canones Synodi Dordrechtanæ*, art. xv. (apud Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*).

sin. To manifest His own glory and communicate His goodness to creatures God decreed to create the world, to elevate man to a supernatural state and to permit the fall. And from the mass of fallen mankind He chose a certain number for eternal glory to be vessels of mercy, and the remainder He left, as He left the fallen angels, to suffer the just punishment of their sins. To this law of divine providence regarding the end and destiny of mankind, there corresponds an order of providence defining the means by which the different orders of men shall be borne on to their final destiny. The Son of God became incarnate to redeem the elect, and died for them alone. God confers on the elect regeneration, faith, repentance and the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. These, however, are but the signs of their predestination and not the cause of their final glory, which is the gratuitous gift of God through the merits of Christ. All the acts of the elect are preordained by God, their regeneration, faith, occasional sins, repentance; and yet are they also free, free from external violence and free with the freedom of spontaneity and voluntareity.

And the reprobate, the vessels of iniquity, what is the divine providence in their regard, what is their liberty? Infralapsarians merely tell us that they are unredeemed, and that they are left, like the fallen angels, to suffer the just punishment for their sins. They are left without grace and in the necessity of sinning and of impenitence. Their acts, like the acts of the elect, are preordained by an immutable divine decree; each infallibly and inevitably follows its own particular divinely ordained chain of antecedents; and on their journey towards the divinely preordained goal of reprobation, though they may be free from external violence in their civil and political actions, and their acts may be spontaneous and voluntary, of free-will, or of the power of election by the self-determination of the will, they have none.

III. The doctrine of the Anglican Church on Freewill is defined in Article X. of the Thirty-nine Articles:—

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God: Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.

Though the Article is entitled, *De Libero Arbitrio*, it can be seen that it treats, not of Freewill or Determinism, but of the *inability* of fallen man to prepare himself for justification. According to modern usage this old Pelagian subject of controversy is not treated as a question of Freewill or Determinism, but of the necessity of grace and of the ability or inability of man to perform salutary supernatural acts without the aid of divine grace. The Freewill problem might be thus proposed: in the supernatural order, assuming the prevenient and assistant grace of God, under the influence of the divine supernatural motion does man retain the power of dissenting, as he has the power of assenting? And in the natural civil and political order has man merely the *ability* to perform natural acts, as the brute beasts have, mere spontaneity of action and immunity from external violence, or is he endowed with the power of election by self-determination of the will? The Anglican Articles contain no definite teaching on these points, and consequently we may assume that the profession of Determinism by clergymen or the laity is not incompatible with the official teaching of the Anglican Church.

And when we pass from the official Articles of the Anglican Church to the writings of her divines, we find that freewill in the civil and political and sinful order is identified with mere *ability* to perform certain acts, mere spontaneity or immunity from external violence; that in the supernatural order, man has no power of dissenting under the influence of a supernatural motion; and that all human actions, natural and supernatural, though they can be immune from external violence, are subject to a law of necessity. I will quote from a few of the authors edited for the Parker Society:—

We deny not [writes Rogers<sup>1</sup>] that man, not regenerate, hath freewill to do the works of nature, for the preservation of the body and bodily estate ; which thing had and have the brute beast and profane gentiles, as it is also well observed in our neighbour churches. Besides man hath freewill to perform the works of Satan, both in thinking, willing and doing that which is evil.

And Bradford writes<sup>2</sup> :—

That all things are done by coaction or compulsion is false, and out of God's providence and predestination cannot be gathered or maintained. All and every thing that hath been done, is, or shall be, in consideration of God's providence as it is with God, are of necessity, but yet not of compulsion or restraint : as for example, you shall see that necessity is one thing and constraint is another thing. God is good of necessity ; but who now will say, then, that He is so by coaction or enforced thereto ? The devil is naught by necessity, but not of coaction : good men do well of necessity, but not by compulsion : wicked men do evil of necessity, but not of constraint. A thing that is done willingly is not to be said to be done by constraint. God is good willingly, but not by compulsion : the devil is naught willingly, but not of enforcing : good men do good willingly, but not constrainedly : wicked men do transgress willingly, but not compelled. So that it is plain, though all things be done of necessity, yet are they not of compulsion and enforcement.

IV. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian bodies in all the English-speaking countries have adopted the Calvinist theory, Supralapsarian or Infralapsarian, of Freewill, Predestination and Reprobation. In the 'Westminster Confession' God is said to have appointed the elect unto eternal life, and 'the rest of mankind He was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of His own will (whereby He extendeth or withholdeth mercy as He pleaseth) for the glory of His sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sin, to the praise of His glorious justice.'<sup>3</sup> Presbyterians are allowed to interpret the 'Confession' in a Supralapsarian or Infralapsarian sense, and

<sup>1</sup> *On the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> Cap. iii. § 7 (*apud* Niemeyer).

to be themselves Supralapsarians or Infralapsarians. In the milder form we, as it were, start from original sin. From the mass of fallen men God selects the elect to be 'vessels of mercy': Christ died for them alone: God has preordained for them regeneration, faith and final perseverance: sin cannot deprive them of their final crown: their faith and the sacraments and good works have no merit, but are merely external and visible signs of their election to glory: they can have infallible certainty that they belong to the body of the elect: God has preordained the whole series of their acts; and though they can be free from external coercion, and their acts are spontaneous and voluntary, they have no power of choice by the sole self-determination of the will. And the reprobate? God, we are told, was pleased to pass them by *and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sin*, to the praise of His glorious justice. Calvinists and Presbyterians always teach that the reprobate are punished for their own sins, and carefully avoid any reference to God's relation to these sins. But, in this theory Christ has not died for the reprobate; and though they may receive some temporary ineffective spiritual favours during life, they are left by God in the necessity of sinning. Moreover, according to Calvinists and Presbyterians, God has preordained absolutely and inflexibly all the phenomena of the universe and the acts of man; and though the reprobate be free from external compulsion, and their acts are spontaneous and voluntary, they have no power of choice of action by the self-determining power of the will!

The recent troubles in the United Free Church of Scotland have awakened public interest in this truly hard and repulsive theory. The Free Church which was formed by the Secessionists from the Established Church in 1843, or Disruptionists as they are called, was remarkable for its extreme Calvinist teaching. So, too, were the United Presbyterians. But conviction began to change both in the Free Church and among the United Presbyterians from Calvinism to Arminianism. And when in 1900 a majority of the Free Church members and the entire body

of the United Presbyterians entered into union in the United Free Church of Scotland, Foreordination and Freewill were left open questions. They had already abandoned the principle of an Established Church and had adopted the principal of Voluntaryism. And in the famous lawsuit for the temporalities of the old Free Church the House of Lords gave judgment in favour of the remnant of the old Free Church that had not entered into union with the United Presbyterians ; as the party that adhered to the opinions and principles in which the denomination had originally united. We may rejoice at the emancipation of the United Free Church from the bondage of Supralapsarianism and Infralapsarianism ; but there is reason to fear that the emancipation has taken place, not by a change into the path of orthodox Christianity, but from the extreme of Calvinism to the opposite extreme of Rationalism.

V. Passing from the teaching of the Protestant Churches on the subject of Freewill to the teaching of the philosophical schools, I will begin with the philosophy of Kant, whose philosophical system is esteemed very highly by the Protestant world. In his *Critique of Practical Reason* Kant emphatically asserts the supremacy of the moral law. Consciousness tells us, he says, that we *ought* to perform certain actions and refrain from others. We have no immediate consciousness, however, of Freewill ; but if we would construct for ourselves a consistent scientific theory of the sense of obligation of which we are conscious we must postulate the existence of God, the immortality of the soul and Freewill. The will is free ; for the law that says, thou oughtest, implies that thou canst. These truths are therefore postulates for an adequate subjective conception of moral duty. But pure reason cannot prove either the existence of God, or the immortality of the soul, or Freewill ; and we can have no rational certainty of their real objective existence !

We notice in this a peculiar affinity between the philosophy of Kant and the religious systems of Protestantism. The various Protestant Churches and Congregations have

adopted certain formularies of faith to maintain some degree of unity among their members. But these Churches and Congregations expressly disavow all claim to be able to decide infallibly for their communicants whether the truths contained in the formularies are objectively true or not ; the truths are required for the profession of Christianity and for membership with the Churches, but whether they represent objective truth or not, the Churches confess themselves unable to decide.

VI. I will next briefly describe the theory of Freedom advocated by Spinoza, whose doctrine of *the unity of substance* supplies the philosophical basis of all modern materialism. Spinoza distinguishes in man the *state of nature* and the *state of reason*. Considered in the *state of nature* man, both in corporal and spiritual activity, is a part of the physical universe, subject to all its laws, and in particular to the law, that the strongest wins. According to the character of his constitution and the nature of his environment he is necessarily swayed by the varying emotions of joy or sadness, love or hatred, hope or despair, etc. In this *state of nature*, which he calls *the state of servitude*, Spinoza teaches that man is subject to the most rigid mechanical determinism :—

Tout le monde attribue à Spinoza la doctrine du fatalism ou du déterminism, et même du nécessitarisme le plus implacable. Personne n'a soutenu avec plus de dureté la doctrine du péché naturel. A ceux qui lui reprochaient de rendre le péché nécessaire, il répondait : sans doute il est fâcheux de n'être qu'un cheval ; mais il est impossible à un cheval d'être autre chose qu'un cheval.<sup>1</sup>

But, writes Spinoza, considered in the *state of reason*, man is free. Not that he ceases for a moment to be a part of nature and to be subject in all his actions to mechanical law ; but he contemplates all things from the point of view of eternal reason, *sub specie æternitatis*. Like the stoic philosophers he recognises that the world is ruled by

<sup>1</sup> Paul Janet, *Principes de Métaphysique et de Psychologie*, vol. ii. p. 52.



inflexible law, becomes indifferent to sickness or health, riches or poverty, humiliation or glory, success or failure, and enjoys true liberty by realizing the infinite empire of necessity.

In developing his doctrine of *the state of reason* Spinoza appears to have imitated very closely the work of Christian theology, and to have conceived the relations of reason to the substance of the world which he calls God, somewhat as Christian mystic theologians describe the relations of man to the infinite Being who rules the world. He had observed that an excessive love of unattainable objects causes grief and sorrow and a sense of disappointment, and that the recognition of the necessity of things alters our attitude towards them. He concluded, then, that we could overcome the emotions caused by the external world by understanding that the world is ruled by necessity. Man in *the state of reason* should conform himself to the infinite eternal substance of which he is *a mode*. When he begins to identify himself with God, that is, with the substance of the world, and to see all in God, he attains a certain beatific state and vision, and an intuition that everything is governed by necessity, that all the phenomena of the universe are but the necessary modal evolutions of God Himself, the substance of the world. At this stage of *the state of reason* there is no longer, as it were, *meum et tuum*, success and failure are accepted with equanimity, we shall hate no one, despise no one, ridicule no one, envy no one, be angry with no one, we are emancipated from the servitude of the emotions by remembering that everything is ruled by grinding necessity.

VII. Finally I come to modern philosophers, and especially to the evolutionary school of philosophers and scientists. The growing tendency of philosophers to Determinism during the nineteenth century has been much observed. The most notable among the recent Determinists in these countries were John Stuart Mill, Dr. Bain, and the philosopher, *par excellence*, of Evolution Mr. Herbert Spencer. Mr. Mill maintains that volitions

do in fact follow determinate moral antecedents with the same uniformity and the same certainty as physical effects follow their physical causes ; and that if we knew a person thoroughly, his character, disposition, principles, habits, desires, and the inducements that are acting on him, we could foretell his conduct with as much certainty as we can predict any physical event. Man can alter his volitions and his conduct only by altering the antecedents. And if he makes any change in the antecedents, and consequently in his volitions and conduct, he is determined to make this change and indeed necessarily determined by some other group of antecedents.

The views of Dr. Bain on Freewill and moral responsibility can be learned from the following amusing passage :—

The schoolboy, on being found guilty of a breach of discipline, will sometimes defend himself by saying that he was carried away and could not restrain himself. He is frequently answered by the assertion that he *could* have restrained himself if he had chosen to do so. Such an answer is a *puzzle* or a *paradox*. The offender was in a state of mind such, that his conduct *followed according to the uniformity of his being* ; and if the same antecedents were repeated, the same consequence would certainly be reproduced. In that view, therefore, the foregoing answer is *irrelevant, not to say nonsensical*. The proper form and the practical meaning to be conveyed is this : ' It is true that, *as your feelings then stood*, your conduct resulted as it did. . . . But I now punish you, or threaten you, or admonish you, in order that an *antecedent motive* may enter into your mind, as counteractive to your mind, spirit, or temper on another occasion ; seeing that (acting as you did) you were plainly in want of a *motive*. I am determined that your conduct shall be reformed ; and therefore, every time that you make such a lapse, I will supply more and stronger *motives in favour of what is your duty*. ' <sup>1</sup>

So when a child commits a breach of discipline his conduct follows the uniformity of his being. Then the teacher will necessarily correct or abstain from correcting the child according to the uniformity of his own being. If he administers correction, the child, having got a new

<sup>1</sup> Quoted as italicised by Dr. Ward, *The Philosophy of Theism*, vol. ii., p. 79.

element among the antecedents to his volition, will necessarily reform his conduct ; and if he fails to administer correction, the child will necessarily continue the breaches of discipline.

Mr. Spencer thinks that the illusion of freewill 'consists in supposing that at each moment the *ego* is something more than the aggregate of feelings and ideas, actual and nascent, which then exists.' And he adds :—

To reduce the general question to its simplest form : psychical changes either conform to law or they do not. If they do not conform to law, this work, in common with all works on the subject, is sheer nonsense : no science of psychology is possible. If they do conform to law, there cannot be any such thing as freewill.<sup>1</sup>

The philosophers and scientists of the agnostic-evolution movement are unanimous in rejecting the doctrine of Freewill. They cannot, they say, permit a break in the continuity of the process of nature. And as the movements of the inanimate world, and the vegetable and sentient activities of the vegetable and sentient kingdoms are admitted to be governed and determined by natural law, they conclude that the volitions of man cannot constitute an exception, that they, too, are subject to rigid Determinism by the laws of nature.

## II.

So far I have been attempting to present a statement of the teaching of the Churches of the Reformation and of the principal modern non-Catholic philosophical schools on the question of the *existence* of Freewill. It is truly astonishing that such a multitude of Christians and of eminent philosophers and scientists should deny or question Freewill. And it is not less astonishing that those same religious bodies and philosophical schools should still seem to regard themselves as the great apostles of freedom, and denounce the Catholic Church as the irreconcilable foe of liberty. Yet the Catholic Church has always advocated and de-

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<sup>1</sup> *Psychology*, vol. i., p. 500.

fended the doctrine of the *existence* of Freewill and its necessity for moral responsibility.

She solemnly defined the existence of Freewill and condemned the Determinist errors of the Reformers in the Council of Trent. Later, she condemned the teaching of Jansenius : that for merit or demerit in the present state of fallen nature liberty from external compulsion is sufficient. She would say to men in reference to the Christian religion : Even when the motives for accepting Christian revelation have been fully and convincingly proposed to you, and assuming also the divine supernatural motion, you have the power of accepting the divine revelation and you have the power of rejecting it. She would say, in reference to the Catholic Church : When the motives for submitting to the Catholic Church have been fully proposed to you and are approved by you, and assuming the divine supernatural motion, even then you have the power of submitting to the Church, and you have the power of determining to remain outside the fold. She would say, in reference to ecclesiastical precepts : With the aid of divine grace you have the power to go to Mass on Sundays and holidays, to frequent the Sacraments, to fast and abstain when commanded, etc., and you have the power to transgress all these commandments. She would say, in reference to the civil order : Governments have the power to make good laws and to govern for the well-being of their subjects, or to adopt a system of mis-government ; and citizens have the power to be loyal or disloyal subjects. She would say, in reference to the economic order : Assuming in a country the requisite economic conditions for success you can determine by your intelligence, industry, perseverance and sobriety, to create for yourselves wealth and prosperity ; and you have the power of determining on a life of intemperance, idleness, squalor and misery.

The existence of moral responsibility, of right and wrong, she would say, postulates the existence of Freewill. She would say to the Pantheists and Mechanical Determinists : We cannot impute moral responsibility to the ocean, nor censure it for its storms and the shipwrecks it causes ;

we cannot blame the volcanic mountain for streaming forth its lava and desolating the country side ; we cannot blame the rain, nor the snow, nor the cold ; we cannot predicate morality or immorality of the vegetable or animal kingdom. But in your theory every human act is as physically predetermined by the laws of nature, as is the storm of the ocean or the earthquake or the volcano. And consequently men cannot be held to be morally responsible for their acts. And she would say to the Idealist Determinists : No doubt you concede that our volitions are spontaneous and voluntary, and that they are free from external compulsion. But every volition follows necessarily and unavoidably from the sum of its group of antecedents. It is God who has preordained this chain of antecedents. We cannot hold man accountable for an act which follows necessarily from a chain of causes preordained by the Almighty. And though you ascribe man's condemnation to his own sin, this can only be the proximate cause ; and God Himself who, in your doctrine, preordains the causes that lead necessarily to sin, and denies to the reprobate sinner the means of repentance, must be accounted the real though remote author of both sin and reprobation.

### III.

But now the positions are changed. The Churches of the Reformation and the non-Catholic philosophical Schools deny *the existence* of Freewill, and the Catholic Church defined it as a truth of faith. But when it comes to the question of the *lawful use* of liberty, the Catholic Church prescribes many limitations ; and the Churches of the Reformation and the philosophers, who themselves deny the *existence* of liberty and advocate *Determinism*, now declaim against the Church for her unwarrantable hostility to human liberty. Nevertheless, the Catholic Church continues to warn the world and to protest against the abuses of human liberty ; and she can fairly taunt her adversaries with inconsistency and shortsightedness.

I have distinguished already between the *existence* and

the *use* of liberty. The former is sometimes called *philosophical* or *physical liberty* and the latter *moral liberty*; and it is obvious that the Church might define the *existence* of liberty, and condemn certain demands made for the *use* of liberty. The Catholic Church would say to us: You are free *physically*, you have the power, to reject Christianity; but you are not free *morally*, it would be unlawful for you to reject Christianity. She would say to us: You are free *physically*, you have the power, to leave the Catholic Church; but you are not free *morally*, you cannot within grave sin leave the Church established by Christ. She would say: You are free *physically*, you have the power, to disregard the commandments of God and of His Church; but you are not free *morally*, you cannot do so without sin. She would say to governments: You are free *physically*, you have the power, to misgovern your people; but you are not free *morally*, it would be unlawful to do so. She would say to the citizens: You are free *physically*, you have the power, to be disloyal subjects; but you are not free *morally*, for disloyalty is sinful. She would say to men, in whatever station in life: You are free *physically*, you have the power, to select between good and evil; but you are not free *morally*, it is sinful and unlawful to select evil.

Finally, the Church can say to her adversaries that in censuring her for the limits she sets to human liberty they are acting inconsistently with their philosophical principles. She can say to the Mechanical Determinists: According to your philosophy all the acts of man are inflexibly determined by the laws of nature, all things follow from the decree of God, as Spinoza says, by the same necessity with which it follows from the essence of a triangle that its three angles are equal to two right angles; why, then, do you blame the Head of the Church and arraign him as tyrannous and intolerant when he condemns false doctrines and reprobates immoral practices? Are not all his actions, according to your philosophy, mechanically determined by the processes of that nature to which you offer unlimited testimonies of admiration?

And she can say to the Idealist Determinists : According to your doctrine every action follows of necessity a particular group of antecedents ; and the various groups of antecedents have been preordained by divine decree from eternity. Why, then, do you condemn Papal decrees and definitions ? Are they not the necessary term of a chain of causes preordained by God ? Have they not, then, God as their author ?

It is Tertullian who says that the idea of God is ineradicable. I think we may say the same of Freewill. And all these condemnations of the Catholic Church are so many eloquent testimonies that even the most aggressive Determinists cannot extricate themselves from practical belief in Freewill, from the belief that Church authorities might have determined to act otherwise.

DANIEL COGHLAN.

*(To be continued.)*

## FASHIONABLE DEVOTION AND THE NOBLER SIDE OF CHRISTIANITY

**I**N a former article I stated, or insinuated, some reasons which make it expedient that prompt action should be taken with a view to remedying existing abuses and preventing their further development—for in the matter of religious perversion to live is to grow. I shall here concern myself with the consideration of one ground of urgency : a reason identified with the good rather of the individual than of the body corporate of the Church. For all this exuberance of devotion-run-riot is God-given energy misdirected or misapplied ; energy which, if rightly used, would mean much for God's honour and the soul's sanctification.

It is a little exasperating, the tenacity with which so many of our pious people hug false or distorted ideals, and the seemingly absolute good faith with which they pursue what is perilously like a shadow, mistaking it for a grand reality. It cannot be a far cry to a crisis when a candle lighted at a shrine—I speak no fiction here—is beginning to be considered a not unworthy substitute for the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass ; nor does it remove the crisis one inch further off that a temporal favour—obtained as the result, perhaps, of a novena—is looked upon as something like earnest of a glorious resurrection.

It would be unfair to deny that our devotees pray for spiritual benefits, too. But have we here the same energy, the same earnestness, or the same insistence ? Are not the spiritual requests sometimes thrown in, rather for purposes of self-deception, and to keep up appearances, as it were, before the court of heaven ? I am afraid I could describe this kind of prayer with a fair degree of accuracy by referring to the letter of the school-boy, who wanted some pocket money and wrote home to inquire most solicitously about the health of all his kinsfolk, relegating the great motive of his writing to a postscript.



This half-ingenious device, and also some other characteristics of the manner of prayer used at certain devotional altitudes, are not too unfairly portrayed in an enclosure which has been sent me rather recently, as a reward, I suppose, for my evidence of interest in this matter. It is entitled, 'The Fashionable Lady's Prayer.' I am not prepared to state that it has ever been in circulation as a form of prayer to be seriously made use of; but I leave it to my readers to say whether it is altogether a libel or a caricature:—

. . . Give me, O Lord, I pray Thee, an humble heart, and a new green silk dress with point-lace trimmings. Let me not be fond of this vain and deceitful world, like other women. . . . Bless my children, and please send them a good nurse, for I have neither the time nor the inclination to look after them myself. And now, O Lord, take care of me while I sleep and pray keep watch over my diamonds. Amen.

The noblest definition of practical Christianity ever penned is that of the Lesser St. James<sup>1</sup>: 'Religion clean and undefiled before God and the Father is this: to visit the fatherless and the widows in their tribulation, and to keep oneself unspotted from this world.' It is a prose rendering of the warning words of his Divine Master to the disciples: 'Be your loins girt and your lamps lighted,' words which, on the authority of St. Gregory, give the sum of Christian ethics as charity and self-denial.

Charity and self-denial! Strange words, verily, in the ears of the world of to-day; words whose sound is not very welcome, I make bold to say, in the world of fashionable devotion.

Philanthropy is, I admit, a word which is very much in evidence; but there is scarcely a word in the language which has so effectively succeeded in breaking away from its native meaning. The dictionaries give it as 'love of mankind,' but the philanthropists reduce mankind to one individual, and who he is we know. What is philanthropy, as we see it? It is just self-advertisement reduced to a

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<sup>1</sup> Ep. i. 27.

fine art, and masquerading under the sacred name of Christian charity. Every day that passes, fame, and honour, and title, and place, and power, are commodities bought and sold in the public markets, all under the hallowed ægis of philanthropy. Apart from religion, the love of the rich for the poor is a name for something that is not, while the love of the poor for the rich has not the reality even of a name.

And within the household of the faith, and amongst the favoured children of the household, does charity rule, as it is meet she should, queen of the virtues, in thought and word and deed ?

Charity in deed—how shall we measure it ? To do good to the souls of our brethren is, I take it, the highest form of Christian charity, and its readiest expression is prayer. Yet I surely cannot be accused of making a very intemperate statement when I say that it is quite possible there are amongst us many devout souls that fail to fulfil this elementary Christian duty. They have their likes and dislikes in a very marked degree, and they do not try very hard to control their temper, even when they go on their knees. We are not under obligation to exchange words with everybody, but we are bound to extend to all the charity of our prayers ; and in a special way are we bound to pray for those whom we are tempted to hate : ‘ Pray for those that persecute and calumniate you.’ This is a duty of the highest order of importance, since it is founded on the greatest of the Christian virtues—do we all discharge it faithfully ? It would be well if, when we go on our knees, we had before our minds the solemn words of our Divine Lord : ‘ If thou offer thy gift at the altar, and there remember that thy brother hath anything against thee ; leave thy offering before the altar, and go first to be reconciled to thy brother ; then coming thou shalt offer thy gift.’

I am afraid, however, that even this warning would not remedy the evil I refer to ; for, of course, and more especially if we are very devout, it is we who have the grievance against our brother and not our brother against

us. And so, with easy minds, we tithe the mint, and anise, and cummin, and leave unfulfilled the weightier things of the law.

Let me now consider for a moment charity of deed, in its relation to the temporal necessities of the poor. At first sight, pious people seem to have an unblemished record in this respect. At first sight—yes; but to give alms to the poor is not necessarily an exercise of the virtue of Christian charity. We are reminded of this by no less an authority than St. Paul: 'If I should deliver all my goods to feed the poor, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.' The public funds to which we contribute help to support a good many benevolent institutions, and, therefore, the paying of taxes may be made an act of true charity. But with us in Ireland, Christian charity and taxes are words in meaning far as the poles asunder. The tax-gatherer holds his warrant ultimately from a Government which we have very little reason, as Irishmen, to love: he is therefore not a very welcome visitor. Then we pay so much for which we get no return, that if we pay at all we pay grudgingly; and it is only the cheerful giver that God will love. From a Christian point of view, it is a great pity that this is so, that we so often and so thoroughly spoil our chance of winning an eternal reward. It is folly, but folly which is to a great extent excusable—and it is folly which preaching cannot cure.

And what of our voluntary contributions? Here we are the masters, we control the giving and can have our voice in the spending—do we cast our bread upon the running waters, or drop it into a stagnant pool?

Truly divine, bespeaking a thorough comprehension of the littleness of our nature and its insatiable thirst for praise, are the saving words of our Blessed Lord: 'When thou dost an alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth; that thy alms may be in secret, and thy Father who seeth in secret will repay thee.'

'Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth.' Saints or sinners, monthly communicants, weekly communicants, or daily communicants, how many of us

can say that we follow the model thus set for us upon the Mount? Can any honest thinkers flatter themselves with the belief that we are not all slowly but surely becoming identified with the types bodied forth in the words : ' When thou dost an alms-deed, sound not a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may be honoured by men.'

Every modern effort of charity must be advertised, and no contributions for any purpose have attained their full dimensions until they are incorporated in a published subscription list. I confess that I always feel something like a sense of relief when I come across an anonymous contributor. I likewise plead guilty to the accusation that oftentimes when I read a list of subscriptions in a newspaper, the memory will force itself upon me of the words of the great Rewarder and Judge : ' Amen I say to you, they have received their reward.'

Let me here bring under the attention of my readers two very important principles of Christian ethics. The first, which is almost a postulate, states that the character of an action is determined for good or evil by its motive. The other, though not so universally admitted, is, I believe, equally true—namely, that any base motive, no matter how insignificant in itself, or how secondary as a force, mars the whole character of an action, and, therefore, makes supernatural reward impossible. Be the principal purpose of that contribution of yours the most sacred that can be named ; if vanity enter in as a secondary motive of the giving, the noble is degraded and the pure defiled. The little leaven leavens the whole mass, and the action is no longer, in the sight of heaven, a sacred act of charity, but a sin of petty vanity.

Viewed in the light of these principles, it is fairly evident that newspaper advertisement has blighted, and is bound to blight, many of the fairest blossomings of Christian charity. Publication has nowadays become such a recognised sequel to every external work of charity, that it is very often a motive peeping out from the background of our intention ; with the inevitable result that

our chief purpose, however noble and immaculate in itself, becomes fatally fouled by the contact.

Nor is this evil merely co-extensive with newspaper advertisement; it is gradually penetrating, and seems destined to penetrate more searchingly, into the lanes and byeways of charity. There is a publicity which is narrower than that of a printed advertisement, but which can be equally destructive of purity of purpose, and of founded hope of eternal recompense. The trumpeting of charity, with varying degrees of loudness, is the fashion—and fashion is a tyrant. And just as those who begin by receiving charity quite reluctantly and with a blush of shame, soon grow, by force of habit, into the callousness of shameless asking; so too, many, who begin to give by stealth, end, through force of environment, by being slow to give at all without some faint flourish of trumpets.

What has all this got to do with fashionable devotion? you will say. Very much, I answer. For, unfortunately, the mischief is more thorough than might appear—it affects not merely the head of the household, but all the other members as well. These latter are often doubly losers: they fail to be partakers in the blessedness of giving, perhaps, because, by a positive act, they do not share in the sacred willingness to give; while it only too often happens that the fatal leaven of vanity does its deadly work in them all.

The other day I came across a rather true, and very pregnant sentence of Mr. Bart Kennedy. He speaks with the weight of experience and the force of sympathy, when discussing the question of what he anathematizes as organised charity:—

When the rich help the poor there is always a sting in the gift. But the poor help the poor as Christ intended.

The first part of the statement has a significance deeper even than the writer intended. For as surely as there is a sting in the gift so surely is the giver stung before the gift is given. And while the poison of the sting, in as far as it affects the recipient, may pass,

the poison injected into the giver by his own action lasts unto eternity. True Christian charity is, after all, the only charity that is kind. It alone is the mercy which 'blesseth him that gives and him that takes.' But, can the devotion of fashion always believe that it possesses this attribute and yet not deceive itself?

There is a charity called Christian which is willing to publicly open its purse for any benevolent purpose, but refuses to soil its skirts by contact with an earthen floor. And there is a higher degree of this virtue, not unknown to us here in Ireland, which is not at all unwilling to hold stately converse with poverty, but disdains to exchange courtesies with those benighted mortals who hold a place in the social scale a few degrees lower than itself—except indeed they can lay claim to the redeeming grace of an alien faith.

Of the charity of speech in its relation to some phases of modern piety, I feel half-reluctant to speak at all, lest I may speak too strongly. Let my excuse be pressure of conviction and honesty, that is, charity, of purpose.

I think I am safe in saying that charity in speech is not of the essence of fashionable devotion. This latter is often a confirmed gossip; prone to speak at random, to speak needlessly, and to speak bitingly. There are two classes of secrets which tax it very much to keep—the secret of its own virtues, and the secret of its neighbours' faults. It does not always succeed in letting well alone—it has the unhappy knack, often without meaning any harm possibly, of reopening old wounds and creating new ones. By random shots of gossip it only too frequently succeeds in killing friendly intercourse between brethren, and in wounding friendly feeling.

It does not change its spots on the Sundays or Festivals. Fresh even from the Sacred Eucharistic Banquet, wending its pious way from the church door to its own breakfast table, it can sometimes be seen to bite and wound as unconcernedly as though such a solemn event as a Holy Communion had never hallowed the circle of its life.

Speaking generally, in practice it often admits only

nine Commandments in their fulness. The eighth precept is recognised only in so far as it puts a ban on plain, unvarnished lying, and on calumny of the first degree. Its full observance necessitates a degree of self-repression which would be too great a curb on the iniquities of a petty tongue, and the kindred iniquities of a little mind.

And its thoughts? They often compass all the littleness of its words, and more beside. They can be unkind, unjust, and envious. The old principle, 'Evil is to be proved, but not presumed,' it finds it more congenial to read backwards. More likely than not, some unworthy motive lurks behind every action of its neighbour which pales the effulgence of its own bright shining. Seriously to wish ill, it is afraid; honestly to wish well, it is often unwilling. If the evil which actually comes upon another is very serious, to rejoice of course it dare not; if the evil is only slight, it sometimes does not scruple to be glad; salving its conscience with the afterthought that crosses will do people good. Where there is question of another's success, its code of morals is even more elastic. Whether the measure of such success be small or great, it is inclined to consider another's gain its own peculiar loss, and to be sorry accordingly.

It is possible to hold in respect the religious selfishness of an olden time, which prayed for grace and salvation both earnestly and long, covered itself with sackcloth and ashes, and used the discipline even unto blood—but had neither the inclination nor the wisdom to put forth a helping hand to its brethren. But its latter-day substitute, which struts about with an open Manual of Piety in one hand and a lighted candle in the other, self-constituted by right divine a *censor morum*, ever seeing the mote in another's eye and never seeing the beam in its own,—it is absolutely provoking: it is depressing—for who is there that can minister to a mind so diseased?

It considers itself mortified in body because it drinks nothing more hurtful than strong tea. But it has no stomach for the fasts of the Church. Whenever possible,

and in every way possible, it tries to avoid them, and accordingly finds dispensations wonderfully convenient. It has always, of course, a cause at hand—generally, let us presume, really sufficient, sometimes, may I dare to say it, honestly exaggerated and thereby endowed with the quality of sufficiency. If it must fast, then it must, and does—grudgingly. It makes everybody around it aware and feel that there is a heroic work of penance in progress. On a fast day the sands of the hour-glass run slowly out, and its temper is proportionately the quicker. It has naturally a sharper appetite, and not unnaturally a sharper tongue; and all day long it bears on its face the clear impress of a grievance. To sum up its attitude: it has the interest of the bond-slave, but not the love of the child. It is afraid altogether to shirk the cross, but not generous enough to shoulder it bravely for Christ's sake. And it fails to hear the divine words spoken on the Mount, as they are breathed into its ear in an angel's whisper:—

When you fast, be not as the hypocrites, sad. For they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Amen, I say to you, they have received their reward. But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thy head and wash thy face; that thou appear not to men to fast, but to thy Father who is in secret; and thy Father, who seeth in secret, will repay thee.

The church, of course, is its inheritance, and it reigns there. Nor does it fail to exercise, on occasion, some of the privileges of sovereignty, as, for example, a quiet chat, or a quiet laugh, or some other little amusement of this kind. Its entry into God's house is not unfrequently characteristic. If there happen to be poor folk at the holy water stoup before it, it has an objection to participate in the initial ceremony. If its devotion is not thus impeded, it dips its fingers daintily, and then proceeds to make some lightning passes before its face, which it persists in calling the sign of the cross. Having entered the church, and made a reverence which often partakes of the character of a genuflection, it selects a seat. It frets mightily if there be dust around;



not precisely because such a thing is out of place in the Holy of Holies, but because dust does not look well on one's dress. During the service—especially if it be Sunday Mass—it sometimes manages to keep one eye on its prayer book and one on its brethren in front. All its vocal organs are charged with suppressed devotion—with the limitations I have already mentioned—and yet, when Mass is over, it can tell with perfect accuracy the minutest details of dress which characterized every well dressed woman that knelt between it and the altar. Might I add that dress and fashion sometimes supply it, even in the church, with matter for unkindly thoughts, and, on its way home, with matter for unkindly words.

This modern self-denial, though humble and devout, is mostly gifted with views. The character of such views is somewhat typified in the novels written by fourth-rate female scribblers, in which the hero and heroine are saints of the first order, while all who differ from, or oppose, them, are villains in the same degree. In other words, all its views are strong convictions, almost articles of faith. Theoretically, it admits such mental conditions as suspicion, surmise, and opinion; but within its mind's practical horizon, these states, as ordinarily defined, have no place. Not being by nature very logical, it forgets that a conclusion cannot be wider or stronger than its premises. In fact, it sometimes reverses this principle, for it may happen that the strength of its conviction bears something like a proportion to the weakness of the evidence which supports it, more especially if a neighbour's character is at stake.

And the number of its views is beyond counting. Being a little learned, it is not at all anxious to plead ignorance, above all in matters of religion. It considers itself to have come very near to the fulness of spiritual knowledge, if it ever has had the misfortune—I beg pardon, good fortune—to have put a difficulty in faith or morals to a priest, which he was unable, on the spur of the moment, to answer.

By the way, it has views about the clergy too, not

excluding even the bishop of the diocese. It is sometimes of opinion that, were it the bishop, its appointments would be more happy, and its removals less arbitrary. The parish priest often gets on its nerves too. He can't keep his church properly; he can't succeed in bringing together a decent choir, and won't go to the trouble of getting church music that will attract and not repel; he is unhappy in his choice of subjects for preaching, as well as in the manner of his address; and of course, he will not listen to a word of advice. Lastly, there is that poor young curate, so full of zeal to be sure, but so uncultivated, you know. He does not know even how to walk, or how to trim his hair. He has not tact enough to manage a sodality, and has such a knack of 'tripping at every hand's turn.' He is a mass of zeal, but a bundle of indiscretions. And even he will not brook friendly correction. Is it not really too bad?

Might I humbly venture a remark, in the presence of such exalted sanctity and such profound wisdom? It is just possible, you know, that those whose chief business in life is to work for the salvation of souls, and who presumably have been called to that high office, and have, therefore, received grace sufficient for its proper discharge—it is just possible, I repeat, that they know their business a little better than those whose chief business ought to be to save their own souls, and who are not called by God to be the critics or advisers of their spiritual guides. And may I make a further suggestion which might serve, in any event, as a sedative in all such cases of disappointment and anxiety? It is just a hint thrown out by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews: 'Obey your prelates, and be subject to them. For they watch, as being to render an account of your souls.' Yes, if the bishop, and parish priest, and the curate, are guilty of faults or mistakes or indiscretions, in the discharge of their pastoral office, it is they, and not you, that shall have to render the account.

Fashionable devotion naturally considers that it requires very special spiritual direction—as it certainly does

—and is at great pains to select a suitable confessor. In the cities and large towns, where the opportunities of choosing are manifold, this work of selection is a very delicate and laborious one, whose process is necessarily very slow. Perhaps, at last, it finds a director to its liking and is at rest, at any rate for a period; or, it may be, that all have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. In the event of such a calamity, nothing remains to be done but to tolerate a few, in turn. But whether its direction is in the hands of one or in the hands of many, it not unfrequently happens that though the confessor is nominally the guide, the real direction comes from the other side of the screen.

A willing, unquestioning obedience is, of course, the highest form of self-denial. Even fashionable devotion is quite prepared to make this admission. And it is likewise quite ready to render the homage of cheerful obedience to all rules and regulations whatsoever—provided it is allowed to make, or apply, or interpret them itself. It gives its whole-hearted approval to the law which puts under a ban the reading of literature, whether openly indecent or moderately suggestive. But, since suggestion can injure only those who are still weaklings in grace, and have not yet attained to a position of stable equilibrium, it has very little scruple in reading books of the latter kind: being honestly convinced that for it, moderate suggestion is absolutely harmless.

In the matter of books directed against faith, it allows itself even a larger license. It forgets that faith is not a birthright, but a gift which may be lost. And even though it may not suffer shipwreck, it may suffer injury. Its sight may be dimmed and its hearing deafened, with consequent multiplied danger to the best interests of the soul. And thus it comes to pass, that no matter how hostile to religion or to its ministers, no matter how scurrilously abusive, no matter how insidiously misleading such a book may be, it is scarcely ever considered forbidden fruit by your fashionable devotee. Nay, fashionable devotion has been known, within a rather recent date,

to sit under the pulpit listening, with pious ears and humble demeanour, to a preacher thundering against such a book as I have been describing, and then straightway betake itself to the nearest book-stall, to see what manner of monster this book might be, which could work such mighty havoc in souls of little faith,

Sometimes it betrays itself utterly. Happen upon it, when, just in the wake of its morning devotions, comes the pattering of rain on the window panes, destroying the hope of a day's outing on which it had set its heart. Put its petty, mutinous mutterings side by side with the noble words of self-renunciation coming from the aged lips of that poor, unlettered woman on the mountain side, as she looks out from her cottage door upon the self-same downpour, which is extinguishing for her the last faint hope of a living harvest return. Then say, which is more worthy of reverence and of imitation, which is the more worthy of the Cross and of the Resurrection, the self-denial of self-deception, or the self-denial of faith.

Modern fashionable devotion, contrasted with the nobler side of Christianity, exhibits the two characteristics of unreality and pettiness. Like the disciples on the way to Emmaus it often perhaps thinks and speaks of Christ, but in a petty way : and therefore its eyes are holden. It sometimes recognises Him more fully, that is, His teaching and His spirit, in the breaking of Bread ; but this virtue does not abide with it. And the domestic mischief that is being done is best illustrated by the words of Christ Himself in His great sermon to the multitude :—

Not everyone that saith to Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of My Father who is in heaven, he shall enter into the kingdom of heaven.  
... Everyone that heareth these My words and doth them not, shall be like to a foolish man that built his house upon the sand.

Did fashionable devotion concern itself less about the many things and more about the One thing ; would it likewise remember that the Crucifix and the Tabernacle are placed in the centre of the sanctuary, that they

suggest the chief subjects of Christian meditation, and the true centre of Christian worship ; it would, perhaps, savour more of the publican and less of the pharisee ; there would thus be more ground for hope, and less need for a ' devil's advocate.'

I have said nothing which any Catholic, whether priest or layman, who has the interests of religion at heart, and who has eyes to see and ears to hear, with a mind to understand, will not admit as true. All that I have said has been uttered simply by way of friendly remonstrance, and in the hope of doing some good ; if I have spoken strongly, it has been quite beside my purpose to adopt a tone of censure. Were I inclined to throw a stone at all, I think I should direct my aim towards a different target, one set in a higher plane. For, real and lasting reform means that piety put on a larger mind, a greater soul ; and a necessary prelude to such renovation is that it fix its gaze on larger and higher ideals. It surely follows, that, the teachers in Israel, the informers of youthful mind and the moulders of youthful character, must make up their minds to a reformation in their methods.

A last word, and—happily—a tribute : if you will, a moral. Not only do our Catholic folk of the hill-sides reign far above the common herd, in grandeur of Christian faith, and patient, quiet resignation, and smiling self-denial ; I do believe, moreover, with a faith in which many share, that the home of the sweetest, kindest, most self-forgetting charity upon earth, is beyond the doors of the rustic cabins of Ireland.

D. DINNEEN.

## DANTE ON TEMPERANCE

*(Purgatorio, XXIV. 145-154.)*

WHEN Dante, with Virgil and Statius, was passing from the Sixth Circle of Purgatory, in which the sin of gluttony is punished, he met an Angel shining with surpassing splendour, who pointed out the way to the next Circle. Then a gentle breeze blew upon his face, and he felt the flapping of the Angel's wings, which shed around a perfume as of early summer flowers. This passage is understood to represent the serene enjoyment of those who lead a temperate life, and may be considered not inappropriate to the coming season of Lent.

E quale, annunziatrice degli albori,  
 L'aura di maggio muovesi ed olezza,  
 Tutta impregnata dall'erba e da fiori;  
 Tal mi senti' un vento dar per mezza  
 La fronte, e ben senti' mover la piuma,  
 Che fe' sentire d'ambrosia l'orezza.  
 E senti' dir : ' Beati cui alluma  
 ' Tanto di grazia, che l'amor del gusto  
 ' Nel petto lor troppo disir non fuma,  
 Esuriendo sempre quanto è giusto.'

And as, the harbinger of morning dawn,  
 The air of May comes up and fragrance breathes,  
 All laden with the scent of herbs and flowers;  
 E'en such a breeze I felt upon my brow,  
 And well I felt the waving of the plumes,  
 Which shed ambrosial odours all around ;  
 And heard the words : ' Blessed are they whom grace  
 ' Doth so illumine that the sense of taste  
 ' Kindles within them no undue desire,  
 ' Hungering always as much as is just.'

GERALD MOLLOY.

### 'IRISH LEXICOGRAPHY: A REPLY' (1)

WHAT purports to be a 'Reply' to the concluding portion of an article which recently appeared in these pages,<sup>1</sup> has been given to the world. It is at once a curiosity and a marvel. The vituperation with which it is burdened I pass by. The residue, so far as it may be regarded as a reply, is a tissue of evasions and unsupported assertions, occasionally reinforced by bluster. We are told that it is the work of a single afternoon. I have no intention of wasting half an afternoon upon it. A 'Reply' which is such an utter fiasco, I should not notice at all, only that it may serve a useful purpose to expose the writer's tactics, albeit very briefly and inadequately, and show how essentially dishonest they are.

In the second and subsequent paragraphs (page 121) a childish and petulant complaint is made. In my article some account was given of the genesis of the Dictionary. This account was not based on the 'Council's Preface,' and did not claim to be. The information on which it was founded was obtained from various sources and on different occasions, many of them far apart, between the inception of the undertaking and its completion. It was in part gleaned from Circulars and Reports, in part from correspondence or conversation with various persons associated more or less intimately with the enterprise. The gist of this information I set down, as a matter of public interest, as clearly and accurately as I could. If my account does not square with the 'Council's Preface,' I fail to see how that affects me. I am not responsible for the document in question.

I pass from this point. Notwithstanding his rage, real or simulated, and despite certain passages obviously designed to foster a contrary impression, the writer of the

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<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, December, 1904, and January, 1905. The 'Reply' appears in the issue for February, 1905.

'Reply' by no means selected his materials at random : there is method in their selection. Though he has written an article almost as long as that to which he affects to reply, he prudently passes by in silence all the more important and damaging criticisms on the Dictionary. He selected, *at random*, a number of points which, though by no means unimportant, are certainly of minor importance ; and he evidently made his selection with a keen eye to the requirements of his special brand of dialectic,—alighting, *by chance*, on such points as promised to lend themselves readily to a policy of bluff and gratuitous assertion, and to evasion of the real issues. The leading features of his tactics are obvious enough, nor is there anything very complex about them. If a word is not found in the Dictionary, roundly deny that there is any such word ; say nothing at all, when everyone happens to know that there is such a word ; or say, in fine, that the slip containing it has disappeared, hinting mildly that you have an action-at-law against some person or persons unknown. If a variant is not in its proper place, proclaim in a voice of thunder that it is a 'gross corruption,' or a 'mere misspelling ;' or bluster along through half a paragraph, and when you think the real point of the discussion is sufficiently obscured, then clinch the matter once for all by shouting aloud that if it is not there, it is somewhere else, or if not somewhere else, then something else is either there or elsewhere ; and so on. Never forget, however, for it is a cardinal feature of the tactics, that it is of prime importance to keep up a vigorous and sustained fusillade of personal abuse against the other side. *Viola tout !*

These tactics, so reputable, are so much and so constantly in evidence in the 'Reply,' that, for those capable of following the discussion, it were the veriest work of supererogation to give examples. They practically constitute the writer's entire stock-in-trade.

In the second paragraph on page 7, will be found a gem of the new dialectic. It had been pointed out that  $\zeta\epsilon\alpha\eta$   $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\eta\epsilon$  had been insufficiently, and probably wrongly, explained.  $\text{F}\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\alpha\theta$   $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\eta\epsilon$  was referred to in connection



therewith for the sake of illustration ; and it was then incidentally remarked that the latter was not given in the Dictionary—the meaning being, of course, that it was not in its proper place. How is this dealt with ? The main point is glossed over. Carried away by a wave of righteous indignation, the writer relegates *ḡean ḡáire* and the question affecting it to the shades ; and paying no further attention to the principal, he thenceforth concentrates all his attention upon the accessory. He triumphantly proves that if the incriminated phrase is not in its proper place, or even in the Dictionary, two variants, or ‘gross corruptions,’ or ‘misspellings’ thereof, are somewhere or other to be found therein. Here we have the new dialectic characteristically exemplified. There need be very little misgiving as to how tactics of this kind ought to be characterized.

As to his attempt to prove that Coney is wrong in explaining *ḡaeteab ḡáire*, suffice it to say that it is as unsuccessful as it is ludicrous, and will doubtless occasion many a *ḡaeteab ḡáire* in its own good time.

The last paragraph on page 131 is worthy of more than average attention. Here the new tactics are seen in operation to very great advantage. In this instance it is sought to carry the position by sheer bluff, by vehemence and stridency of asseveration. Peter O’Connell, I have no doubt, knew what *clabair* meant. Does he equate *clabair* therewith ? The writer of the ‘Reply’ does not furnish a clear answer, though he seems to suggest a negative answer : ‘the form *clabair* is given by Peter O’Connell.’ Whatever Peter O’Connell may have thought, the writer of the ‘Reply’ has no misgivings : *clabair* and *clabair* for him mean, beyond all question, one and the same thing. I know nothing of the meaning of *clabair*, except in so far as I have been indirectly enlightened by Peter O’Connell, for I cannot remember that I have heard it used, or that I have hitherto met it. There are some few things, however, that I do know. I know that in *Δη Ὑυαiceair*, as pointed out in my article, as well as elsewhere, *clabair* or *clabair* is explained to mean ‘a mantel-piece.’ I know, furthermore, that Irish

speakers from Kerry have more than once told me the Irish of 'clevy' was *clabair* or *clabha*. I know likewise that, although in West Munster both words would be pronounced alike or nearly so, in the *Uéire* no one ever pronounced *clonn* as *coluáhan* (*columáhan*) is pronounced, and that it would be utterly impossible to confound them, or mistake one for the other: hence my doubt of their affinity. I know, in fine, that in the *Uéire* (certainly in the Eastern portion) *clonn*, as I have heard it used, is not 'an essential part of the building,' and does not mean 'the cross-beam that supports the chimney breast;' that its relationship to the cross-beam is just the same as the relationship of the ridge-board thereto, namely, that both are above it, altogether not at equal distances; but that it certainly is applied indifferently to 'a mantel-piece' and to a 'clevy' or primitive overmantel. *Δη πυρ δτά tú Δ λογς, ζεόδα tú ιρτις δι Δ ζclonn é le hair an coinnleópa δι ζοιρε túit.*

'As stated by the reviewer, however, *clabair* is not in its place, the slip containing it having dropped out accidentally' (page 131). What a dreadfully commonplace explanation! It is a matter for genuine regret that it was not ruled out as a 'misspelling,' or as a 'gross corruption'; for as *fabairt* is a misspelling of *fabairt* or *fabairt* (page 136), though manifestly *fabairt*, because included in the Dictionary, is not, why may not *clabair* be a 'misspelling,' or a 'gross corruption' of *clabha*. No doubt, 'See *clabair*' constituted an obstacle,—a very trivial one, however.

So it is of no importance, we are left to infer, whether *méao* (*méio*) is masculine or feminine or both. In the compilation of a dictionary, at all events, it ought to be a matter of prime importance. I have shown that historically it is feminine; that away down through the whole range of Irish literature it is usually feminine, although, apparantly at least, it is not invariably so. In the spoken-language, too, it is sometimes feminine, as the writer of the 'Reply' now grudgingly admits, although seemingly he has yet much to learn as to the extent to

which his admission is true. But suppose it were established that in the spoken-language it is without exception masculine, is literary usage to count for nothing? Does the Dictionary eschew everything except the spoken-language? If so what becomes of its claim to take account of recent Irish literature? The writer's attitude towards the spoken-language is regulated by the requirements of the moment. The spoken-language becomes a fetish when it suits; but when a change of front is a matter of urgency, then it becomes a mass of 'gross corruptions.'

As to the difference in meaning between μέσo and μέρo, he is not very luminous. As I have already made clear, I am quite well aware of the distinction that has been formulated. My point is that there seems to be no historical warrant for it; and that, so far as it has developed in the spoken-language, the explanations given are not always consistent, any more than is the actual usage. According to the common explanation μέσo means 'size, bulk,' and μέρo, 'number, quantity.' It is quite true that μέσo is the form generally, if not always, used to denote 'size, bulk,' but unquestionably it is not confined to this function. Both in the literature, as I have shown, and in vernacular use, it is frequently employed to denote 'number, quantity.' Μέρo, on the other hand, seems, as far as I have observed, to be rarely, if ever, used where there is question of 'size, bulk.' There seems, then, notwithstanding the theory of distinction, to be some over-lapping.

The writer of the 'Reply' actually waxes funny over the *Western People* list. In doing so he, at one and the same time, exemplifies his peculiar style of dialectic and demonstrates his radical unfitness to deal with local lists of words either scientifically or justly.

According to his own statement, for I have not gone so minutely into the matter, the list contains 251 'words.' [Quotation marks retained.] At the outset he selects from amongst them about a half-dozen words, mostly mimetic. Having disposed of these to his entire satisfaction, he then endeavours by sundry head-shakes to

convey the impression that the others are of a similar character. When he has thus disported himself for a brief space, he next proceeds to deal with a further selection, and whilst so engaged he contrives to make such an utter exhibition of himself as must move the very stones to pity him. One who can see nothing in *coillreán*, *calapan*, *eillceog*, *fabairt*, *cleabair*, *bórán*, *amar*, etc., but mere misspellings of *tróilreán*, *colpán*, *eilceog*, *fabairt* (*fabairt*), *meabair*, *badarán*, etc. [spellings given in the 'Reply' here followed], is utterly and painfully ignorant of the difference between a genuine variant and a mere misspelling (or alternative spelling), and quite as ignorant of the rudiments of the science in which he would pose as a master. The man has yet to be born who could 'misspell' *eilceog* into *eillceog*, or *fabairt* into *fabairt*. Perhaps, however, this statement is too sweeping, for the writer of the 'Reply' manifestly thinks himself equal to the feat. That *eillceog*, *fabairt*, etc., existed before anybody either spelled or misspelled them, even the writer of the 'Reply' should nevertheless know: if he does not, it assuredly is not because the knowledge is not sufficiently elementary. Where two words differently spelled are pronounced alike or practically so, the two forms are not, of course, variants in the technical sense; and either spelling must be historically wrong, though phonetically both may serve their purpose equally well. But where the pronunciations are radically different, however much the forms may be allied in sense; where they involve radical difference of vowel sound, or of consonant sound, or of both, to advance the theory of misspelling, or to describe one form as a mere misspelling of the other, is pitiful. *bair* and *boir* are real variants presumably, as they are given in the Dictionary; but *meac* and *rmeac* are, according to the new lexicography, mere 'misspellings' of *beac*. *Eillceog* is, of course, a misspelling of *eilceog*; but *cnotairt*, *cnotairt*, *cnuchairt*, are genuine variants, as are also *crógaob*, *cróigeaob*, *cruiceaob*, *srógaob*, *sruidigeaob*, for all are given in the Dictionary, and may sooner or later be found by whoso has patience to force his way

through a lexicographic jungle. *Cléadbair* is a mere misspelling of *cheadbair*; but *corcós*, *cuirceós*, *chuirceós*, *cuiriceós*, *cuirceacós* are all variants, for the hospitality of the Dictionary has been vouchsafed to them. *Fadbairt* is a misspelling of *faḡbairt* or *faḋbairt*; but who will dare assert that *faḡbairt*, *faḋbairt*, and *faḋobairt* are not variants of the most genuine type, for does not the Dictionary enshrine them? Who can adequately characterise tactics such as these here exposed? Query: When is a variant not a variant? Answer: When the editor of a dictionary does not wish to include it, or, when not having included it for any reason whatever, he is obliged to resort to bluster and subterfuge to escape from an *impasse*. The whole thing is even more pitiful than contemptible. To be detected employing such tactics would cause a blush to suffuse the countenance of the 'Metalman,' hardened old sinner as he is, while attempts so clumsy to bolster up a forlorn cause will, if he should ever become cognisant of them, inevitably occasion him a *raeteab* *ḡáire*, or wring from him a veritable *rḡáirt* *ḡáire*.

'Other words are given in the Dictionary just as they stand in the list' (page 136). Where? In alphabetical order or under variants or synonyms? We are not told. *As a rule*, a word, for practical purposes, is not in a dictionary, unless it is given in its proper place. There is an essential difference between forms that differ but slightly in their endings, and forms whose initials differ. So also is there a very important difference between words varying slightly in their endings and words whose spellings have scarcely anything in common except that they begin with the same letter. It suits the author of the 'Reply,' however, to ignore the difference. I wrote: 'In some cases, this [not giving words in their proper place], save for consistency, does not matter very much, for the proper place for several of them [words found in the Dictionary under synonyms and variants, but not in alphabetical order] would be immediately before or after the words under which they are found.'<sup>1</sup> It suits the writer of the

<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, January, 1905, pp. 74-5.

'Reply' to overlook this also. Because, therefore, Murray's *Dictionary* places 'clevy' under 'clevis,' the proper place, forsooth, for *veirgíneac* is under *bolgac*, for *cloðarán* under *finioíde*, for *bioíroóg* under *rcuwal*, for *bioírlacán* and *bíeílúicán* (both genuine variants, and not 'mere misspellings,' or 'gross corruptions,' for they are included in the *Dictionary*) under *bíeallacán*, etc., etc., etc. Therefore, also, the proper place for *amap* (*amair*), if it had not been ruled out as a 'mere misspelling,' would be under *umap*. Therefore, in fine, the fact that such words, when not sent into exile on some plea or other, may be found somewhere in the *Dictionary* by students who, when in search of a word, have leisure to read the volume right through, is seriously regarded as a satisfactory arrangement, and as a sufficient reply to one of my criticisms.

Talk of my discoveries. Why they pale in the light of those made by the author of the 'Reply,' or made for him by others, for, at more than one point in the 'Reply' there is unmistakable internal evidence of collaboration. He has actually discovered that there are some misprints in the *Vocabulary* to the *Trí Sgéalt*, and that I have inadvertently dropped a vowel,—or mayhap it was the printer,—in writing one word in a fairly lengthy list, and omitted an accent in writing another. *Eureka!*

His sneers at the editing of the *Trí Sgéalt* I pass by. The editor of the book can deal with that matter, should he care to do so. It is no affair of mine.

The method pursued by the author of the 'Reply' in dealing with words found in the *vocabulary* to the *Trí Sgéalt* is neither better nor worse than that elsewhere adopted. As to *tioppaó cheacailceac*, etc., it should be pointed out that the *Vocabulary* in which they occur contains no references. Had references been given, I should doubtless have looked them up in the context. I was unable, at the time, to find leisure to read the book through; and that they might be found in the *Notes* did not occur to me. There are misprints and misprints. These were not obvious misprints. Such forms, to put it

mildly, were not inherently impossible. I found them in the vocabulary of a work prepared for the press and seen through the press by a competent editor. I did not assume, *without proof*, that they were misprints: I assumed them to be variants. Intrinsically as I have said there is nothing to show them to be misprints; and it is only the writer of the 'Reply' who claims to be familiar with every form spoken from Tory to Sgeilg Mhicil, or even throughout the length and breadth of Munster, and to be able to summarily classify all such forms as genuine words, or variants, or 'gross corruptions,' or 'misspellings,' or misprints.

As to *tioppac* it is certainly not a misspelling of *teapbac*: as well say, allowing for difference of meaning, that *droll* is a misspelling of *drill*. We are told that *tioppac* fairly represents the pronunciation of *teapbac* in Munster. Another of the author's whirling assertions. It does nothing of the kind. That it does in portions of Munster I neither affirm nor deny, for the simple reason that I do not know. But certain it is that there are large tracts of Irish-speaking Munster where *tioppac*, as a variant of *teapbac*, has never been heard, and would not be understood. There are thousands of Munster speakers who use the standard form (assuming that *teapbac* and *tioppac* are variants, and not different words), though many of them shorten it in pronunciation to *teapac*. Here again we have the writer's methods forcibly illustrated. Nothing like a good bold statement, except, when convenient, an equally bold denial.

Pursuing the writer of the 'Reply' in this fashion is becoming somewhat monotonous; but we must follow him yet a little. We are told there is no such word as *baine*. Why? The reason is not made very clear. It may be merely because he says so, or because there is such a word as *bainne*. *A pari*, there is no such word as *uile* because there is such a word as *uile*, and no such word as *gáine* because there is such a word as *gáine*, and no such word as *cime* because there is such a word as *cimé*.<sup>1</sup> But really this is too silly. I wont

<sup>1</sup> This, though the literary form, is not found in the Dictionary.

trouble myself to contradict him. I will only say that his statement may well be left to be disposed of by the fact that the authenticity of the word is vouched for by Father O'Growney's having used it.

'It would be absolutely ridiculous to insert all diminutives in -ín as leading words' (page 125). *Cúirín* is, therefore, not given as a leading word. Nor is it given at all, though the impression is clearly sought to be conveyed that it is given under *cúor*. Why is it not given? Because, perhaps, it is merely a diminutive of *cúor*. *Fúirín* is, however, merely a diminutive of *féar*, and *beirín* of *bean*, and *béirín* of *béal*; yet they are all given as leading words. *Cúilín* is merely a diminutive of *cúil*; yet it is given under that word. *Beirín* is merely a diminutive of *beairt*; yet it is given both as a leading word and under *beairt*. Perhaps there is room for doubt after all as to why *cúirín* has been treated as an outlander. The editor of the *Trí Sgéala* did not know what it meant, nor, presumably, the collector of the Stories. Of many Irish speakers old and young whom I questioned about it, not one understood it. It would be interesting to know the precise moment at which the writer of the 'Reply' became aware that it was 'merely a diminutive of *cúor*.'

The writer of the 'Reply' ventures to break a lance in defence of his treatment of the word *grógaire*, and needless to say he does not cover himself with glory in his Quixotic enterprise. I ventured to express a doubt as to whether it was accurately or adequately defined; and, instead of unsupported statement, I assigned reasons for doing so. These reasons are sought to be disposed of by a couple of whirling asseverations, which the reader by this time will have learned to value at their proper worth. 'The well-established use' notwithstanding, the question still remains whether it is 'well-established,' or established at all, that the definition given is adequate. Metrical considerations rule out *gróigim* and *grúigim*, whilst the context from which my extracts were taken, and, as I think quite obvious, the extracts themselves, show the



meanings given to be clearly inadmissible. Perhaps, too, the following, with which he cannot be unacquainted, may awaken a misgiving even in the mind of the writer of the 'Reply'—*Ἐποδοίητε μενοειδὲς ἃ ἐδιδάτο ἀπὸ βλῆθι οὐδὲν βυρθε*.<sup>1</sup>

The views of the writer of the 'Reply,' as to the value of translations and their originals as an aid towards recovering the meaning of obscure words, are amusing in a very rare degree. To notice them seriously would spoil their humour. One is, however, tempted to ask how much of the meaning of the words, etc., found in the Glosses could have been recovered, or at all events determined with any certainty, without the context of the lemmas. Whatever value translations may have as literature, and their value from this point of view is indeed varied, they form one of the most valuable sources to which the lexicographer can betake himself. The original is there to furnish the key to the meaning of many words and idioms which could not otherwise be explained, or at best only conjecturally. To tap this source means work in abundance. It is much easier to wade through dictionaries, and 'to shovel in to [one's] retort,' if not 'without discrimination or selection,' yet without verification or correction, such materials as lie to one's hand. When the meaning of a word is unknown or doubtful, it is doubtless easier to fix it by a daring conjecture, assisted by the context when there is one, than to resort to the more labourious methods by which such problems are satisfactorily solved.

¶ The man who was recommended for a bank-clerkship, because he possessed 'withering powers of denunciation, combined with the wildest humour,' has long contributed to the gaiety of nations. But what about the translator who when 'reduced to straits for an exact word . . . casts about for *some* substitute rather than leave a blank' ? (page 131). Here surely we have an unconscious bit of autobiography. The writer's soul must, when he indited

<sup>1</sup> O'Rahilly, p. 224.

this, have been harrowed by the memory of his awful wrestlings with a work which he translated 'once upon a time.' There are translations and translations, and so are there translators and translators; and, of a verity, the chasm that yawns between, let us say, the Irish translator of the *Imitation* and the translator who is responsible for *Ἐὰν να νοῶλας* is sufficient to make the average brain dizzy.

Why waste further time and space upon a 'Reply' which for the ground that it purports to cover is not a reply, and which does not even attempt a reply to most of the criticisms passed upon the Dictionary, especially the most serious of them,—those calling attention to wrong definitions, insufficient definitions, and the absence of well-known leading inflections of words. If abuse and bluster and evasion and shirking the real issues, and calling variants 'misspellings' or 'gross corruptions,' and denying, without a particle of proof or attempted proof, the existence or authenticity of words, were alone requisite for a reply, then indeed were the 'Reply' of the editor of the Dictionary truly crushing. The character of that 'Reply' may be gathered from the specimens already given. In its dealing with other points it is equally ineffective and unconvincing, equally unscrupulous, and characterised in all respects by precisely similar tactics. Lengthy as it is, it takes account, as has been stated, of only a fraction of the criticisms passed upon the Dictionary, that fraction having been carefully selected for reasons sufficiently obvious.

For all we know to the contrary *βαίρ*, for the writer of the Reply, may still mean 'gentle,' and *αισνε(αδ)* equate with *αισμε*, and *αναν-εαιρησεαρ* not mean 'spiritual direction.' Possibly some person or persons unknown may still 'brandish the battle-staff.' *Ἰοιροός*, *σελγινεαδ*, *ελαδριαν*, etc., may have found their way into their proper places, and *βαρεπανν*, *εαυροετ*, *εαζκορξ*, *οιρφεοιλ*, *μαραμαιλ*, *ριυτε*, *εαλλεεαναρ*, etc., etc., into the Dictionary. The system of cross-references may have so righted itself as to leave nothing to be desired.

‘Deacracht,’ too, may still mean ‘unsearchableness;’ but we know that about *ciapálac* and ‘perverse,’ the author of the ‘Reply’ is unable to make up his mind. The treatment of the heteroclitics may have continued to get right by some mysterious and hitherto unknown process. The hundreds of synonyms, variants and ‘misspellings,’ to be found anywhere and everywhere in the Dictionary, except where they ought to be and could readily be found, may have silently re-arranged themselves. The vast number of words missing from the Dictionary, not words hidden away in ‘the monuments of the language that are still locked to everybody’ (such words were *expressly excepted*<sup>1</sup>), but ordinary words to be found in sources accessible to everybody (in such works, *e.g.*, as O’Reilly and O’Brien and O’Rahilly and Cormac ua Conaill, to mention only a few), may have since made their appearance therein. All this and much more may have been silently effected by the touch of some magician’s wand. But how curious soever we may be for information, the author of the ‘Reply’ leaves us in blank ignorance.

Such then is this famous ‘Reply.’ Abortive as it is, it is doubtless the best that its author, aided or unaided, could produce. As an attempt to buttress the Dictionary, or to show that my criticisms of it were undeserved, or unduly severe, or other than ‘even-handed and just,’ it is an arrant and grotesque failure. If the review erred at all it certainly was not in the direction of severity.

I did not offer my services to review the work in question. I had no desire whatever to embark upon such an undertaking, quite the contrary, for I could not have been blind to the fact that if, scorning the office of logroller, I set down my real opinions, I might prepare for the noisy attentions, not only of the editor, but of the coterie whose most substantial interest in life seems to be to exclaim in chorus, as his publications appear, ‘Great is Allah, and Mahomet is his prophet.’ I undertook a very unwelcome task, only when I had been asked and pressed to do so.

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<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, January, 1905, p. 82.

Having done so, however, I soon became aware that within the limits of 'Book Notices' of the usual character, I could not do justice to the merits, and certainly not to the shortcomings, of the two works entrusted to me for review. I had consequently to undertake an article. In the disjointed fragments of time that I was able to reserve for the purpose, I examined the two works in question as carefully as I could. In my article I said of them exactly what I thought. If unfortunately I should ever again find myself engaged in a similar task I shall, no matter from what source the book or books may come, do precisely the same thing. There need be no fear that I shall be deterred from doing my duty to the public and to Irish scholarship, according to my ability and knowledge, by apprehension of a recrudescence of the mudslinging and vituperation which I have been obliged to encounter.

We are informed that it was not intended to put the Dictionary on the market 'as a work infallibly perfect or sufficiently full for all purposes.' Nobody, as far as I know, ever said or assumed that it was. But if it was not meant to be a fairly accurate, carefully arranged and reasonably adequate school-dictionary, what, one may inquire, was it meant to be, what purpose was it meant to serve, and what on earth is its *raison d'être*? It will, I imagine, scarcely be contended that it was meant that, in addition to the Dictionary, the student should keep constantly by his side a copy of O'Reilly, as well as copies of all existing works furnished with vocabularies. We are seriously told that the work 'is capable of improvement and development.' What astounding intelligence! A statement so original and so startling is surely entitled to take its place beside a famous pronouncement which was alleged to have caused 'a smile to ripple over the map of Europe.'

I now take a final leave of the 'Reply.' I am not entirely without hope that, when the writer thereof recovers his equanimity, he may feel obliged to me for having honestly endeavoured to make him more careful. Be this as it may, I certainly do think that a long-suffering

public should vote me its thanks for having sought to save it from the further infliction of publications containing whole pages of recorded and unrecorded 'Errata' of every description.

M. P. O'H.

## DR. O'QUEELY, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM

### A GREAT STATESMAN AND PRELATE

**M**ALACHY O'QUEELY (or Keely as the name was also spelled) was one of the most remarkable prelates and ecclesiastical statesmen of his time in Ireland. As Archbishop of Tuam, and concerned with the Confederation proceedings at Kilkenny in 1640, as also one of the parties to the famous Glamorgan Treaty—a draft of which was found with him at Sligo when he was slain by the Parliamentary forces and the existence of which document subsequently formed a count in the indictment against Charles I—Dr. O'Queely undoubtedly occupied a very prominent and influential position in Irish public life. Apart from such distinction, however, as an ecclesiastic he was still more distinguished than as a statesman, and a few particulars concerning his career may not be uninteresting historically.

Malachy O'Queely was the son of Donatus O'Queely and a native of the County Clare, 'lineally descended from the lords of Conmacnemarra, where they ruled as princes long before and after the Norman invasion.' Being a youth of great promise and parts he was sent to the Collège de Navarre at Paris, and his academic career there was exceptionally brilliant. After going through the usual theological course he obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and he then returned to his native land to take up the difficult and perilous task of missionary work in his native county. He was subsequently appointed Vicar Capitular of the Diocese of Killaloe. At Paris, in the Sorbonne, he made the acquaintance of Edmund O'Dwyer, a learned and an able man who subsequently became Bishop of Limerick. This friendship lasted all through their lives and they were brought often together in public affairs. On the 11th of October, 1631, Dr. Malachy O'Queely was consecrated Archbishop of Tuam by the Most Rev. Dr. Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel—his

immediate predecessor being the justly celebrated churchman, Florence Conroy, so great a scholar and so erudite a man as to be universally known at the time and since by the designation and distinction '*flos mundi*.'

The consecration ceremony took place in the Church of St. Nicholas in Galway—a building since appropriated to Protestant purposes. Among the consecrating prelates were Dr. Boetius Egan, Bishop of Elphin, and Dr. Richard Arthur, Bishop of Limerick. A curious incident occurred, which nearly marred the progress of the pious proceedings. The Archbishop-elect had received and presented a draft of the Bull nominating him to the See of Tuam. This Dr. Walsh did not consider himself justified in accepting, and conscientiously thought he should, on such a solemn occasion, have the original document. This was not forthcoming and the ceremony was about to be postponed when, at the very moment, there arrived in the harbour a ship from Rome having on board a priest bearing the Bull. Dr. O'Queely at once assumed the active control of the vast archdiocese, and in 1664 he sent to Rome as his proctor, Dr. Edmund O'Dwyer, bearing a report as to the condition of the archdiocese at the time, and the document contains many interesting particulars as to the number of churches and other information concerning the parishes. Along with this report to the Propaganda Fide Dr. O'Dwyer carried a memorial to the Pope (Urban VIII) respectfully praying His Holiness to bestow the Cardinal's hat upon the distinguished Luke Wadding, 'in consideration of the great services he had rendered (as the memorial justly says) to the Irish Catholics then in arms.' The Archbishop of Tuam, and nearly all the Irish bishops had signed the document. When Dr. O'Dwyer had reached Rome the Pope was dead, and the memorial happening to fall into the hands of the modest Wadding, he hid it away in the archives of St. Isidore Convent, where, only after his death, it was discovered. On the recommendation of Dr. O'Queely, Dr. O'Dwyer was subsequently nominated coadjutor for Limerick, his native city, and he was consecrated in 1645. Returning to his diocese

his ship, with valuable vestments and books, was captured by pirates off the coast of Smyrna, and the Bishop of Limerick was actually sold as a slave and as such condemned to work in a mill. A resident of the place recognising him as a man of learning and education procured his liberation and actually paid his ransom, and, freed from bondage, Dr. O'Dwyer returned to Limerick, where he lived and laboured for many years.

He was the first Irish bishop who introduced the missionaries of St. Vincent de Paul into Ireland. Unfortunately troubles came thick upon him in later years, and he was compelled to leave his see, and going to Brussels, Dr. O'Dwyer died there in exile and in actual want, finding a pauper's and a nameless grave. The great diplomatist, Rinuccini, was at this time in Ireland organising the Catholic forces to withstand the Parliamentarians, and he had almost succeeded in the difficult task of securing union, combination, and cohesion in their councils. He was the brains of the Confederation, and his staunchest supporter in his policy was Dr. O'Queely. He kept the people from committing any excesses and at the same time he organised the available Irish forces, instilling into them a spirit of patriotism that dared great deeds. A native regiment was organised comprised of the leading Galway families, conspicuously the Burkes, Blakes, O'Flaherties, and Kellys. The Archbishop never, as some historians of the 'Froude fiction fabrication' stamp say, assumed the military dress. He never doffed the crozier and donned the sword; but being a brave and an honest man, he felt that his fitting place in the peculiar circumstances of the country was in the camp, and there he was on that ill-fated day at Ballysodare, in the County Sligo, when the Irish chieftains were surprised, attacked and defeated by the Parliamentarians under Sir Charles Coote and others.

In the October of 1645, the Archbishop attended the assembly of the Confederated Catholics at Kilkenny, to welcome the Nuncio, Rinuccini, just arrived in Ireland from Rome, and bearing a letter from the Pope (Innocent X), among other things, highly praising Dr. O'Queely.



Writing to his legate, the Holy Father, in a letter still extant, said :—‘ You (Cardinal Rinuccini) are to be guided by him. Although each of the four archbishops is remarkable for zeal, nevertheless he of Tuam is to be your confidant, and among the bishops he of Clogher.’ The Catholics resolved to protect themselves by force of arms, for ‘ the ferocious English general, Sir Charles Coote, was appointed by Parliament President of Connaught, with full powers and authority to extirpate the Irish Papists by fire and sword.’ Such was his commission, and well and truly did he discharge the task as history tells us. For his services in the war Coote obtained large grants of land in Connaught, taken from the poor Irish, who were fighting as much for the English king as for the maintenance of their ancient faith and who, for such loyalty to the crown of England, as usual, suffered proscription and loss of lands. And it is a curious coincidence that in the very month of October, 1904—two hundred and sixty-three years after their confiscation—the same lands so given to the Cootes were sold by their descendants to the occupying tenantry, and their possessions have now practically passed over to the old owners.

The war in the October of 1641 was fought out fiercely between the parties. Sligo was in the hands of the Scotch Covenanters and, being a principal port in Connaught, then as now, thither the Confederate Army proceeded, commanded by Lord Taaffe and Sir James Dillon. It is said that, when leaving Kilkenny to proceed to Sligo with the Irish Army, the Archbishop had a presentiment of coming danger—a vague foreboding of personal peril. Yet he bravely proceeded with the soldiers, by his presence and by his wise counsels moderating the usual excesses of the camp and causing such good order, discipline, and good conduct to prevail that it was a model army. Crossing the Shannon a great crowd of people came out to meet the bishop, impelled thereto by a curious tradition common among them concerning a violent death to an Archbishop of Tuam. A kind of prophecy existed there—so strong that it drove the country people out to see the

man whom they believed was going to his doom. Even the Archbishop himself credited the prophecy somewhat, for suffering from some dropsical affection as he was being lanced he told the doctor who performed the operation (a Dr. Nicholson) that he was not destined to live long. The general belief in the existence of the prophecy is undoubted, for the Nuncio actually mentions the existence in a letter to the Pope of a popular belief in the violent death of the bishop and the bishop's implicit faith in it, and added that 'the Irish had the habit of indulging in the folly of prophesying.'

On the 17th of October, which happened to be a Sunday, as the Irish chiefs and generals were dining with the Archbishop in his tent, at their encampment at Ballysodare, some six miles from Sligo, their alarmed outposts brought in word that the English troops were actually upon them, and soon the attack commenced in real and deadly earnest. The unfortunate Irish never suspected that the enemy would be so soon, or at all, acting on the offensive, but such was the sad discovery that was made by that unprepared force. All was confusion and disorder. The Irish could make and made no stand, for they were taken completely unawares. The English troops, under Sir William Cole, Sir Francis Hamilton, and Sir Charles Coote were well in hand, and there was nothing but slaughter and flight for the Irish—their disorganised camp was taken, as it were, by surprise. The Archbishop, by the entreaty of General Dillon, vainly tried to save himself by flight, but as the report says, 'being obese and of great stature he lacked the necessary speed.' The Scotch soon noticed him and surrounded him. His faithful and devoted secretary, Father Thaddeus O'Connell—a Priest of the Order of St. Augustine—and another Tuam priest, bravely lost their lives in the attempt to protect their beloved bishop. They were ruthlessly cut down and so was he, and his mangled corpse was almost unrecognisable from the countless wounds inflicted upon it by his cruel and merciless foe, whose blood-thirsty zeal was redoubled when they saw it was not a soldier but an unarmed priest they were slaying. Several

Irish leaders were taken prisoners, among them were Murtagh O'Flaherty, William O'Shaughnessy, and Garrett Dillon, and the despatch from the Parliamentarians to London announced the victory as 'the good news from Ireland.' The Irish numbered 1,000 foot and 300 horse, and the account given by the English of the Archbishop's death is of historic interest, and reads thus :—

In the pursuit their commander and President of that province was slain, the titular Archbishop of Tuam, who was a principal agent in these wars. Divers papers were found in his carriage. He had for his own particular use an order from the Council of Kilkenny for levying the arrears of his bishopric, and the Pope's Bull and letter from Rome. The Pope would not at first engage himself for the sending of a Nuncio for Ireland until the Irish agents had fully persuaded him that the re-establishment of the Catholic religion was a thing feasible in this kingdom, whereupon he undertook the solicitation of their cause with Florence, Venice, and all other estates, and to delegate his Nuncio to attend to the affairs of this kingdom.

Amongst the papers found with the Archbishop was a draft of the proposed treaty, purporting to be from Charles I to the Earl of Glamorgan—called the Glamorgan Treaty in history—to negotiate with the Catholics on the basis of recognition and freedom of the practice of their religion. The Scotch, not content with killing the defenceless bishop put a price upon his mangled body, and sold it to his friends for thirty pounds—'thirty pieces of silver.' Subsequently the Scotch also sold their king for as many thousands, determined to make money by the living and dead. One Walter Lynch, of Galway, to his honour be it said, paid the money and brought the body of the bishop to Tuam where, amid the most sincere manifestations of popular grief, after High Mass *de requiem* in the Cathedral, he was buried in the old Catholic Cathedral of St. Mary's, then for some short time used by its original owners for its original purpose of Catholic worship, but soon after and for ever to pass out of their hands to 'predominant Protestantism.' It is said that Bridget Birmingham, Lady Athenry, wife of Francis, the nineteenth Baron of that name, and daughter of Luke Dillon of Loughglynn and a sister of Captain Dillon

who was commanding one of the Irish regiments at Ballysodare, subsequently caused the remains of Dr. O'Queely to be removed from Tuam and buried, it is believed, in the Birmingham tomb at Athenry.

Throughout not alone the archdiocese, but all through Ireland, the news of the death of Dr. O'Queely was received with 'great, general, and genuine grief.' In Limerick where, shortly before in the Cathedral a *Te Deum* was sung for the victory of O'Neill at Benburb, the whole place was draped in black, and a requiem sung for the great and good man, the great Archbishop of Tuam—the most remarkable of his time in Ireland.

RICHARD J. KELLY.

# Notes and Queries

## THEOLOGY

### MARRIAGE OF 'PEREGRINI'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Happening to reside in a part of Ireland much frequented by foreign travellers, my *confrères* and myself are often asked on emergencies to assist at the marriages of *peregrini* from England and parts of the United States where the decree *Tametsi* was never published, the following paragraph, from the pen of Professor Harty, in the November I. E. RECORD arrested my special attention. He says of such persons that 'marriage attempted between them in Ireland, without the license of their own Rector, who is their parish priest in the sense of the decree *Tametsi*, is invalid.'

From this categorical statement it is clear that the Professor has no doubt about his interpretation of the law : hence I take the liberty of asking him to give us in the I. E. RECORD the full benefit of the reasons that have inspired this great confidence in a matter so obscure, that no express trace of his view can be found in the older theologians. With them, following in the wake of Trent, it is always, to parody the court clerks, 'the *parochus*, the *proprius parochus* and no one but the *parochus*.' Of course they, as well as the Fathers of Trent, knew that there were *missionaries* and *missionary rectors* in abundance ; and yet they passed them over in silence.

It remains, therefore, for the Professor to justify Feije and Tanqueray in their, to me, novel extension of the Tridentine term *parochus* to those having merely delegated jurisdiction.

SACERDOS.

I. With much pleasure we comply with the request of our respected correspondent. In the November I. E. RECORD we discussed the case of two people from England who wished to be married in Ireland. They retained their domiciles in England. They did not acquire a domicile or a quasi-domicile in Ireland. We held that they could not be validly married without the license of their own

Rector, who is their Parish Priest in the sense of the decree *Tametsi*. We believed and still believe that opinion to be the only safe view. In the present number of the I. E. RECORD we intend to justify this statement. The special difficulty raised by our correspondent springs from the fear that the Rector, not being a Parish Priest in the strict canonical sense, cannot be the Parish Priest of his subjects in the sense of the decree *Tametsi*. We think it well, for the sake of completeness, to briefly treat some preliminary questions before we show the error of our correspondent's view.

From time to time some theologians have put forward strange views on the marriage of people who belong to a place where the decree *Tametsi* has not been published, and who wish to get married in a place where the decree has been published, without having acquired even a quasi-domicile there. Some, *v.g.* Carriere, maintained that such people are not bound by the Tridentine law, since they are not bound by it at home. Others, *v.g.* Rosset, held that they are bound by the law, but that they must be married before the Parish Priest of the place where the marriage takes place. They deduce this teaching from the axiom : *locus regit actum*. Others again, *v.g.* O'Kane, held it to be probable that they cannot be validly married at all in these circumstances. To be validly married they must either acquire a domicile in the place, or return to a place where the Tridentine decree has not been promulgated. In their view the Parish Priest of the place where they are *peregrini* cannot assist at their marriage because he is not their *proprius parochus*. Their own Rector cannot give license to another Priest to assist at the marriage, since he is not authorised by the decree *Tametsi*, which has not been published in his place, to assist at marriages.

The last view which we have mentioned need not detain us long. It is against the almost unanimous teaching of theologians and canonists, and, moreover, is opposed to the plain meaning of the Tridentine decree. We have searched in vain through the theologians for any serious

support of this opinion. The decree of Trent states that people cannot be married in a place where it has been published without the presence of their own Parish Priest or of another Priest by his license. This form of speech clearly indicates that they can be married, provided they secure the presence of their own Parish Priest or of his delegate. Consequently, their own Parish Priest is authorised by the Council of Trent to assist at their marriage.

¶ The opinion of Carriere, which states that the law of Trent does not bind in the circumstances under consideration, seems to be opposed to two generally admitted principles. One of these is that a general law of the Church binds all who happen to be in a place where it urges. Thus the law of abstinence, when it is a general law of the Church, binds every Catholic in the place where it is in force. In the same way the law of clandestinity binds everyone who happens to be in the place where it is in force. The second principle to which this opinion of Carriere is opposed is the principle, *locus regit actum*. Contracts, to be valid, must have the formalities of the place where they are made. Hence the fact that the law of Trent has not been promulgated in the place from which the contracting parties came does not prove their freedom from the law when they are in a place where it has been published. We are not surprised, then, that when the case came for decision before the Roman authorities they decided against the view of Carriere. We shall afterwards quote a decision in connection with the next view to be considered, which was given in 1899. We shall at present give some previous decisions which refer to this view in particular. Thus, the following question and reply indicate the mind of the S. Con. Concilii :—

Vir et femina unius dioecesis, in qua decretum S. Conc., cap. 1, sess. 24, de Reform. Matrim., non fuerit publicatum, peregrinantes in loca ubi dictum decretum erat publicatum, intra se secreto, sine parochio matrimonium per verba de praesenti contraxerunt, mutato proposito redeundi in patriam, in alio loco domicilium constituerunt, cohabitando uti vir et uxor; dubitatum fuit an dicantur legitimi conjuges. Die 4 Febr., 1580, S. Congregatio (Concilii) respondit negative, et quod

teneantur contrahere juxta formam Concilii in loco domicilii constituti.

The S. Pen. gave the same reply, 28th March, 1815. The S. Inquisition gave a similar reply, 14th December, 1859. Hence the opinion of Carriere is rejected by nearly all theologians.<sup>1</sup>

The opinion of Rosset, which teaches that the marriage must take place before the Parish Priest of the place where the marriage is celebrated, received in former times much more support than the view of Carriere. That opinion cannot, we think, at present be looked on as having sufficient probability to be safe in practice. (a) The teaching of Rosset seems to be clearly opposed to the decree of the Council of Trent. That decree states that people bound by the law of clandestinity must be married in the presence of their Parish Priest, or at least of another priest with his leave. Now, who is the Parish Priest of the persons in question? Is he the Parish Priest of the place where the marriage takes place, or the Parish Priest of the place to which the people belong? By what right the Parish Priest of the place where the marriage takes place can be called, as the Council of Trent in the context calls him, the *proprius parochus* of the parties to be married we know not. That the axiom, *locus regit actum*, does not make him so seems clear, because that axiom holds also in the case of those who come from a place where the decree *Tametsi* has been promulgated, and yet in their case he is admittedly not their *proprius parochus*. A parity with *vagi* does not prove him to be the *proprius parochus* in the case, because there is no such parity. *Vagi* have no *parochus* to turn to but the *parochus* of the place. It is from him they are to receive the other Sacraments. In this they differ essentially from *peregrini*, who remain subject to their own pastor. Hence no parity with *vagi* exists. Neither can it be said, with any show of reason, that the Parish Priest of the parties has not been autho-

<sup>1</sup> C/. Feije, n. 34.



rised to assist at their marriage. He has been authorised to act as witness at the marriages of his subjects, whenever his subjects are bound by the law of Trent, which requires the presence of their *proprius parochus*. The literal meaning of this phrase must be adopted unless proof to the contrary be given. We have never seen any such proof.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Whatever be said about the probability of the opinion of Rosset in former times we can scarcely allow it any safe probability at present because of a decision of the S. Cong. Con., 29th January, 1899.<sup>2</sup> A lady having a maternal domicile in London was married in Paris in the presence of the curé of the parish where she had taken up her residence for a short period (six weeks), and in the church of that parish. The curé had not the license of the Rector of the lady's parish in London, or of the curé of her husband who belonged to a different parish in Paris. The marriage turned out unhappy, so the lady brought an action in the ecclesiastical court of Paris demanding a declaration of the nullity of the marriage. She demanded this declaration on the ground that the curé of the Parisian parish, not having the license of the Rector of London or of the curé of the husband, could not validly assist at the marriage. The validity of the marriage was defended on the plea that the curé could validly assist at the marriage because he was the curé of the parish where the lady had taken up a temporary residence, and of the church in which the marriage was celebrated. The decree *Tametsi* not having been promulgated in London, it was maintained that the curé could, without any delegation from the Rector of the lady or the curé of the husband, validly assist at the marriage. The archiepiscopal court declared the marriage null. The matter was then carried to Rome. The S. Cong. Con., after a prolonged consideration of the case, confirmed the decision of the inferior court. 'An sit confirmanda vel infirmanda sententia curiae archiepiscopalis Parisiensis in casu? R. Sententiam esse con-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lehmkühl, *Casus Consc.*, vol. ii., n. 991.

<sup>2</sup> See *Canoniste Contemporain*, 1899, p. 227, for a full statement of the case, also *Acta S. Sedis*, xxxii., p. 346.

firmandam.' Hence the Parish Priest of the place where the marriage takes place is not the *proprius parochus* of those who belong to a place where the decree *Tametsi* has not been published.

In opposition to the argument derived from this decision it may be urged that the S. Cong. Con. does not state in its reply what the reason for its decision is, and that consequently we cannot deduce any proof from the decision for our doctrine. In reply we remind our readers that we have in the *Acta S. Sedis* the whole official process through which the case passed. From that official process we know that the question on which the decision of the Cong. depended was whether or not the *parochus* of the church where the marriage took place could, by his own authority, assist at the marriage. The decision can mean nothing else than a denial of his power.

Again, it may be said that in the case one of the parties belonged to France where the decree *Tametsi* is in force. Perhaps the other party was rendered subject to the full obligation of the decree by that fact. In the case, however, which we are discussing both parties belonged to a country where the decree *Tametsi* is not in force. We reply that it is the unanimous opinion of theologians that, on account of the indivisibility of the matrimonial contract, the freedom of one party is sufficient to give freedom to both. This principle was expressly admitted in the case by both sides. Hence, if the lady could be treated as if she were virtually a *vaga* the marriage would be valid.

Finally, it may be said that the decision was given only in a particular case and cannot consequently be made a general law. To this we reply that the decision involved the decision of a general principle and consequently can be applied to other cases where the same principle holds.

II. It is certain, then, that the Parish Priest of the place to which the *peregrini* belong is the Parish Priest whose presence is demanded at their marriage by the Council of Trent. Is the Rector of an English parish the *proprius parochus* in the sense of the Tridentine decree? This is

the question which our correspondent raises. We have no hesitation in answering in the affirmative. To avoid misunderstanding we wish to make our position perfectly clear. There is a difference of opinion amongst theologians as to whether the Rectors of parishes in such places as England, Scotland, the United States, and Holland, where there are no Parish Priests in the canonical sense, are formally or merely virtually Parish Priests in the sense of the Council of Trent. There are some who maintain that they are only virtually Parish Priests in the sense of the Tridentine law. There are others who maintain that they are formally Parish Priests in the sense of that law. All modern theologians, whose works we have been able to consult on the point, maintain that they are at least virtually Parish Priests in the Tridentine sense, so that they can assist validly at the marriages of their subjects, and delegate other priests, at least in particular cases, to assist at such marriages. Even amongst the older theologians we can find few who were opposed to this teaching. The disputed question is of no practical importance to us at present. A great deal can be said on the question, but we shall content ourselves with proving that, beyond all doubt, the Rectors of whom we speak are at least virtually Parish Priests in the sense of the decree *Tametsi*. We shall prove this by giving in the first place some authoritative decrees on the point, and in the second place by giving the views of theologians old and new. This teaching, as we shall see, is by no means novel to the great theologians and canonists.

(a) **AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS.**—Pius VII laid down, 27th May, 1804, that the Missionary Rectors of Holland, though not Parish Priests in the canonical sense, are Parish Priests in the sense of the Tridentine law :—

Parochum proprium Catholicorum in Hollandia commorantium, ibique matrimonium inter se contrahere volentium, esse pastorem vel compastorem illius civitatis vel loci, in quo alteruter ex contrahentibus domicilium vel quasidomicilium habet : ideoque nonnisi coram illo, aut coram alio sacerdote de illius licentia, valide posse matrimonio copulari.

This decree is so clear it needs no commentary.

The Holy Office, 14th November, 1883, gave a very important reply to the Bishop of St. Hyacinth, Canada, who asked a question about the validity of the promulgation of the decree *Tametsi* in the missions and quasi-parishes of his diocese. These missions and quasi-parishes, he explained, were not parishes in the strict canonical sense, though they had priests attached to them who visited them at regular intervals or lived permanently in them. The question asked was :—

An valida fuerit promulgatio decreti *Tametsi* in missionibus et in quasi-parochiis supradictis? R. Juxta exposita affirmative et ad mentem : mens est ut in locis ubi haberi nequeat parochus, validum est matrimonium celebratum coram duobus testibus.

In this reply of the Holy Office there are two statements which make our position clear. It is stated that the decree *Tametsi* can be validly promulgated in places where there are no canonical parishes. Now, *parochia* and *parochus* go hand in hand according to the decree *Tametsi*, because we find the two mentioned side by side in the decree. Hence as parish must be taken in a wide sense, so, too, Parish Priest must be taken in a wide sense to embrace those priests who are attached to missions and quasi-parishes. Again, the reply calls these priests *parochi*. That looks very like saying that they are in the position of Parish Priests in the strict sense so far as the marriages of their subjects are concerned.

In this connection it is well to bear in mind that the Council of Baltimore, with the approval of the Propaganda, stated authoritatively that many missions of the United States which are not parishes in the canonical sense are subject to the decree *Tametsi*. Moreover, the Fathers of Baltimore (n. 133) called the Rectors of the United States *parochi* in connection with marriages.

Finally, there is a general principle that a priest who is deputed to take full spiritual charge of a parish has a right to assist at the marriages of his subjects. This principle has been more than once sanctioned by the

Roman Congregations. Thus, the S. Cong. Con., 2nd July, 1758, declared that such a priest can assist at the marriages of his parishioners, '*cum deputatus dicatur ad universam curam animarum.*' A priest having this general delegation can certainly depute another priest to take his place, at least in particular cases. This has been decided by the S. Cong. Con. in a case mentioned by Fagnani in cap. 2, *De Cland. desp.*, n. 33 :—

Ita Rota dixerat in una *Barcinonen.* vicarios temporaneos ad nutum amovibiles parochialis ecclesiae posse matrimoniis *tamquam parochos* interesse. Ideoque in casu praesenti S.C. sensit posse et matrimonio interesse et alii dare licentiam ut intersit, hujusmodique matrimonia esse valida.

The Rectors of whom we speak are certainly deputed to take complete spiritual charge of the parishes over which they are placed. So it follows that they can *tamquam parochi* assist at the marriages of their subjects, and give other priests license to assist at these marriages.

(b) TEACHING OF THEOLOGICIANS.—The opinion which we are proving is held by practically all the great theologians and canonists. We doubt if any modern theologians or canonists of note deny this doctrine. At least after a diligent search we have been unable to find any who have any doubts on the matter. Some theologians speak expressly of Rectors such as are found in England, Holland, Scotland, Canada, and the United States. Others do not mention these Rectors specially but state generally that priests who are deputed *ad universam curam animarum* have power to assist at the marriages of their subjects and to depute other priests to assist at these marriages. We shall principally speak of those theologians who expressly mention Rectors.

DR. MURRAY, *De Imp. Matr.*, cap. xiv., n. 473 : Petrus et Maria ex Hibernia in Scotiam, cum intentione ibi perpetuo manendi, migrarunt. Post aliquod tempus, volentes matrimonium in natali solo contrahere, in Hiberniam ad id reveruntur, ibique, cum licentia pastoris domicilii Scotici, in matrimonium conjunguntur, statim in Scotiam redire intendentes. Dubium de validitate hujus matrimonii movebatur, ex eo quod pastor ille non fuit proprius parochus ad mentem

Concilio; tum quia (a) in Scotia nunquam promulgatum est decretum Concilio; tum quia (b) pastor ejusmodi non est proprius *parochus*: in Scotia enim non sunt, sicut in Hibernia, parochi proprie dicti. Censeo rationes istas vanas esse, et matrimonium esse validum. Quoad rationem primam, nihil est in decreto Concilio quo significetur necessitas ejusmodi promulgationis in parochia concedentis licentiam. Quoad secundam, in regione ubi non sunt parochi, sive olim fuerint sive non, locum parochi tenet is qui pastor seu missionarius vocatur, ut constat ex decreto, supra, n. 367 [dec. Pii VII].

This case, solved by Dr. Murray, is exactly the case with which we are concerned.

FEIJÉ, *De Imp. et Disp. Matr.*, n. 297, not. 2: Hinc qui in locis missionum, ut in Anglia, non sunt veri parochi sed rectores missionarii vel simplices missionarii, quibus curam principalem fidelium intra certos limites degentium episcopus seu Vic. Ap. commisit, delegare possunt ad casum particularem, tanquam delegati ab episcopo vel ad universitatem causarum, alium sacerdotem coram quo et testibus illi fideles matrimonium contrahere valent etiam in loco ubi decretum Tametsi viget, ut et ipse delegans ibi sic valide assisteret.

GENICOT, *Theol. Mor.*, vol. ii., n. 496: Requiritur assistentia parochi, non cujuslibet, sed qui proprius sit saltem alterutrius contrahentium. Proprius autem pastor ille est in cujus paroecia vel (ubi nondum canonice erectae sunt paroeciae) quasi-paroecia sponsus vel sponsa domicilium vel quasi-domicilium habet.

WERNZ, *Jus Matr. Eccl. Cath.*, n. 176: Veris et proprie dictis parochis titularibus sive inamovibilibus aequiparantur: . . . missionarii vel curati, qui v.g. in America septentrionali vel Canada missiones sive *quasiparochias* administrant.

DE BECKER, *De Spon. et Matr.*, cap. vi., p. 95: Sub voce 'parochi proprii' non est intelligendus tantummodo parochus proprie et stricte dictus, sed etiam . . . rector amovibilis vel inamovibilis de quibus loquuntur Concil. Plenar. Baltimor. II. et III.

TANQUEREY, *De Matr.*, n. 418: Quinam sub nomine parochi veniant relate ad matrimonium? Omnes qui in parochia curam animarum habent, cum generali licentia sacramenta ministrandi, quamvis non sint canonice parochi in sensu stricto, videlicet:—(a) non solum parochi inamovibiles, sed etiam amovibiles, et rectores missionum in Statibus Amer. Foederatis. . . .

PUTZER, *Commentarium in Facultates Apos.*, n. 16: Quoad matrimonia ab utroque catholico contracta certe requiritur, ut contracta sint coram Ecclesia i.e. coram parochio (missionario) et duobus testibus,

SMITH, *Elements of Ecclesiastical Law*, vol. i., n. 649 (ninth edition): All our rectors, even those who are not irremovable, possess parochial or quasi-parochial rights which are laid down partly in the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore . . . and also in the statutes of provincial and diocesan synods. These rights of our rectors necessarily imply corresponding duties on the part of their congregations, and other rectors. Thus, for instance, a rector with us has the right to administer baptism, marriage, etc.

Hence, according to Smith, Rectors of the United States have parochial or quasi-parochial rights with regard to marriage.

SLATER, *Principia Theologiae Moralis*, p. 536: Obligationes vero horum quasi-parochorum [in Anglia], sive oriantur ex officio sibi commissio, sive ex jure positivo, fere sunt eadem ac sunt parochorum obligationes, excepto onere missam ex obligatione applicandi pro populo.

Having the duties of parish priests these Rectors have, of course, the rights of parish priests also, so far as the sacrament of marriage is concerned.

The CONSULTORS, *Acta S. Sedis*, xxxii., p. 346, of the S. Cong. Con., in the case mentioned above (29th January, 1899) held that the English Rector was in the same position as parish priests in the strict canonical sense.

SANCHEZ, *De Matr.*, l. iii., Disp. xxxi., n. 13: Parochi non proprietarii qui praeficiuntur toti parochiae, per episcopum, ut curam ejus gerant: vel quia proprius parochus non est sacerdos, vel quia ipse episcopus est immediatus parochus totius dioecesis, ut contigit Hispali, Cordubae, Granatae, et in aliis dioecibus, in quibus non sunt beneficia curata, possunt delegare assistentiam matrim. alii sacerdoti.

Sanchez quotes about a dozen authorities for his view. He mentions, it is only fair to add, Soto and Ledesma as holding the opinion that these priests, being delegates, cannot delegate their power to other priests.

We refer our readers to the following theologians and canonists who agree with our opinion inasmuch as they hold that a priest who is *delegatus ad universam curam animarum* in any parish can assist at and depute others

to assist at the marriages of the faithful belonging to the parish. We have already quoted Fagnani in connection with a decision of the S. Cong. Con. We beg to add Schmalzgrueber, tom. 3, n. 190; Gasparri, *De Matr.*, n. 911; Santi (Leitner), *Praelectiones Juris Canonici*, l. iv., p. 151; Bassibey, *De La Clandestinité*, n. 137; Palmieri, *Opus Theol. Morale*, vol. vi., n. 835; Lehmkuhl, *Theol. Moral.*, vol. ii., n. 777.

We fear that we have wearied our readers by quoting so many theologians in favour of a teaching which we venture to call the unanimous opinion of modern theologians, and the practically unanimous opinion of the older theologians. We hope that we have convinced our respected correspondent that the view which we held is not novel. The older theologians, *v.g.*, Sanchez, Fagnani, did not, as we have seen, devote their whole time to the consideration of 'the *parochus*, the *proprius parochus*, and no one but the *parochus*,' if by *parochus* is meant the *parochus* in the strict canonical sense. We hope that the authority of Pius VII is sufficient to prove that the Fathers of the Council of Trent did not pass over in silence the Rectors of such places as Holland, who are only delegates of the Bishop in the ruling of the districts in which they exercise their pastoral office. We hope that the consensus of opinion of modern theologians is sufficient to banish any lingering doubts about the position of Rectors in America, England, and Scotland.

J. M. HARTY.

## LITURGY

### PURIFICATION OF CORPORAL IN CERTAIN CASES

REV. DEAR SIR,—The reply with which I am favoured in the January number of the I. E. RECORD, regarding the purification of the Corporal in the circumstances previously mentioned, does not appear to me entirely satisfactory.

The rubric in the Missal *Si qui communicandi*, etc., (t. 10, n. 6) is very clear; and it does not appear to me that there is sufficient reason for setting it aside. It would be difficult to



admit that the rubric *Si deprehendit*, etc. (*Rub. Missal, de def.*, t. 7, n. 2) and the other authorities referred to are in conflict with it.

This latter rubric *Si deprehendat*, etc., seems to me to be capable of an interpretation which would not contravene the rubric (t. 10, n. 6) which requires that when Communion is to be given the particles, consecrated on the Corporal, should be put into the pyxis *after* the consumption of the Precious Blood. It seems capable of being interpreted as referring to the fragments of the large Host which is consumed by the celebrant. So too, perhaps, the other authorities mentioned.

And if the interpretation be adopted which sets aside the rubric *Si qui*, etc. (t. 10, n. 6), and if it be maintained, as a supporting reason, that unless the fragments of the Communion particles be consumed the Sacrifice will be in a sense incomplete, then a serious difficulty will arise: for it should then be concluded that the Sacrifice would be incomplete—and therefore should be forbidden—in the following set of circumstances, which I think may be said to be practical. A priest says two Masses in the same church on the same day; and (there being no danger whatever of irreverence) allows the chalice to remain upon the altar during the time between the two Masses. It is an occasion of very great devotion, and the pyxis at hand is not sufficiently large to contain the number of particles necessary for the communicants. The priest (if he does not consecrate all upon the corporal, in which case the same difficulty would arise) consecrates in the pyxis as many as it can contain, and on the corporal about as many more as will be required. Now, in this case he cannot collect the fragments of the Communion particles off the corporal before the consumption of the Precious Blood, nor until he has given Communion. And if it be maintained that the consumption of the fragments of the Communion particles, which are upon the corporal, is necessary to the completion of the Sacrifice, then the Sacrifice, in the circumstances, must be said to be incomplete, and therefore forbidden. But as far as I know there is no prohibition. Of course it may be said that these fragments, instead of being put into the pyxis with any Communion particles which might have remained over, could be consumed by the priest when he returns to the altar after having given Communion; but then it would be necessary for him to adopt some such method as that which De Herdt

describes as being *indecent et reliquiarum perditiones periculo obnoxius* : and it is not clear that the rubrics require this.

Besides, might it not be asked : If the consumption of the fragments of the Communion particles were necessary for the completion of the Sacrifice why should not that of the Communion particles themselves ? or, how may those which remain over be lawfully reserved in the tabernacle ? or, how again may an exception be made in regard to the fragments of the particles consecrated in the pyxis ?

A similar difficulty would arise in another, and more practical case ; namely, where (the other circumstances being the same as those just mentioned) the ciborium is not on the altar, but in the tabernacle, and contains consecrated particles.

It appears to me, then, that the rubric which requires that when Communion is to be given the particles should be placed in the ciborium after the consumption of the Precious Blood (t. 10, n. 6) need not be set aside, and accordingly should be observed.

With this view of the meaning of the rubrics referred to a priest would, after receiving the Sacred Host, purify that portion of the corporal on which it rested, putting the fragments (if any) into the chalice before receiving the Precious Blood : and upon returning to the altar, after having given Communion, he would collect the fragments of the Communion particles off the corporal and put them into a pyxis together with any Communion particles which might have remained over.—Yours faithfully,

C. D.

If our correspondent consecrated the particles in the ciborium, which he seems to have had convenient, we should be spared the difficult task of endeavouring to satisfy him. As it is we feel our efforts towards this end shall be wasted unless he realizes that the comparatively trivial direction about putting the consecrated particles into their receptacle *post sanguinis sumptionem* must yield to the more important portion of the same Rubric directing that the corporal is to be carefully purified, and that the fragments are to be received in the chalice in the ordinary way. 'Quod (fragmentum) si fuerit, *accurate ponit in calicem*' (tit. 10, n. 5). 'Si quae in ea fuerint fragmenta

*in calicem immitit'* (n. 6). Confining ourselves to the original hypothesis we affirm our conviction in the correctness of the course we recommended, and nothing short of an authentic decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites shall make us change our view. We suspect that the reason why the Rubric directs that particles consecrated on the corporal for distribution during Mass should be put into the ciborium or pyx *after* the taking of the Precious Blood is, because in this instance cases are contemplated where the sacred particles must remain on the corporal until they are distributed and, consequently, where the corporal could not be fully purified until Communion has been given.

There is no authority for limiting the Rubric *Si deprehendat*, etc., to the minutiae of the larger Host. It refers to all the fragments on the corporal. When consecrated particles are on the corporal, Rubricists recommend that the space occupied by the large Host should not be purified till the whole corporal, or at least the portions of it occupied by the smaller Hosts can be similarly treated.<sup>1</sup> And, indeed, until you can purify the parts of the corporal adjacent to the compass on which the large Host rested, you cannot be morally certain that you have collected even the fragments belonging to the latter.

Until everything consecrated is consumed the Sacrifice is, in a way, incomplete (but not necessarily forbidden), and our correspondent is, we presume, aware that Theologians for this reason hold that the faithful who are communicated participate, in a measure, in the fruits of the Sacrifice at which the sacred species received were consecrated. Hence also it is more *congruous*, as Rubricists suggest, that Communion should be given to the faithful from particles consecrated at the Mass at which they assist. It is forbidden to omit to do what one can *humano modo* towards securing the adequate completion of each Sacrifice, but between the *reliquae* and the particles for reservation there is a very wide difference, as may be seen from the ordinary Manuals of Theology or Liturgy. Finally, it is

<sup>1</sup> Van Der Stappen, *De Miss. Cel.*, n. 331.

only in a very extreme case—to save, for instance, the sacred species from irreverence—that one may put consecrated fragments into a ciborium in the way indicated. These are our reasons for setting aside the first portion of the Rubric in favour of the second.

The case may occur where a Priest, obliged to say a second Mass the same day in a different church, has, after distributing Communion at the first Mass, a few particles remaining and no pyx or receptacle in which to put them. What is he to do? Two courses seem possible, either to consume them or to bestow them in the corporal and take them away. It is a question as to which is the more reverent way of disposing of the particles, but we would recommend the former as the more becoming.

#### AGE OF ALTAR-BREADS FOR LICIT AND VALID CONSECRATION

REV. DEAR SIR,—‘*Sacerdos Perplexus*’ has done good work for many readers of the I. E. RECORD in eliciting from you the very satisfactory analysis of the sources and extent of the obligation of frequently renewing the sacred species, which appeared in the November issue. Your conclusions were clear and definite and easily applicable to the circumstances of our everyday life; and that is what most of us require.

May another reader ask you to kindly elucidate now for us the second point touched on in that same suggestive article, ‘*Around the Eucharist*,’ which so aroused the attention of your correspondent, namely, the extent of the obligation of using only recently-made particles for consecration. As the reason assigned for the obligation of frequently renewing the sacred species is the danger of corruption, it seems that in determining the time at which this obligation begins to bind we should consider not merely the interval that has elapsed since the species were consecrated, but also the length of time the particles were made before they were consecrated. The one interval ought to be regarded as the complement of the other. Hence we would like to have the second point cleared up in the same manner as the first.

No one, I am sure, will find fault with the writer of ‘*Around the Eucharist*’ for insisting on the propriety of using only

recently made particles for Mass. But would it not be well to have a more definite statement as to how long particles may have been made without having passed the limit within which they may, in ordinary circumstances, be lawfully used for the altar? If we take twenty days as the limit for this country, as suggested by Father O'Callaghan when he quotes a regulation made by St. Charles Borromeo in his Provincial Synod, I fear it will be necessary, in many instances, to revise the existing systems of supplying our churches with altar-breads. Indeed, without venturing to condemn any of the existing practices, I must say that in many cases I have been unable to find the principle on which I could justify them. Your guidance, therefore, will be sincerely welcomed.

I will take a case with which I hope I can illustrate the difficulty which for me, I think, is at the bottom of all others. It has reference to the practice of renewing the sacred species with particles that are made the same length of time as those they are to replace. Now, the danger of corruption in the sacred species with the consequent irreverence to the Blessed Sacrament seems to be the chief element in determining the obligation of frequently renewing them. The Synod of Thurles (item Maynooth, 1875) when fixing eight days as the interval after which they ought to be renewed gives as a reason : *Ne diutius asservatae corrumpantur particulae*. And O'Kane, commenting on the rubric requiring frequent renewal, says : ' Besides the object of the law is not only to guard against this danger (of corruption), but to secure that reverence for the holy mystery which is implied in the frequent renewal of the sacred species.' May the obligation be satisfied, then, by using hosts of the same age and condition as the consecrated species that are to be replaced? As the consecrated species are subject to the laws of corruption not more than the unconsecrated particles, I find it difficult to understand that the danger of corruption is in any way lessened or that there is any positive reverence implied in such a renewal; if, indeed, it be a renewal at all in the sense intended by the rubrics and the various decrees. Is it an honest renewal of the species or is it a mark of reverence to the Blessed Sacrament to replace those species by others of exactly similar condition? I am supposing that the consecrated particles have not been more exposed to corrupting influences than the unconsecrated. And this is not an improbable hypothesis. The Blessed Sacrament is often reserved

in a warm dry oratory in the priest's house ; and on the other hand the unconsecrated particles are not always kept in dry surroundings.

If you will kindly bear in mind that it is the practice in many parishes to be supplied with breads from convents or other centres only after certain fixed intervals and that there is a tendency to make, for convenience' sake, these intervals as long as lawfulness will permit, you will recognise, I think, that the questions I have raised may not be without a share of practical interest.—Yours, etc.,

P. R.

This question is of very practical importance. In discussing it we shall touch briefly on another kindred question which concerns the age at which hosts cease to be not only *materia licita*, but also *materia valida* for consecration, or at least when they become *materia dubia*. In regard to the first point, the Rubrics prescribe: 'Hostiae vero, seu particulae sint recentes.'<sup>1</sup> Now, what is the meaning of the word *recentes*? For the solution of the first question will depend on the interpretation which we give this word. *Apropos* of this, Genicot, it seems to us, has a very appropriate remark: 'Quanto autem tempore,' he says, 'recentes manent (particulae) non videtur eadem regula ubique metiendum sed attendendae sunt variae circumstantiae tempestatis, loci in quo custodiuntur etc. quippe quae corruptionem accelerant vel retardant.'<sup>2</sup> In addition to atmospheric conditions and local surroundings, the tendency to decomposition in the particles will, we think, depend also on the quality of the material used, and especially on the method of their manufacture. In proportion as moisture is excluded in the composition and making of the particles, in the same degree will they be possessed of the power of resisting corrupting influences. So that particles that are well made have a better chance of being preserved from decay than those not so well favoured in this respect. In estimating, then, the 'fresh-

<sup>1</sup> *De Euch.*, t. vii., c. i.

<sup>2</sup> *Theol. Mor. Inst.*, v. ii., p. 171 (1898).

ness' of altar-breads we must look not only to their absolute age but also to the manner in which they are made and subsequently preserved. In this way hosts well made and well kept, though a month old, may be relatively 'fresher' than others that are of more recent date, but made and kept under less favourable circumstances. The word *recentes*, then, should be taken not so much in an *absolute* as in a *relative* sense, and be interpreted to mean that the particles to be consecrated are quite sound—free from the slightest symptoms of decay—and, furthermore, that there is every reasonable confidence that they will remain in a sound condition until they are consumed.

From the foregoing remarks, therefore, it will be evident that the fixing of an age limit, beyond which it would be unlawful to keep hosts for the altar, is not easily determined. What would be allowable for one description of breads, might not be at all permissible for a different class, as there may be greater liability to corruption in one case than in the other. Taking the normal state of things, the regulations of St. Charles Borromeo are very reasonable. For our own part we should like to see them everywhere carried out. But a Priest, whom this system satisfies, will not always be able to secure that the newly-consecrated particles are, absolutely speaking, 'fresher' than those that have been replaced. During the twenty days from the date of making, the consecrated particles will be renewed by others of exactly the same age absolutely speaking. When, therefore, Liturgists<sup>1</sup> say that the sacred species are to be renewed with hosts that are more recent (*recentiores*),<sup>2</sup> and when, at the same time, they sanction the custom of keeping the particles for twenty days before consecration, they must necessarily speak of a relative freshness. This is secured in the average run of cases where the Blessed Sacrament is reserved in the humid atmosphere of the church, whereas the unconsecrated hosts are preserved under conditions that are less liable to give rise to danger of corruption. It is quite exceptional, and,

<sup>1</sup> Walpelhorst, *Sac. Lit.*, p. 111 (1904): De Herdt, *Prox. Sac. Lit.*, t. i. n. 281: Van Der Stappen, *De Euch.*, 178.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* De Herdt, *loc. cit.*

therefore, beyond the normal order of things contemplated by Rubrical legislation, if the consecrated species are not exposed to greater danger of decomposition than the unconsecrated. Granted, however, that such an hypothesis is possible, it may be said, firstly, that the obligation of renewal is not so imperative here, and, secondly, that even though the letter of the law may not be exactly fulfilled yet its spirit is realized by each renewal, which implies a tender, thoughtful solicitude for the Hidden Presence in our midst that will make us ever mindful of Him.

What is to be said of the practice of some Priests who are in the habit of getting monthly instalments of Altar-breads through the post? Can it be justified? One author we have seen sanctions it. 'Les hosties a consacrer doivent être relativement fraîches, c'est-à-dire, ne pas avoir été faites depuis plus de quinze jours, ou un mois tout au plus.'<sup>1</sup> The practice of getting breads every month has undoubtedly its convenience and, while we should prefer to see the regulations of St. Charles Borromeo everywhere carried out, nevertheless we should not wish to quarrel with the monthly system provided the breads are carefully kept before use. If they are got from a convent, as generally happens, there is always a guarantee that they are well made, and this, being so they may, from what we have been saying, be in as good condition as the end of four weeks as other breads not so well made would be at the end of three. The greatest care, however, should be taken to preserve them, and the older they are when used the more frequently should they be renewed.

As to the second question, the valid matter for the Mass is '*solus panis triticens (sive azymus sive fermentatus) et usualis* : qualis nempe, morali hominum judicio censetur ille tantum qui ex farina et aqua naturali mixtus et igne coctus sive assus atque in sua specie incorruptus est.'<sup>2</sup> As long, then, as wheaten bread prepared in this way can be called bread in the common estimation of men it is valid matter for the Sacrifice. How long it will so remain, without losing its substance by corruption, is not easily

<sup>1</sup> Velghe, *Lit. Sacr.*, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> Marc, *Inst. Mor. Alp.*, t. ii., p. 177.



determined.<sup>1</sup> Unleavened bread, from the fact that it does not contain so much moisture, will last much longer than leavened. Staleness and mustiness, though indicative of an incipient corruption, are no evidence of thorough decomposition. Hence, stale or musty bread (*panis mucidus*) would be valid, but of course illicit matter. A complete chemical change in the essential elements of bread is generally manifested by a pronounced acidity in the taste. For this reason we think it is almost impossible that a Priest could use Altar-breads that were substantially corrupt without noticing the defect.<sup>2</sup> Therefore he would not be likely to use such breads a second time. Let us assume that a Priest has been using certainly, or doubtfully invalid matter, what is the result? Have these Masses been valid, and have the intentions for which they were offered been fully discharged? These are questions that pertain more to Theology than to Liturgy. But we may mention, for the consolation of those who may have conscientious scruples on this head, that there is an opinion which holds that the consecration under one species is sufficient for the essence of the Sacrifice. This opinion is not the traditional one, but it enjoys the distinction of being held as probable by St. Alphonsus. In regard to it Noldin says<sup>3</sup> :—

Quoniam vero (Auctore St. Alphonso) sententia, secundum quam essentia sacrificii etiam in sola consecratione unius speciei habetur, probabilis est, ille, qui pro stipendio celebravit, in tali casu obligationi suae probabiliter satisfecit: qui autem obligationi suae probabiliter satisfecit non tenetur eam denuo implere dummodo hanc sententiam cum S. Alphonso probabilem habeat.

Whether this view is solidly probable, and whether a probable fulfilment of an onerous contract extinguishes the obligation, we leave to others to decide.

P. MORRISROE.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. E. RECORD, October, 1904, pp. 353, 354.

<sup>2</sup> Then, too, the progress of decomposition should have extended to the entire mass, for if any portion remained intact—unless it were too minute for consecration—it would be validly consecrated. Before this stage is reached a rather long interval must, we fancy, elapse.

<sup>3</sup> *De Sacramentis*, p. 185 (ed. 1904).

## DOCUMENTS

INSPECTION OF CHURCH BOOKS IN CHURCHES OF  
EXEMPTED REGULARSE SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM  
SANCTI HIPPOLYTIORDINARIUS NEQUIT SIBI VINDICARE INSPECTIONEM LIBRORUM  
MISSARUM MANUALIUM IN ECCLESIIS ETIAM PAROCHIALIBUS  
REGULARIUM EXEMPTORUM*Beatissime Pater,*

Guardianus fratrum Minorum, in Dioecesi Sancti Hippolyti commorantium atque pertinentium ad regularem provinciam Sancti Bernardini in Austria, praevio sacrorum Pedum Tuorum osculo, humillime exponit :

Ordinariatus praefatae Dioeceseos, secus atque in Vindobonensi Ecclesiastica provincia ad quam Episcopatus Sancti Hippolyti spectat, immo et contra morem in illa dioecesi hucusque pacifice retentum, a Religiosis minoritis in Conventu ipsius civitatis degentibus exigit, ut exhibeantur sibi libri Missas manuales Coenobii continentes, atque subsecutam earundem applicationem, hocque ratione paroeciae quam illic fratres Ordinis Minorum Monasterio adnexam habent. Attamen, cum de re agatur paroeciam et iurisdictionem Episcopi nullinodè respiciente, neque sermo fuerit de applicanda Missa pro populo aliisve oneribus parochialibus explendis, ipse Guardianus, non Ordinario Dioecetano, sed Regularibus Praelatis, rationem de Missis manualibus debet, ad normam Apostolicarum Constitutionum atque generalium Ordinis legum, suo tempore exhibere.

Hoc autem loco Constitutionibus Apostolicae Sedis et Seraaphici Instituti omissis, quae vigilantiam super Missarum manualium celebratione Regularium Praelatis committunt, ideoque hanc sollicitudinem ab Ordinario locorum avocasse probantur ; sufficiat hic auctoritatem clarissimi viri Angeli Lucidi, qui cum aliis auctoribus et canonistis in opere '*De Visitatione sacrarum Liminum*' Romae anno 1866, ita ad rem loquitur in Vol. II, Cap. IV, Append. III, num. 95, XI., agens de iis in quibus Regulares exempti nullatenus Episcopis subduntur : ' Non possunt (Episcopi) eos (Regulares) compellere ad exhibendos libros sacristiae, in quibus adnotantur celebrationes Missarum, ut inde

constare possit de integratis satisfatione obligationis debitae ex Legato pio; ex Decreto laudatae Congregationis (Concilii) in *Urbinate*. 10 Martii 1663 ad cap. 18, Trident. sess. 21, lib. 23. decr. pag. 456.'

Itaque humillimus orator, pacem cum omnibus maximeque cum Ordinariatu loci integram servare cupiens, neque Ordinis iuribus quae Apostolicae Sedis sunt iura volens aut potens afferre nocumentum, enixe Sanctitatem Tuam rogat, ut significet Episcopo nullam sibi vindicare posse inspectionem super Missarum manualium implemento, cum Apostolica Sedes ordinavit hanc vigilantiam Praesulibus Regularium exemptorum unice competere. Et Deus etc.

Sacra Congregatio Emorum. et Rmorum. S.R.E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, omnibus mature perpensis, quoad dubium propositum a P. Superiore Conventus Fratrum Minorum in civitate S. Hippolyti existentis, responderi mandavit, prout sequitur:

'*Scribatur Ordinario ad mentem.* Mens est, quod exemptio a iurisdictione episcopali fratribus Minoribus S. Francisci competens extenditur etiam ad Missas manuales; ideoque Episcopus in visitatione canonica nullam sibi vindicare potest inspectionem librorum Missarum manualium in parocchia fratrum Minorum in casu.'

Die 11 Maii 1904.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

Ph. GIUSTINI, *Secret.*

#### REGULARES AND THE BIBLICAL COMMISSION

##### E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM

ETIAM REGULARES POSSUNT ASSEQUI GRADUS ACADEMICOS A  
COMMISSIONE BIBLICA

Il S. Padre, desiderando che i membri del Clero Regolare, i quali abbiano coltivato gli studi biblici, possano anche essi conseguire i gradi accademici che la Commissione Biblica è autorizzata a conferire in virtù delle lettere Apostoliche di quest'anno, si è benignato disporre che la speciale facoltà di cui abbisognano gli alunni di Ordini religiosi per conseguire gradi accademici, sia accordata dalla S. C. dei Vescovi e Regolari per ciò che riguarda gli studi biblici, *in modo abituale*, e non solo per modo di atto nei

singoli casi, come determinano gli statuti dei vari Ordini religiosi, per le altre classi di gradi accademici.

Nel partecipare alla P. V. tale disposizione Pontificia, le auguro dal Signore ogni bene.

19 Aprile 1904.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

L. ♣ S.

PHILIPPUS GIUSTINI, *Secret.*

**PRIVILEGES GRANTED TO PILGRIMS TO THE HOLY LAND**

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE SUPER NEGOTIIS ECCL. EXTR.

LINCIEN

CONCEDUNTUR INDULTA ET PRIVILEGIA PRO PEREGRINATURIS AD  
TERRAM SANCTAM, IN CASU

*Beatissime Pater,*

Anno 1900, mense Aprili, e dioecesi Linciensi plus quam quingenti viri catholici, duce Episcopo, in Terram Sanctam perergrinati sunt, quibus, petente eodem Episcopo, SS. Dominus b. m. Leo XIII per Rescriptum S. Congregationis Negot. Eccl. Extr., die 10 Aprilis 1900, specialia quaedam indulta concedere dignatus est.

Anno currente, pariter mense Aprili, iterum peregrini, viri et foeminae, ex hac dioecesi, quibus se accludunt ex aliis dioecibus quoque multi, in Terram Sanctam profecturi sunt numero 460, inter quos 57 sacerdotes erunt.

Pro quibus peregrinis Episcopus ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae humillime provolutus similia privilegia petere audet, scilicet :

1° Ut omnibus presbyteris quotidie liceat celebrare in navi (in qua solummodo peregrini et non alii vehentur) S. Missae Sacrificium in decenti loco hunc in finem exornando super altaribus portatilibus, servatis caeteris de praecepto servandis.

2° Ut quotidie liceat celebrare Missam votivam privatam de B. Maria Virgine cum sola secunda Oratione de Spiritu Sancto, absque commemoratione diei, quia nimis difficile esset, paramenta cuiusvis coloris et Missalia maiora secum ducere.

3° Ut liceat in navi eodtim loco, in quo SS. Missae celebrantur, servatis servandis, Augustissimum Sacramentum asservare, ut peregrinantes coram Eo adorationem peragere valeant, et si quis peregrinantium in gravem morbum inciderit, ei viaticum ministrari possit.

4° Ut omnes sacerdotes alias ad audiendas confessiones a

suis Ordinariis approbati (plures enim presbyteri ex aliis quobue dioecesis sese adiungent) confessiones virorum et foeminarum peregrinantium excipere possint, tum in navi tum in ipsa Terra Sancta, quia ibi confessarii germanica lingua pollentes pauci tantum inveniuntur; et quatenus aliqui eorum specialibus facultatibus pro foro interno sive a Sanctitate Vestra sive ab Episcopo sint instructi, ut iisdem pariter uti possint durante peregrinatione.

5° Ut mihi Episcopo liceat delegare certo sacerdoti ex peregrinantibus digniori facultatem, cum singulis peregrinantibus qui forsitan indiguerint, vel cum omnibus, in casu necessitatis, dispensandi super lege abstinentiae feriis sextis.

Et Deus.

Lincii, die 11 m. Martii 1904.

Ex audientia SSmi., die 22 Martii 1904.

SSmus. Dominus Noster Pius, divina providentia Pp. X, referente infrascripto S. Congregationis a Negotiis Ecclesiasticis Extraordinariis praepositae Secretario, benigne annuere dignatus est pro gratia iuxta preces, servatis de iure servandis, et praesertim SS. Rituum Congregationis praescriptis. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Datum Romae e Secretaria eiusdem S. C. die, mense et anno ut supra.

✠ PETRUS, Archiep. Caesaren., *Secret.*

L. ♣ S.

#### INDULGENCED INVOCATION

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

INDULG. 100 DIERUM CONCEDITUR RECITANTIBUS INVOCATIONEM :

‘ NOSTRA DOMINA A S. CORDE, ORA PRO NOBIS ’

PIUS PP. X

*Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*

Benigne annuentes oblatis Nobis piis precibus a dilecto filio Praeposito Generali Missionariorum Sacri Cordis, omnibus et singulis fidelibus ex utroque sexu, ubique terrarum nunc et in posterum existentibus, quocumque idiomate, dummodo versio sit fidelis, invocationem hanc contrito saltem corde ac devote recitantibus: ‘ Nostra Domina a Sacro Corde, ora pro nobis,’ quoties id agant, toties de poenaliu dierum numero in forma Ecclesiae solita centum expungimus. Largimur insuper fide-

libus iisdem, si malint liceat partiali ipsa indulgentia functorum vita labes poenasque expiare. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris. Sed praecipimus ut praesentium authenticum exemplar transmittatur ad Secretariam Indulgentiis sacrisque Reliquiis praepositam; alioquin nullae sint; simulque ut praesentium litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die XXVIII Iunii MDCCCIV, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo.

Pro Dno., Card. MACCHI.

L. ✠ S.

N. MARINI, *Substit.*

Praesentium Litterarum authenticum exemplar transmissum fuit ad hanc Secretariam S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorem fidem etc.

Datum Romae ex eadem Secretaria die 9 Iulii 1904.

Ios. M. Cancus. COSELLI, *Subtus.*

L. ✠ S.

#### INDULGENOE FOR THE MIRACULOUS MEDAL

##### EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

INDULG. 100 DIERUM CONCEDITUR DEFERENTIBUS NUMISMA MIRACULOSUM, QUOTIES INSCRIPTAM JACULATORIAM RECITAVERINT

PIUS PP. X

*Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*

Oblatis Nobis precibus a dilecto filio Augustino Veneziani, altero a Procuratore Generali Congregationis Missionis, benigne annuere volentes, auspiciatissima potissimum occasione solemnibus Immaculatae Conceptionis Iubilaei, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus et singulis fidelibus ex utroque sexu ubique terrarum existentibus, qui gerant numisma miraculosum nuncupatam, dummodo illud rite prius benedictum a persona receperint debita facultate praedita, quoties quocumque idiomate dummodo versio sit fidelis iaculatoriam precem ipso in numismate inscriptam ' O Maria sine labe concepta, pro nobis

ad te recurrentibus ora ' contrito saltem corde recitent, toties de poenaliū dierum numero in forma Ecclesiae consueta centum expungimus. Sed largimur fidelibus iisdem, liceat si malint partiali eadem indulgentia vita functorum labes poenasque expiare. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuo valituris. Praecipimus vero ut praesentium litterarum authenticum exemplar de more exhibeatur Secretariae Congregationis Indulgentiis sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, secus nullae sint: utque earumdem transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo praemunitis personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae, eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die VI Iunii MCMIV, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo.

Pro Dno. Card. MACCHI.

L. ✠ S.

NICOLAUS MARINI, *Substitutus*.

Praesentium litterarum authenticum exemplar exhibitum fuit huic Secretariae S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorum fidem etc.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria pta. die 7 Iunii 1904.

IOSEPHUS M. COSELLI, *Substitutus*.

L. ✠ S.

## GENUFLEXIONS BETWEEN THE CONSECRATION AND COMMUNION

### E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

#### RHEMEN

QUOMODO FACIENDA SIT GENUFLEXIO A CANONICIS ALIISQUE  
MINISTRIS, TRANSEUNTIBUS ANTE ALTARE, A CONSECRATIONE  
AD COMMUNIONEM

Hodiernus canonicus caeremoniarum magister Ecclesiae metropolitanae Rhemensis, de consensu sui Emi. Archiepiscopi, sequentia dubia Sacrorum Rituū Congregationi, pro opportuna declaratione, humillime proposuit, videlicet :

I. Utrum canonici ante altare, in quo Missa celebratur, transeuntes a consecratione usque ad communionem, genuflexionem duplicem nempe utroque genu efficere debeant, an genu dexterum tantum usque in terram flectere ?

II. Utrum idem modus genuflectendi servari etiam debeat

a quolibet sacerdote qui, sive ad altare procedit Missam celebraturus, sive redit celebrata Missa, transit ante aliud altare in quo tunc Missa, transit ante aliud altare in quo tunc Missa celebratur et est inter consecrationem et communionem ?

III. Utrum eodem modo genuflectere debeant ceroferarii qui ab altari discedunt post consecrationem, cum intorticia in sacristiam referunt et cum statim ad loca sua prope altare redeunt ?

Et Sacra eadem Rituum Congregatio ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae omnibusque sedulo perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. '*Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam.*'

Ad II. '*Negative et servantur Rubricae de ritu celebrandi tit. II, n. I.*'

Ad III. '*Genuflectant unico genu.*'

Atque ita rescripsit, die 20 Maii 1904.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus*.

L. ♣ S.

♣ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

#### EREGTION OF AN ECCLESIASTICAL UNIVERSITY IN MEXICO

LEO XIII PROBAT CONSILIUM EPORUM DITIONIS MEXICANAE ERIGENDI UNIVERSITATEM STUDIOREM PRO ECCLESIAE ALUMNIS

*Venerabilibus Fratribus, Archiepiscopos et Episcopis Regionis Mexicanae*

LEO PP. XIII

*Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem,*

Compertum habemus Venerabiles Fratres, eam esse mentem in Vobis ut, iuxta Concilii Plenarii Americae latinae vota, aliqua studiorum nova Universitas erigatur, in qua adolescentes Ecclesiae Mexicanae alumni magisterii lauream aliosque academicos gradus in sacris disciplinis assequi valeant. Id Nobis consilium probare admodum placet. Novimus enim quanto rei catholicae emolumento sit optima quaeque studia provehere et viros sacri ad solidam salubremque doctrinam informatos habere. Hoc vero propositum ut facilius opere perfici liceat, dilectum filium Richardum Sanz de Samper, domus Nostrae Pontificalis Antistitem, morum probitate, doctrina et prudentia spectatum, ad Vos mittendum consuimus, eumque comitati et benevolentiae



vestrae valde commendatum volumus. Quidquid ergo ad felicem huius negotii exitum conducere videbitur, communicatis sententiis cum eo agere Vobis erit. Sed et de caeteris ecclesiarum vestrarum utilitatibus parandis et de religionis statu. libere ac fidenter cum eodem mentem vestram aperire non ambigatis, ut ipse Nos de omnibus certiores, uti par est, reddere possit : Nos vero, pro Apostolica nostra sollicitudine, quae in catholici nominis incrementum et animarum salutem cedere noverimus, libenter praestare satagemus. Optatis igitur Nostris iisdemque vestris in religionis bonum obsecundare velit Deus ; et interim divinorum munerum auspex et benevolentiae Nostrae pignus sit Apostolica benedictio, quam Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, clero et universo populo fidei vestrae commisso peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XIV Februarii MDCCCII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimo quarto.

LEO PP. XIII.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE LATIN WRITINGS OF ST. PATRICK. By Rev. N. J. D. White, D.D. Dublin, 1903. Price, 2s.

THE present volume contains an edition of the Confession of St. Patrick and his Letter to Coroticus, together with an introduction, translation, and notes. The editor has done his work in a painstaking and scholarly fashion, and his book is one that cannot be neglected by any student of that period in the history of Irish Christianity. We cannot, however, agree with all the views put forward by Mr. White. In the first place MS. A of the Confession is undoubtedly the oldest in existence. But it omits many passages, some of them of considerable length, which, as the editor rightly contends, cannot be regarded as interpolations. Hence, the evident conclusion is that the other MSS. are not mere copies of Manuscript A, but are independent sources, coming down from copies made before the text had become so obscured by age as to render it in parts illegible, in others unintelligible. Even among the other MSS. we recognise two distinct families. Why, then, should the editor hold that in places where the other MSS. are united against A their readings are merely 'plausible' emendations, and why should he insert in all cases clauses found in A but absent in the others? more especially as the copyist of A makes it clear that his text was at times very obscure.

From many of his views in the discussion of the historical materials supplied by the Confession and the Letter we must entirely dissent. His explanation of the words 'et iterum post annos multos adhuc capturam dedi,' as if Patrick referred only to a more close confinement on the part of the sailors, is not reconcilable with the text. We prefer to follow Muirchu and the Bollandists in taking section 22 as containing the narrative of section 20, and interpreting 21 as referring to a new and distinct captivity, lasting only two months. No other explanation adequately explains the strong expression 'capturam dedi,' the 'post multos annos,' and the word 'iterum,' which as we can see from the context is used to introduce a new and distinct event. Again, in his interpretation of sections 26, 34, as if the opposition of the Seniores was not to Patrick's

consecration, but rather a criticism of his Irish episcopate, we think he has entirely mistaken the meaning of his text. That it was against his consecration as bishop, we think Patrick makes abundantly evident in section 32, where (speaking of the friend who had urged against him a fault of his youth) he says : ' Even this man himself had said to me then not to be raised to the rank of bishop, of which I was not (then) worthy. How did it occur to him to put me to shame publicly in regard to an office which he himself had conceded to me.' The opposition is evidently between his friend's previous action in declaring him worthy of the bishopric, and his opposition now that the Lord had called him. There are several other points in which we disagree with the editor, but space does not permit to continue the discussion. From the Bibliographical List we miss the edition of the works of Patrick in Gallandii Bibl. P.P., Venetiis 1774, x. p. 159, and Migne's L.P. Tom. 53, p. (801-818).

The treatment of the Biblical text used by Patrick is decidedly weak and unsatisfactory. His rendering of the Latin text is not at times as perfect as we might expect. To take an example in the very first page, what is meant by the curious phrase ' he pitied the youth of my ignorance ' ? Though the editor had the best of intentions, now and again we see his theological views peeping out in the notes. Why does he think that because Patrick would like to go to Gaul to see his relatives his travels must have never extended further ? Hence, his visit to Rome is excluded ! Why is the friend who betrayed Patrick's confidence necessarily his ' confessor ' ? Why is the *obvious* meaning of ' Patrem habui Calpurnum Diaconum filium quemdum Potiti presbyteri ' that ' Calpurnus and Potitus were in holy orders when their children were born ' ? Why has he any doubts of what Patrick means when he speaks of the Christians as Romani, or when he said ' Ecclesia Scotorum immo Romanorum ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis ' ? Why is he so nervous about Patrick's use of the *unum ovile* in reproving Coroticus ?

J. MACC.

THE SYMBOL OF THE APOSTLES. By the Very Rev. Alexander MacDonald, D.D. New York. 1903.

DR. MACDONALD has collected in the present volume a series of articles contributed to the *American Ecclesiastical Review*

on the origin of the Apostles' Creed. Some additional matter has been added on the Discipline of the Secret and the name Catholic. The author has gone to considerable trouble in the preparation of his book, and for those anxious to become acquainted with the difficulties of the subject we believe it will repay perusal. But it would be well in a discussion of such a subject to recognise that there are difficulties in the way, and that those who may not have the happiness of sharing our views are not all insincere. This is all the more to be desired when, as it happens in this case, great Catholic scholars may be cited on both sides.

J. MACC.

THE TABERNACLE : Its History and Structure. By Rev. W. S. Caldecott. London : Religious Tract Society, 4 Bouverie Street.

EVERYONE that has read the Old Testament is aware of the difficulties which beset the path of him who tries to find out the equivalents of the systems of measurement employed in it. That at least two systems were in use is certain. Ezechiel speaks of ' the truest cubit, which is a cubit and a hand-breadth ' (xliii. 13), and in 2 Paralipomenon iii. 4, we read about the dimensions of the foundations of Solomon's temple taken ' by the first (or ancient) measure.' So far is simple. But as soon as the primary and unavoidable question regarding the length of the ordinary or later cubit is put, we find that the answers of the most eminent metrologists are at variance. Conder's estimate is 16 inches, Petrie's (*Encyclopædia Britannica*) is 25·3, and between these extremes four or five other equally conjectural values have been proposed. To obtain even these results, the dimensions of hundreds of Jewish tombs have been reduced to a scale of common denominators, the Siloam conduit and its inscription have been examined, the works of Josephus and the Mishna have been read with unflagging attention, but all to little purpose. The key of knowledge was lost.

It appears to have been discovered quite recently. The triple metrical system which Abraham brought from his Chaldean home, and which Moses employed in the construction of the Tabernacle, has, after the lapse of centuries, been found, and if Assyriology did nothing more for exegesis than this,

it would be entitled to the greatest gratitude. At present it may be premature to say what will be the outcome of Dr. Caldecott's investigations, or the final judgment passed on them, but his work is undoubtedly one of the most valuable contributions to Biblical archæology that has been made in recent years. As its sub-title indicates, it consists of two parts—one historical, the other metrological. The latter is the more important, and in it the specified character and originality of the work is greater.

Starting from his own most ingenious decipherment of the *Senkerah* tablet, and of the scale of Gudea (c. B.C. 2500), Dr. Caldecott has applied his discovery of the ancient Babylonian metrical system to one of the most remarkable structures in Palestine, and he has had the satisfaction of finding his anticipations completely verified. This was a great triumph for truth. The site of the structure in question is a little to the north of *Er-Ramet*, a deserted village lying about two and a half miles to the north of Hebron, which still preserves traces of having been in the remote past used for sacrificial purposes. The gratifying results of Dr. Caldecott's investigations may best be described by giving his own words :

'Judge of my surprised delight when I found that the *Ramet* enclosure gave a square of 100 cubits or a 150 English feet in the clear, showing it to have had an area exactly four times that of the Tabernacle Court of Worship. The growth of the nation between the great Law-giver and the last of the Judges would make such an enlargement necessary.

'I must no longer conceal from my readers the fact that the theory which I took with me to Palestine, and which I wished to test by an appeal to the topography of *Ramet*, was that the enclosure now standing was built to surround with a stone fence "the altar to Jehovah that Samuel built in Ramah" about 1050 B.C."—(Introduction, pp. xii., xiii.)

While we admire and gratefully accept the learned writer's explanation of the metrical system, and fully agree with him about the sacred character of the *Ramet* enclosure, we confess to having a difficulty in connecting it with Samuel's birthplace. We may be permitted to mention it, in the hope that if it be unfounded the accuracy of Dr. Caldecott's statement will appear more clearly. The difficulty is that according to Eusebius and his translator, St. Jerome, respectively (*Onomasticon*, 225, 12 ; *Liber de Situ*, etc., 96, 17), Samuel's Rama was near Lydda

(Diospolis), and St. Jerome adds that it was 'in regione Thamin-tica.' Both also identify it with the Arithmathea of Gospel history (as does Dr. Caldecott, p. 51). Eusebius says that in his time it was called Remphis, and St. Jerome gives the name as Remphtis. Now according to M. Heidet, Secretary of the Latin Patriarchate in Jerusalem (*Dict. de la Bible*, i. 960, 961), who gives several satisfactory proofs, the village now known as Rentis, about eight miles N.E. of Lydda, is the Rama of Samuel and the Arithmathea of Joseph. This identification suits also what is said in Machabees xi. 34, about Lydda and Ramathan being taken from Samaria. And Rentis is only five miles from the northern *Tibneh*, which appears to be one of the Tamnaths, and which is in the territory of Ephraim, which we believe to be Samuel's native district. There was in the land of Ephraim a Ramah (Judges iv. 5), the Ramah of the Negeb, which was in the land of Juda (Josue xix. 8), was too far to the south. (The *Encycl. Brit.* has on this Timnah of Ephraim some remarks which are good in part.) We know from 1 Kings i. 1, that Samuel's father, Elcana, lived in the mountains of Ephraim (see on *Ramathaim-Sophim*, the excellent commentary on Kings, published by the Leo-Gesellschaft, Wien, 1904), and we notice that Dr. Caldecott gives no argument in proof of his supposition (p. 39), that Samuel's ancestor Zuph migrated in the time of the Judges to the neighbourhood of Hebron. And in reference to *Er-Rameh* we must add that it is twenty-nine miles from Lydda, a considerable distance in a country so small as Palestine, a distance which, judging by the usage of Eusebius and St. Jerome, would prevent them from saying that the one place was near the other.

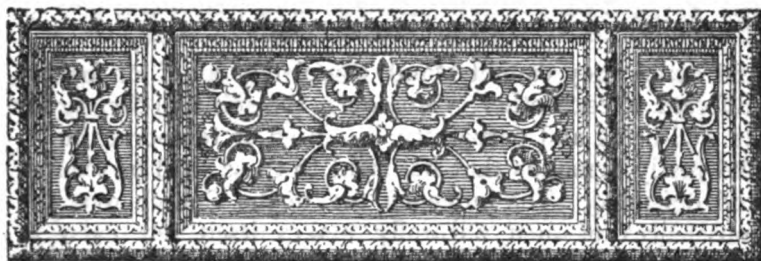
But we wish it to be understood that we make these observations with all due deference to one that has been in Palestine more than once, and has studied its topography so carefully. So far as our reading goes nothing like Dr. Caldecott's enclosure has been discovered at *Rentis*, though the place abounds in notable ruins. But supposing for the moment that *Rentis* is Rama, we may be asked what can be the origin of the *Er-Rameh* enclosure? Well, speaking under correction, we may give a tentative solution which does not militate against what we think to be a highly probable opinion, namely, that Samuel offered sacrifice there—on the understanding that if he did so *in propria persona*, it was a non-Aaronitic sacrifice. It may be the spot at Hebron where

Solomon and Absalom offered sacrifice. Josephus (*Antiquities*, viii., ii. 1.) says that Solomon went to Hebron to sacrifice to the Lord 'upon the brazen altar that was built by Moses.' We know that the occurrence of which Josephus speaks is by many writers identified with what happened at Gabaon (3 Kings iii. 4), but why may it not have happened twice or in the two places, and why should Josephus be thought to have made a mistake? At any rate, in 2 Kings xv. 9, we read that Absalom went to Hebron, ostensibly at least to offer sacrifice there (verses 7, 8). Perhaps he did offer it in the still existing enclosure, and perhaps that enclosure surrounded the site of Abraham's altar at Hebron? If this conjecture be correct, if the sacredness of the spot was derived from its long continued connexion with the father of the Hebrew people who usually resided in Hebron, then we can understand why the walls surrounding it are, as Dr. Caldecott observes, unique in Palestine. Throughout the length and breadth of the Holy Land there is no other enclosure resembling that at *Ramet*.

There are many good points in the historical portion of the book now before us, on which, if possible, we would gladly dwell. But we cannot conceal our satisfaction at finding that in respect of a long stay of the Israelites at Cades, Dr. Caldecott takes substantially the same view as does as Fr. Hummelauer in his Commentary on Numbers. With regard, however, to what is said about the wood of the Tabernacle (p. 101), we cannot agree, for we know from 2 Machabees ii. 4-8, that the Tabernacle, etc., are still preserved.

There is so much in the less important portion of Dr. Caldecott's book, that we have deliberately confined most of our remarks to it. And even though there were some inaccuracy here, or something which we did not understand, that would not impair the excellence of the other part, or lessen our confidence in its conclusions. As regards the metrological portion which deals with the structure of the Tabernacle, it would be impossible to do justice to it, and to the wealth of illustrations and plans, in the space at our disposal. We consider his discovery as an epoch-making one, and we recommend our readers to get his book and to study it for themselves.

R. W. ]



## THE CONCORDAT BETWEEN THE HOLY SEE AND FRANCE

**I**N the endeavour to explain the nature of the union of the soul and body in man, philosophers have put forward many theories, and fallen into many errors. In real life the relations of Church and State have given rise to theories no less numerous, and occasioned errors far more serious.

Some have held that the State is the fountain of all rights, and that its authority is unlimited. Others, more moderate, have taught that the State possesses at least indirect control over spiritual things, and that in case of conflict between the spiritual and temporal powers, the authority of the State should be supreme. Others, again have maintained that the most perfect of all systems would be the complete absence of relations, or the complete separation between Church and State. All these theories have been condemned as erroneous in the *Syllabus* of Pius IX, nn. 39, 40, 55. Catholic doctrine teaches that the Church is a perfect and independent society, established for man's spiritual good; and that the State is a perfect society established for man's temporal good. By his baptism a man becomes a member of the Church, by his birth he is a subject of the State. In Christian countries, therefore, the subjects of the State are also members of the Church. Both societies, or both powers, rule over the same subjects,



and hence they cannot stand completely aloof or be indifferent to each other. Moreover, the spiritual society for its well-being and perpetuity has need of temporal things, and justly demands that her right to these shall be secured and defended. The influence, too, of the Church over the consciences of men naturally makes itself felt even in temporal matters. Of such influence temporal rulers are jealous. Hence, in the course of ages, frequent conflicts have arisen between the spiritual and the temporal powers. 'As the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh,'<sup>1</sup> so there has ever been conflict between the Church and the State. To obviate such conflicts, or to allay them when they arise, many expedients have been adopted. Throughout the middle ages the position accorded to the Pope by the public law of Europe was equivalent to a universal Concordat. In modern times an express treaty or Concordat between the spiritual and the temporal powers has been found useful.

A Concordat, according to Leo XIII,<sup>2</sup> is 'a solemn and bilateral compact.' In that compact each of the powers, for sake of mutual harmony, makes some concession to the other. The form of the compact and the extent of the mutual concessions may vary; but whatever be its form or extent, it binds both contracting powers, and the State has no right to rescind or annul the compact independently of the consent of the Church. At the present time there exist Concordats not only with Catholic powers like Spain and Austria, but also with non-Catholic States like Holland, Prussia, and the German States. But the Concordat which at present attracts most attention, and excites greatest interest, is that between France and the Holy See; the existence of which is now so seriously imperilled. It may, therefore, be of interest to trace the origin of the French Concordat, to examine what has been its influence upon the Church in France, and to forecast

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<sup>1</sup> Gal. v. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Encyclical to the Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy of France, 16th February, 1892.

what will be the condition of the Church should the Concordat be abrogated.

## I.

What is the origin of the Concordat between the Holy See and France? The Concordat at present existing dates back only to Napoleon I; but it had its prototype in another Concordat entered into three centuries earlier. In 1438, Charles VII of France, published the famous Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. By that instrument, based on the principles of the schismatical Council of Bâle, Charles sought to limit the authority of the Holy See over the Church in France. In support of this new enactment, a document was produced whereby a French king, St. Louis in 1269, forbade the collection of taxes imposed by the Holy See on benefices within the realm, without the royal permission. According to Thomassin, in his work, *De l'ancienne et nouvelle discipline de l'église*, 'many of the learned regard that document as a forgery, or at least doubtful.' Labbé and Crossart pronounce it spurious, and amongst more recent writers Lenormant and Abbé Jager hold the same view. But forgery though it was, it served to lend a certain plausibility to the action of Charles; and at a later period even Bossuet made use of it in defence of the Declaration of the Liberties of the Gallican Church. At the request of Pius II, Louis XI, son and successor of Charles, promised to revoke the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. But in practice it was not revoked, and for many years it continued to trouble the relations between the Holy See and the Church of France. To put an end to this state of things, Leo X entered into negotiations with Francis I, and, in 1515, an agreement termed a Concordat was arrived at between the two sovereigns, and was solemnly ratified by the Pope in the Council of Latran, in 1516. By the terms of the Concordat the right of elections to bishoprics and abbasies was taken away from chapters and conferred on the Crown. The King was empowered to nominate to all such benefices within the realm. The person nominated by the King was bound

to seek canonical institution from the Holy See, and if this were not granted, the King was authorised to present a second candidate within three months; should the latter prove unsatisfactory the right of nomination lapsed to the Pope, as it did in the case of all benefices falling vacant *in curia*.

The new Concordat met with much opposition on the part of the Diocesan Chapters, as well as of the Parliament; but eventually it was registered in Parliament in 1518, and thus acquired the force of law. From that time until the great Revolution the Concordat of Leo X governed the relations of Church and State in France. In the reign of Louis XIV the harmony of those relations was for a time seriously disturbed. In certain portions of the realm, as in Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiné, and Guyenne, the right of the Crown to the *Regalia*, or revenue of vacant benefices, was not admitted. It was a principle of Louis XIV that kings are the absolute masters, and naturally enjoy the full and free disposal of all the property possessed as well by Churchmen as by seculars within their territory.<sup>1</sup> He, therefore, determined to assert a right to the *Regalia* in all parts of the kingdom, and by a declaration of February, 1673, he affirmed it to be an inalienable and imprescriptible right of the Crown. The Bishops of Aleth and of Pamiers alone resisted. Left alone by the death of his colleague of Aleth, the Bishop of Pamiers held out against the royal claim and appealed to the Pope. Innocent XI, in 1679, protested energetically against the action of the King. The Bishop of Pamiers died, and at once serious disturbances broke out in his diocese between the party of the Pope and the party of the Crown. The Chapter was dispersed, and eighty curés were imprisoned or forced to fly to a place of safety.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Tout ce qui se trouve dans l'étendue de nos Etats, de quelque nature qu'il soit nous appartient au même titre. . . . vous devez donc être persuadés que les rois sont seigneurs absolus, et ont naturellement la disposition pleine et libre de tous les biens qui sont possédés, aussi bien par les gens d'Eglise que par les séculiers.'—*Mémoires et œuvres de Louis XIV.* t. ii. p. 121; ed. 1816.

In these circumstances Louis XIV summoned an assembly of the clergy of France, which met towards the close of 1681, and published, in 1682, its famous declaration of Gallican Liberties. Innocent XI praised and rewarded the clergy who had opposed that Declaration; and when ecclesiastics who had supported it were nominated by the King to vacant bishoprics, the Pope refused them canonical institution. The royal nominees, however, were put in possession of the temporalities by the King; and proceeded to govern the dioceses in virtue of jurisdiction from the Chapters. For ten years the struggle went on. At the death of Innocent XI, in 1689, thirty-five sees were vacant. His successor, Alexander VIII, was no less firm. At length, in 1693, Louis XIV promised not to execute his edict of 1682 relative to the teaching of the Four Articles, and Innocent XII, successor of Alexander, granted institution to the royal candidates on their submitting a written declaration of regret for their participation in everything displeasing the Holy See in the Acts of the Assembly of 1682. From this period until 1789 the relations of Church and State in France, as fixed by the Concordat of Leo X and Francis I, were, on the whole, harmonious.

But, it may be asked, what was the influence of that Concordat on the Church in France? One of the first effects of it was to fill the episcopal sees throughout France with the younger sons of the nobility. There were, indeed, brilliant exceptions like Bossuet, who belonged to the bourgeoisie. But down to the period of the Revolution the majority of the bishops were nobles; and at that date but four out of all the bishops of France were not of noble extraction. Some of the sons of noble families had but little inclination and less aptitude for the Church, and hence we find in the episcopate men like De Retz and Talleyrand. A second effect of the system was to detach the episcopate from the Holy See and make it dependent on the Court. The King, according to the energetic expression of Fénelon, became more the head of the Church than the Pope himself. 'From the Concordat

of Leo X and Francis I,' says the same prelate 'almost all the bonds between the Pope and the bishops were broken, because their lot depended on the King.'<sup>1</sup> The sovereign enjoyed a kind of supremacy over the Church, and disposed of its offices and benefices at pleasure. Ecclesiastics were not ashamed to sue for benefices through the corrupt influences which surrounded the throne. No doubt the Church of France during all that period possessed prelates as distinguished for their virtue and their learning as for their rank. But had it not been for the preponderance of royal influence, the Declaration of 1682 and the Gallican theories regarding the authority of the Holy See would never have been possible.

With the Revolution of 1789 the old order perished. But religion did not perish. Even during the days of the Terror the clergy ministered to the faithful in secret, and when calm began to be restored they came forth from their hiding-places, or returned from exile. The churches were re-opened, and in 1800 there were on French soil at least 20,000 priests exercising the ministry with the full knowledge of the Government. Napoleon understood the influence religion was capable of exercising; and he desired that that influence should be exercised under the control of the State. 'The people,' he said, 'need a religion, and that religion must be in the hands of the Government.'<sup>2</sup>

For that purpose he entered into communication with the Holy See. Soon after the battle of Marengo, as he was passing through Vercelli, he charged Cardinal Martiniana, to convey to the new Pope, Pius VII, his desire to commence negotiations for the purpose of settling the religious affairs of France, and he requested that Mgr. Spina should be sent to meet him for that object at Turin. In compliance with this request, Mgr. Spina was sent to Turin, but as Napoleon had not awaited his arrival, he was directed to proceed to Paris. From Paris he trans-

<sup>1</sup> *Apud* Mgr. Affre, *De l'appel comme d'abus*, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> 'Il fallut une religion au peuple, il fallait que cette religion fut dans la main du Gouvernement.'

mitted more than one draft of a Concordat which Napoleon was willing to accept. None of them, however, was satisfactory to the Holy See. At length, when an agreement seemed hopeless, M. Cacault, the agent of France at Rome, suggested the expedient of sending a Cardinal to Paris to treat with the First Consul. Accordingly Pius VII, having taken the advice of the Sacred College, sent Cardinal Gonsalvi to Paris. Gonsalvi arrived in Paris on 20th June, 1801. He had for consultors Mgr. Spina and Father Caselli, both subsequently promoted to the Cardinalate. The Abbé Bernier who, after having been a leader amongst the Vendéans, had aided in the pacification of the royalist provinces, represented the First Consul. Gonsalvi, on his arrival in Paris, was received by Napoleon who thus addressed him: 'I know the object of your journey to France. I desire that you commence your conferences at once. I give you a period of five days, and I warn you that if the negotiations are not concluded by the end of the fifth day, you must go back to Rome; for as far as I am concerned I have already made up my mind what to do in that event.'<sup>1</sup>

The negotiations began the following day, and each evening the Abbé Bernier reported, through Talleyrand, to the First Consul the result of the discussions. The five days had elapsed, yet no agreement was arrived at. The conferences went on until 13th July, and at last a scheme was agreed to, and submitted to Napoleon for his approval. Joseph Bonaparte, M. Cretet, Counsellor of State, and Abbé Bernier, were appointed to sign the articles of agreement on behalf of the First Consul; and Gonsalvi, Mgr. Spina, and Father Caselli, on the part of the Holy See. On the day appointed for the ratification of the Concordat, the signatories met to sign the articles of agreement. Two copies had been prepared, one for Napoleon and one for the Holy Father. Gonsalvi believed that his labours had now been brought to a successful issue. But what was his astonishment to find that the document presented

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<sup>1</sup> *Memoires du Cardinal Gonsalvi*, vol. i., p. 354; second edition.

for signature by the Abbé Bernier on behalf of Napoleon was not the Concordat which had been discussed and agreed to, but a document quite different, and one which had already been rejected by the Holy See. The only excuse Abbé Bernier could make for so disgraceful an act of bad faith, was, that such was the will of the First Consul. Gonsalvi refused to sign a document which the Holy See could not approve, and was prepared to break off the negotiations. Joseph Bonaparte, knowing the violent temper of his brother, besought Gonsalvi to consent to a re-examination of the draft Concordat already agreed to, with a view to modify it so as to make it acceptable to Napoleon. The sitting was resumed, and for nineteen hours without interruption the articles of the draft Concordat were discussed. All the articles were agreed to, except that which referred to liberty of worship. As agreement on this point was impossible, Gonsalvi proposed that that article should be omitted altogether. A copy was accordingly made of the articles of agreement, omitting that which concerned liberty of worship, and was submitted to the First Consul. He indignantly refused his assent, unless the clause imposing restriction on liberty of worship was inserted. The sitting of the committee was suspended. Gonsalvi was obliged to attend a state dinner given by Napoleon on the same day, 14th July. On his arrival in the salon, where the guests were assembled, the First Consul addressed him in the following terms :—

‘ Well, Mr. Cardinal, you have wished to break off. Be it so. I have no need of Rome. I have no need of the Pope. If Henry VIII, who had not one-twentieth of my power, succeeded in changing the religion of his country, much more shall I be able to succeed. In changing religion in France I will change it throughout almost all Europe, wherever the influence of my power extends. Rome will perceive the loss she will have sustained, she will weep over it, but there will be no remedy : you may leave : that is the best course. You have wished to break off ; well, be it so, since you wished it. When do you start ? ’ ‘ After dinner, General,’ replied Gonsalvi.

Napoleon was astonished at finding that his outburst of temper had failed to intimidate the Cardinal. Gonsalvi

then pointed out to him that he could not act against his instructions. The German ambassador interposed, and through his good offices the First Consul consented to another sitting being held to try if an agreement could be arrived at. The commissaries met once more at the residence of Joseph Bonaparte, and the sitting lasted for eleven hours. The sole difficulty regarded the first article, which had reference to the liberty and publicity of Catholic worship. The article, as insisted on by Napoleon, ran thus :—‘Worship shall be public; in conformity, however, with police regulations.’<sup>1</sup>

The article so worded left it at the entire discretion of the Government to control public worship. Gonsalvi admitted that the Church might submit to such a condition of things as a fact, but that she could not erect it into a principle by accepting it as an article in a solemn treaty. He insisted that some words should be added, which should limit the discretion of the Government to interfere with public worship to the case where such interference might be necessary for public tranquillity. Joseph Bonaparte admitted the force of the reasoning of the Cardinal, and though he feared the First Consul would refuse his sanction, he agreed to the first article being modified as the Cardinal desired. The first article was accordingly framed as follows :—‘The Catholic Apostolic and Roman Religion shall be free in France. Worship shall be public, taking account, however, of the police regulations, which the Government shall judge necessary for public tranquillity.’ The six commissaries then attached their signatures. Joseph Bonaparte undertook to present the Concordat to the First Consul who, after some resistance, gave it his sanction. The news spread throughout Paris, and gave rise to general expressions of joy, except amongst the enemies of religion and amongst the constitutional clergy.

Pius VII, by the Bull *Ecclesia Christi*, dated 15th August, 1801, ratified the Concordat. Napoleon on his

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Le culte sera public, en se conformant toutefois aux règlements de Police.’



part delayed its public ratification. At length, in 1802, he published the Concordat, but annexed to it a law, in seventy-seven articles, termed *les Articles Organiques*, whereby the liberty granted by the Concordat was much restricted. Pius VII formally protested against the Organic Articles which had been published without his knowledge or consent. With the exception, however, of certain modifications, made in 1810, the Organic Articles continue to have force of law down to the present day.

In 1811, when Pius VII was a prisoner at Fontainebleau, Napoleon sought by threats and violence to extort his assent to a new Concordat. But the Pope formally revoked his consent, and always maintained that he had consented not to a new Concordat, but to certain points being submitted to discussion with a view to a new Concordat. The so-called Concordat, then, of 1811, remained a dead letter.

In 1815 Napoleon fell. He had framed the Organic Articles to disarm the opposition of men hostile to religion and to the Concordat. Ambition led him to the violence of Fontainebleau. In his humiliation he had no truer friend than Pius VII. In 1817 the Pope spoke thus of him in a letter to Cardinal Gonsalvi :—

The family of the Emperor Napoleon has informed us through Cardinal Fesch that the rock of St. Helena is fatal to him, and that the poor exile is wasting away every moment. We have learned this news with infinite pain which no doubt you will share, for we must both remember that after God it is to him that is principally due the re-establishment of religion in the great kingdom of France. The pious and courageous enterprise of 1801 has made us long since forget and pardon his subsequent errors. Savona and Fontainebleau were only the errors of the head or the folly of human ambition. The Concordat was an act of salvation at once Christian and heroic.<sup>1</sup>

During the Restoration a modification of certain articles of the Concordat of 1801 was made, but it was short-lived. The Concordat, therefore, of 1801 has continued to be

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<sup>1</sup> Pius VII to Cardinal Gonsalvi, 6th October, 1817—*Memoirs of Card. Gonsalvi*, vol. i., p. 91.

accepted as the law regulating the relations of Church and State in France from that date down to the present time. The French Government, without asking the consent of the Holy See, now seeks to abrogate the solemn treaty made between Napoleon and Pius VII. It is, therefore, of particular interest at the present time to inquire what rights were guaranteed to each of the contracting powers ; what has been the influence of the Concordat on the Church in France ; and what may be looked forward to as the result of its abrogation.

## II.

The seventeen articles of the Concordat revolutionized and reorganised the Church of France. It was stipulated that the Holy See, by an act of supreme authority, an act which struck at the roots of all Gallican principles, should readjust the dioceses of France, and modify their number and their limits over the whole territory of the kingdom.

The Concordat acknowledged in the First Consul all the rights and privileges in respect to the Church which the sovereigns of the old *régime* had enjoyed. It conferred on the head of the State the right to nominate persons to fill the episcopal sees throughout the realm, and obliged the bishops and the higher clergy to take an oath of allegiance before entering on their functions. Moreover, the Pope pledged himself and his successors not to molest the possessors of ecclesiastical property which had been alienated during the Revolution. What did the State on its part undertake ? The State undertook to guarantee the freedom and publicity of worship. It restored to the ecclesiastical authorities the cathedrals and parochial churches. It authorised the bishops to establish diocesan chapters, to open ecclesiastical seminaries and to organise new parishes, and appoint parish priests. It undertook, moreover, to provide a decent maintenance for the clergy ; and conferred on the Church the right of receiving pious foundations.

There was no mention of religious Orders of any kind. Hence anti-clerical writers maintain that the existence of

religious Orders in France is contrary to the terms of the Concordat. Catholics, on the other hand, maintain that the article which guarantees religious liberty to the Church also guarantees liberty to religious Orders. For the Church cannot be said to be free if her children are not permitted to practise the counsels of perfection, which her Divine Founder has given. Such were the mutual concessions agreed to by the two powers. But the concessions made to the Church were, to a large extent, rendered inoperative by the Organic Articles. The first four articles alone show how unreal was the liberty granted by the Concordat. By the terms of these articles no Bull or Brief emanating from the Court of Rome can be executed without the authorisation of the Government. No nuncio or legate can without the same authorisation, exercise any function on French soil, relative to the affairs of the Church of France. No decrees of foreign synods, even of general councils, may be published until they have been examined by the Government. No national or metropolitan council, no diocesan synod, no deliberative assembly, can be held without the express permission of the Government. Such is a specimen of the liberty accorded to the Church by the Organic Articles.

But, it may legitimately be asked, what has been the influence of the Concordat upon the condition of the Church in France? No doubt the Church has received a legal status in the country. She has received the use of the churches and a salary for her clergy. But it is true to say that the clergy of all grades have suffered from the state of things established by the Concordat. The bishops have been chosen by the Government. How has that choice been made? Under the Restoration the candidates were chosen chiefly from the nobility. It was accepted as a rule of conduct that *il faut decrasser l'episcopat*. Besides the ministers, two royal ladies—Queen Mary Amelia and Madame de Genlis—had a paramount influence in the appointments. From their combined influence resulted a choice of bishops virtuous, indeed, but above all devoted to the King and to his dynasty. Other forms of

government have since succeeded and have exercised the right of presentation. 'For the last twenty years,' writes Mgr. Baunard, in 1900, 'the right of presentation to the episcopate has fallen into hands notoriously hostile to the Church; has there not resulted from this a diffidence more or less pronounced in the minds of the clergy, alarmed at seeing their chiefs nominated or proposed by the leaders of the hostile force on the field of battle?'<sup>1</sup> It is true the French episcopate, since the Concordat, has ever been a body venerable not only by its rank, but by the virtues and the talents of its members. But their action has been fettered. For the erection of churches, the opening of chapels, the division of parishes, and the nomination of the parish priests of the more important parishes, they must have the sanction of the Government. But what is most deplorable of all, they cannot act as a body. They cannot meet in deliberative assemblies, nor in provincial synods, without the express permission of the State. Hence, with all their virtues and their learning, they are isolated, intimidated. 'Sunt Episcopi, non sunt Episcopatus.' If they speak out, or attempt to take concerted action, they are either deprived of their stipend or cited to appear before the council of State.

And what is the status of the inferior clergy? By the 9th and 10th Articles of the Concordat it was stipulated that the bishops should, with the consent of the Government, form new parishes, and should appoint to them only such persons as were acceptable to the Civil power. The Organic Articles added that curates and *desservants* shall be appointed by the bishop and revoked by him. In consequence parishes are conferred without the concursus prescribed by the Council of Trent. Before the Revolution there were in France 36,000 irremovable parish priests; now there are only 3,425. Over 34,000 curés, styled *desservants*, have all the obligations and powers of parish priests, but are movable at the discretion of the bishop.

<sup>1</sup> Mgr. Baunard, *Un siècle de l'église de France*, p. 143; third edition.

The temporalities of each parish is in the hands of a Board of Churchwardens, a board in which the curé has but one vote, and of which he cannot be chairman. The State guarantees to the clergy a salary as compensation for the spoliation of the Church is 1789. They have also the use of a parochial residence.

To what does this annual stipend amount? With the exception of some large city parishes the clergy in general have hardly the means of subsistence. 'Nine hundred francs of stipend, and fifty to one hundred francs of stole dues, and a few Mass stipends, such are the meagre resources which three-fourths of the country clergy possess to meet the expense of food and clothing, to keep a servant, and to give alms.'<sup>1</sup> The French clergy have many excellent qualities. An eminent Protestant writer says of them that 'there is not a more exemplary body of men in any land.'<sup>2</sup> It is true there are not many noble amongst them. The higher families prefer to see their sons enter a religious Order rather than to have them interred alive in a village. As a body, the French clergy are virtuous, they are zealous, they are studious, they are charitable, they are loyal to their country—but they are the poorest clergy in Europe.

### III.

Such is the condition of the Church in France under the Concordat. The French Government now contemplates the introduction of a legislative measure to abrogate the solemn treaty entered into between the Holy See and France. It may, then, be asked, is such a measure just, is it expedient, and what will be the position of the Church should the Concordat be abrogated? Is the abrogation of the Concordat just? As it was justly entered into by the joint consent of the two powers it may justly be set aside by their common agreement. But that one of the contracting parties should, without the consent of the

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<sup>1</sup> Mgr. Baunard, *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> J. E. C. Bodley, *France*, Introduction, p. 44.

other, refuse to abide by the terms of their treaty is contrary to the principles of justice. Moreover, the salary of the clergy is not a free gift of the State, but a compensation solemnly guaranteed for the property of which the Church was despoiled. On this point a well-known statesman writes: 'The budget of Worship could not be suppressed without the consent of the clergy, and after compensation, which should be freely discussed with them. The chief of those compensations would be to give them corporate rights, and liberty to acquire property.'<sup>1</sup>

Is it expedient to abrogate the Concordat? In 1830, de Lamennais and his school advocated a rupture of the Concordat, and even a free renunciation of the State stipend by the clergy. Neither the clergy, nor the bishops of France nor the Holy See approved of such a course. In 1870, the Prime Minister, Emile Ollivier, and the Emperor, Napoleon III, were favourable to the idea of the separation of Church and State. But they would have made full compensation to the clergy for the loss of their annual stipend, and would have left them complete control of ecclesiastical buildings. The fall of the Empire hindered the execution of such a project. At the present time no French Catholic of standing, either amongst the laity or the clergy, advocates the abrogation of the Concordat as practically expedient. A system which has been in existence not merely for a century, but if one goes back to Francis I and Leo X, for four centuries, cannot be repudiated without a shock to the hereditary sentiment of the nation. Some, while declaring that they do not fear the abrogation of the Concordat, affirm that, sooner or later, it will be necessary for the Church and State to come to an understanding and to negotiate a new Concordat. Leo XIII, in his Letter to the Bishops and Clergy of France, 16th February, 1892, laid down the principles which should guide French Catholics in the discussion of this question:—

Catholics [writes the Holy Father] should carefully avoid advocating such a separation. In fact to desire the separation

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<sup>1</sup> Emile Ollivier, *L'église et l'état au concile du Vatican*, vol. i. p. 160.

of the State from the Church, would be to desire, as a logical consequence, that the Church should be reduced to live under the law common to all citizens. This state of things, it is true, exists in certain countries. It is a state of things, which, if it presents many grave inconveniences, possesses also certain advantages, especially when the legislator, by a happy inconsequence, does not cease to be inspired by Christian principles, and though those advantages cannot justify the false principle of separation nor authorize its defence, they nevertheless render worthy of toleration a state of things, which, in practice, is not the worst of all. But in France, which is a Catholic nation by its traditions, and by the faith of the great majority of its people, the Church ought not to be placed in the precarious position to which she is subjected in other countries.<sup>1</sup>

But if Frenchmen may doubt the expediency in the abstract of abrogating the Concordat, the position in which that abrogation will place the Church is well calculated to increase their hesitation. What will be the position of the Church in France if disendowed? Three projects of separation of Church and State are before the country: the *Projet Briand*, adopted by a parliamentary committee; the *Projet Combes*, presented in the name of the late Government, and the *Projet Bienvenu-Martin*, presented by the present Minister of Worship. In their main features the three schemes agree. Religion in France shall be disendowed. The *budget des cultes*, or the sum annually voted for the support of the clergy, shall cease from the 1st of January after the Bill becomes law.

The churches, cathedral and parochial, the episcopal and parochial residences, and seminary buildings shall cease to be ecclesiastical property, and shall be handed over to the State, or, if erected since 1801, to the municipal body or other corporation which had a share in their construction. Catholics, however, shall be allowed to rent the churches for Divine service for a period of ten years. Divine service may not be celebrated except in a building sanctioned for the purpose by the Government. All religious ceremonies in public places, unless specially authorised, shall be forbidden. Associations may be formed to hold

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<sup>1</sup> Leo XIII, Encyclical to the Archbishops, Bishops, Clergy, and Catholics of France, 16th February, 1892.

property for the purposes of religion. The *Projet Briand* does not limit the territory over which such association may extend ; the *Projet Combes* limits them to one department, while that of M. Bienvenu-Martin permits them to extend to ten departments.

Each *projet* contains a scheme for pensions to the clergy at present salaried by the State. That pension, according to the *projet Bienvenu-Martin*, shall in no case exceed 1,200 francs, and shall not be less than 400 francs. Priests of more than thirty years standing shall receive two-thirds of their present salary for life, those over twenty years shall receive one-half of their actual stipend. The clergy whose service is under twenty years shall receive 400 francs for a period equal to one-half of the term of their past service.

All laws affecting the religious congregations shall remain in force.

All ministers of religion who, by discourses delivered or by tracts distributed in a place of worship, seek to influence elections, shall be fined and imprisoned ; the committee of management shall be held responsible, and the lease of the place of worship may be rescinded.

By the proposed legislation, therefore, the Church in France will be disendowed ; but not freed from State control. She will not receive, as did the Protestant Church in Ireland, the full dominion of ecclesiastical buildings, and a partial endowment for the future. In one respect the Church will receive freedom. The Pope will be free in the appointment of bishops, and the bishops will enjoy freedom in the nomination of parish priests. But the support of the clergy and all the expenses necessary for Divine worship will be thrown upon the people. In what spirit will that burden be accepted and borne ? Will it be possible to provide means to educate and to support the clergy, to rent the churches ? The amount of the annual budget for worship at the present time is about forty millions of francs. The Catholic population of the country is over thirty-eight millions. It will only cost the country a voluntary offering of about one franc per head to make



up the necessary sum. Is this too much to expect in a country so rich, and in which wealth is so widely divided ? In the great cities the support of Catholic worship should present no serious difficulty. At the present time the State stipend reaches only a small portion of the city clergy.

In the country the case is different. Parishes are small. Religious indifference is widely prevalent. Some years ago, Taine wrote : ' By an imperceptible and slow retrogression the great mass of the rural population, like the great mass of the urban population, is becoming pagan.'<sup>1</sup> Is this estimate correct ? Mgr. Baunard questions its complete accuracy. Yet he writes : ' As to the rural population he (Taine) expresses only too well its descent to gross paganism.'<sup>2</sup> In another chapter of his work on the Church in France in the nineteenth century, Mgr. Baunard thus describes the condition of parochial life<sup>3</sup> :—

What is the condition of that little church called a parish, and of him who is its minister or pastor ? A Mass without a congregation, an altar without communicants, a pulpit without an audience, a school without catechism, a lectern without chanters. The mayor a priesthater, the schoolmaster a free-thinker, the bourgeois a Freemason, the majority indifferent, the rest hostile, and amid such surroundings the poor curé isolated, abandoned, despised, persecuted sometimes, his intentions misunderstood, his zeal repelled, his conduct watched ; in one word, what is worst of all as a consequence of all this, irreligion, blasphemy, libertinism, Jesus Christ offended, a return of paganism, a parish going to ruin. One should have heard the priests of three-fourths of our parishes in France speak of this state of things to understand the heroic courage, the patience and faith, of those martyrs to duty.

Such is the picture of a French parish given, not by a foreigner, nor by an enemy of France, nor of religion, but by the eminent and learned rector of the Catholic University of Lille, in the year 1900. Can the clergy in such circumstances count on being supported by the voluntary

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<sup>1</sup> Taine, *Origines de la France moderne*.

<sup>2</sup> *Un siècle de l'église de France*, p. 500 ; third edition.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

offerings of the people of their parishes? It would be rash to say so. Evidently if the clergy are to be supported by the people the whole organisation of rural France must be changed. Small parishes must be united, and served from some central point. When the people see their village church closed and their curé gone, the embers of their faith may yet be fanned into a flame.

How the present crisis will end is hidden in the future. The struggle between Louis XIV and the Holy See lasted from 1682 to 1693, and it ended in a reconciliation and the triumph of Rome. The rupture at the end of the eighteenth century lasted from 1789 to 1801, and it ended in a new Concordat. In that Concordat, the 17th Article stipulates that if any successor of the First Consul does not profess the Catholic religion a new convention shall be made, especially in what concerns the nomination of bishops. There is nothing in the law of France to preclude a Protestant from being elected to fill the post of President of the Republic. A new Concordat, therefore, might be framed in which the Government would cease to have the appointment of bishops; and in which the stipend of the clergy would be doubled, or so far increased as to make it equal in value to what it was a century ago. On this basis alone would a new Concordat be desirable.

But if separation must come, there is reason to hope that it will prove a blessing. The bishops will be the free choice of the Holy See; they will have liberty to reorganize their dioceses, to erect churches where needed, to divide the enormous and unworkable city parishes, to unite the small rural cures. The clergy, no longer bondsmen, will feel that they must be self-reliant. The people, who in the past have contributed so liberally to charities at home and abroad, will rally round them. As in Switzerland, committees will be formed to collect, under episcopal sanction, means for the maintenance of religion. After a period of severe trial a new era of life and energy will dawn for the Church of France.

P. BOYLE, C.M.

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND HUMAN LIBERTY—II

**I**N my last article<sup>1</sup> I submitted a comparative statement of Catholic and non-Catholic teaching on the general question of Freewill. In the present article I purpose to deal with Freewill in relation to a particular sphere of action, in relation to the delicate department of religious belief and practice ; for if the Catholic Church is conceived by her adversaries to be unduly opposed to liberty generally, she is believed to be in a special manner intolerant within the domain of religion and absolutely opposed to Freedom of Conscience.

By Freedom of Conscience I mean freedom in regard to religious dogma, to divine worship, and to the recognition and fulfilment of the duties which man owes to his Creator. Are we free to believe or not to believe in the existence of God, to worship Him or not to worship Him, to recognise and observe His commandments or to ignore and perhaps transgress them ? And if we believe in the existence of God as demonstrated by reason, a further question arises : Are we free to believe or disbelieve in supernatural revelation, and to take our choice of supernatural religion or the natural religion of deists and rationalists ? And if we are satisfied that God has made a supernatural revelation to the world and established a supernatural religion, the question arises : Are we free to select at will between the religion of the Old Testament and Christianity ? And if we believe that Christianity has superseded the old dispensation, the further question arises : Are we free to choose between the Catholic Church, National Churches such as the Anglican Church and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and the innumerable minor sects into which the Christian world is split up ?

I shall endeavour in this article to state what the

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<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, March, 1905.

different Churches and Schools teach about physical Freedom of Conscience, and what they teach about moral Freedom of Conscience.

## I.

I. What should Mechanical Determinists teach, consistently with their general principles, on the subject of Freedom of Conscience? Evidently they should deny its existence. They should hold that every act of intellectual assent to religious truths or dissent from them, every act of homage to a supreme Being or of revolt against such homage, and every act of submission to divine commandments or of repudiation of divine commandments, are mechanically and necessarily determined, like all the other phenomena of the universe, by the physical laws of nature. Are you an atheist or an agnostic? then, as Dr. Bain would say, you are determined to atheism or agnosticism 'by the uniformity of your own nature.' Do you believe in a Supreme Being distinct from the world, in the spirituality and immortality of the soul, in a future life? these beliefs, like emotion, intellect, will and all their phenomena, Professor Tyndall should say, were once latent in a fiery cloud,<sup>2</sup> were potentially contained in the primitive nebula, and have become actual and have been necessarily transmitted to you and survive in you, because of their utility in the struggle for existence. Are you a Christian? then you have been physically determined, the Determinists should say, by the character of your constitution and your environment to the profession of the Christian religion. Are you, on the other hand, an infidel, a deist, a rationalist? it is nature herself, they would say, that has determined you, by the mysterious processes of her laws, to deny supernatural revelation and the Christian religion. Are you opposed to the Catholic Church, to its doctrine, its worship, its ethics and its discipline? you are physically determined, they would say, to such opposition by the laws of nature. Are you, on the

<sup>1</sup> *Fragments of Science*, vol. ii., p. 131.

contrary, a Catholic, believing in the doctrine of the Catholic Church, participating in her worship and submitting to her laws ? then, they should say, you can have the assurance of science that that vast moral organism, hale and hearty notwithstanding its nineteen hundred and four years, the witness of the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires, maintaining itself in every age and clime and condition of people, emerging triumphantly from incessant struggles for existence, is 'the Survival of the Fittest,' Nature's final Selection after numerous past religious integrations and disintegrations; and that your submission to this Church is the necessary result of your own nature and environment and of transmitted tendencies that have been found useful in the struggle for existence. Evolutionists, therefore, should hold that every act of Christian faith and worship and of the observance of the commandments, all the superstitions of the ignorant throughout the world, the religious beliefs of deists and rationalists, and the agnostic worship itself of the Unknown and Unknowable, have been all inexorably determined by the physical laws of nature.

II. Similarly Idealist Determinists, such as Lutherans, Calvinists and Presbyterians—and Idealist Determinism at least is permitted in the Anglican Church—should deny, consistently with their general theories of human liberty, the existence of Freewill in relation to Conscience. According to the theory of Luther men remain quite passive in the process of justification, and all their acts of religious assent and all their religious volitions are produced by God and infused into the passive and inactive faculties of the recipients. And though Calvinists insisted strongly against the Lutherans that these religious acts are elicited by the human faculties with the aid of the divine supernatural motion, still are these acts necessarily determined, in the Calvinist and Presbyterian theory, proximately by the sum of the influences of each individual's character, dispositions, principles and feelings, and remotely by the divine predestination which ordained that all these acts should not only be performed, but should be performed

necessarily. Whether, therefore, you are an agnostic an atheist or a theist, a believer in supernatural revelation or a rationalist, a Jew or a Christian, a Catholic or an Anglican or a Lutheran or a Calvinist or a Presbyterian or a member of some minor Christian sect, your particular believe is not free, nor your unbelief, according to Calvinist and Presbyterian principles, but is necessarily determined proximately by the totality of your own individuality, and remotely by the divine eternal decrees of predestination and reprobation.

III. But, it will be urged, the Catholic Church too, though she may advocate the existence of liberty in relation to the will, must associate herself with the philosophical and scientific world and with the various Protestant Churches in denying the existence of Freewill in relation to Conscience. For though we undoubtedly speak of Free-Will, who ever speaks of Free-Mind? Does the intellect not necessarily assent or dissent or suspend its judgment according to the evidence presented to it? Either there are convincing motives submitted to the intellect for believing certain religious truths, such as the existence of God, the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation; or the motives are insufficient. If the motives are convincing the intellect will naturally assent to these truths; but if the motives are insufficient the intellect cannot assent to them at all. Nor, it will be urged, does it suffice to say that the intellect can be determined by the wish to believe; for, as Professor Flint well observes<sup>1</sup> :—

By willing we can give attention to a subject, study it long and earnestly or only hastily and superficially, and in appropriate or inappropriate ways, but we cannot by any exertion of will force ourselves to believe any proposition on any subject beyond what seems to us to be the evidence for it.

Nevertheless the Catholic Church teaches and has defined as a truth of faith that men are free in assenting to the truths of faith. It will have been observed that

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<sup>1</sup> *Agnosticism*, p. 398.

the difficulties I have stated apply solely to intellectual assent to religious truths, and not to the broader conception of religion as it includes the worship of the Supreme Being and the observance of His commandments. Even though it were granted that intellectual assent is necessary, yet would men be free to worship or not worship the Creator, and to observe or transgress His commandments. Further, however, the Church teaches that the assent of faith is free. But to explain how Freewill can extend to the intellectual assent of faith I must make a few preliminary observations.

A proposition can be immediately cognized as self-evident, as the axiom : The same thing cannot be and not-be at the same time ; or though demonstrated by a process of reasoning, the arguments can be such that they prove the proposition to be evident and remove all possibility of doubt or error ; or the arguments can be such that they produce moral certainty, such certainty as is recognised to be a sufficient and obligatory guide in the ordinary affairs of life. The second observation : when a proposition is self-evident or demonstrated by argument to be evident, the intellect naturally and necessarily assents to the truths so presented to it ; but when the arguments are capable of producing only moral certainty, the intellect is not so necessarily determined by its nature to assent, and can be swayed easily by passions and prejudices, by the influence of the will and by the inclinations of nature. That our passions and prejudices and interests can affect our judgments, is admitted by writers of every school of thought.

The psychological law [writes Mr. Lewis<sup>1</sup>], that we only see what interests us, and only assimilate what is adapted to our condition, causes the mind to select its evidence. . . . The desire to establish or avoid a certain result [says Professor Tyndall<sup>2</sup>] can so warp the mind as to destroy its power of estimating facts. . . . Every moral disposition [remarks Mr. Lecky<sup>3</sup>] brings with it an intellectual bias, which exercises a

<sup>1</sup> In Mivart. *Lessons from Nature*, p. 428.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem, ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

great and often a controlling and decisive influence even upon the most candid inquirer. . . . Reason is very far indeed [observes G. J. Romanes<sup>1</sup>] from being the sole guide of judgment that it is usually taken to be—so far that, save in matters approaching downright demonstration (where of course there is no room for any other ingredient), it is usually hampered by custom, prejudice, dislike, etc., to a degree that would astonish the most sober philosopher could he lay bare to himself all the mental processes whereby the complex act of assent or dissent is eventually determined. . . . Now nothing is so inimical to Christian belief as un-Christian conduct. This is especially the case as regards impurity; for whether the fact be explained on religious or non-religious grounds, it has more to do with unbelief than has the speculative reason.<sup>2</sup>

And in insisting thus on the close connection between infidelity and un-Christian conduct Mr. Romanes is but repeating the doctrine of St. Paul :—

This precept [he says] I commend to thee, O son Timothy; according to the prophecies going before on thee, that thou war in them a good warfare. Having faith and a good conscience, which some rejecting have made shipwreck concerning the faith.<sup>3</sup>

Having made these preliminary observations I now proceed to explain how Freedom of Conscience may be possible even in regard to intellectual beliefs. Religious belief may be philosophical or it may be the belief of faith; as some religious truths can be scientifically demonstrated, and all the truths of the Christian religion can be received by faith on divine authority. Now Freedom of Conscience is possible in the department of natural religion. We can will to give attention to the subject or to neglect it, to consider and examine the arguments for religious truths or to refuse them even fair consideration and examination; and thus our religious beliefs, natural and supernatural, can be at least remotely voluntary and free. But moreover intellectual assent to religious truths can be proximately free. No doubt when the truths of natural theology are supported by arguments that demonstrate

<sup>1</sup> *Thoughts on Religion*, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> Tim. i. 18. 19.



the absolute evidence of these truths the mind naturally assents to them independently of the wish to believe. But how few there are to whom the truths of natural religion are as evident, say, as the axiom: The whole is greater than its part! And for the multitude, who, by philosophical study or by teaching, acquire strong moral certainty of the truths of religion the will plays a very important part in their belief. It determines the intellect to examine the evidence impartially, it puts on pressure to resist prejudices, and at the end of the examination, while the intellect is perhaps to some extent in suspense, not being *necessarily* determined by the evidence, the will intervenes and commands it to assent to the truths that are supposed to have been proved to distinct moral certainty. Nor do we force ourselves, by this process, to believe a proposition beyond what seems to us to be the evidence for it. We force ourselves or we wish simply to believe a proposition, which has been proved to be morally certain, according to the measure of the evidence which has been adduced to support it; just as a juror is expected to will to find a verdict of 'guilty' against a prisoner if there be no reasonable doubt of the prisoner's guilt. Intellectual assent, therefore, to truths of natural theology is said to be free because it is given under the command of a free act of the human will.

When we make an act of faith we assent not on account of the intrinsic evidence of the truth believed, but relying solely on the authority of God. If we suppose the existence of an all-truthful and omniscient God who can neither deceive nor be deceived, and that He has certainly revealed, say, the doctrine of the Incarnation, we can assent reasonably and with the most absolute assurance of inerrancy to this revealed truth of the Incarnation. The evidence which the great mass of Christians have for the existence of God and for the fact that a divine revelation has been made, is sufficient to produce a high form of moral certainty, which excludes all reasonable doubt, but not to constrain the intellect to give a necessary assent to these truths. Then again, as in the case of natural religion,

the will intervenes and commands the intellect to assent to the revealed truth on the authority of the all-truthful omniscient God who can neither deceive nor be deceived. Nor in this process is the intellect forced to assent to a proposition beyond what appears to be the evidence for it: the will commands the intellect to believe only according to the authority it has for believing. And the act of faith is free, not precisely as elicited by the intellect, but because the intellect has been determined to believe by a free act of the human will.

In the case of those who can demonstrate for themselves with absolute evidential certainty the existence of an all-truthful and omniscient God, and the fact that He has revealed to the world, let us say, the mystery of the Incarnation, many theologians think that the merit of faith is lost, that the assent is not free, but necessary. Undoubtedly this would be true if every proposition believed by faith should be regarded formally as the conclusion of a syllogism, and if the assent of the intellect were determined by the validity of the logical inference. If I argue: 'Whatever the all-truthful and omniscient God reveals must be evidently true, but it is evident that the all-truthful and omniscient God has revealed the mystery of the Incarnation;' then I must conclude: 'It is evident that the doctrine of the Incarnation is true.' But an act of faith is different from an act of theological assent to a theological conclusion. And I agree with those who teach that, when the student of religion has acquired absolute evidential certainty of the all-truthfulness and omniscience of God, and of the fact that God has made a revelation, he can regard these truths as preliminary conditions of faith, and command his intellect to assent to the revealed truths on the sole authority of God who has revealed them. According to this view the assent of faith will not cease to be free by reason of the evidential certainty of the all-truthfulness and omniscience of God and of the fact of revelation, until we shall see the *Prima Veritas* itself, the formal object of faith, in the beatific

vision, and contemplate the material objects of divine faith revealed and mirrored in the divine Word.<sup>1</sup>

Freewill is therefore possible in relation to intellectual assent. And the Catholic Church teaches that men are really free in assenting to religious truths, and that the assent of supernatural faith is free. She would say to mankind: You are free, you have the power by the self-determination of your will, to believe or disbelieve the existence of God; to believe or disbelieve supernatural revelation and religion; to affiliate with Judaism or Christianity; to submit to the One, Catholic and Apostolic Church or to join a national separated church or one of the minor separated Christian sects. Man, she would say, is independent not merely in regard of material objects of finite good, but also in presence of the intellectual world and of spiritual good; and in the midst of a warring world of creeds and unbelief, all soliciting the homage of his intellect and will, he remains independent of all, and can believe or not believe or disbelieve according to the self-determination of his will in the sense explained. The words of Deuteronomy, she would say, are true of faith as they are of duties that appertain exclusively to the moral order: 'I call heaven and earth to witness this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing. Choose thou life, that both thou and thy seed may live.'<sup>2</sup>

## II.

I now pass from the existence of Freedom of Conscience to its use and exercise, from physical to moral Freedom of Conscience. The Catholic Church teaches the existence of Freedom of Conscience as a truth of faith, and it is denied by the non-Catholic world, ecclesiastical, scientific and philosophical. But when we come to the question of the lawful use of liberty in relation to religious belief, the Catholic Church orders her children to use their liberty

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. St. Thomas, 2. 2. q. 5, art. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxx. 19.

in accordance with divine law and condemns the opposite errors, and then the various non-Catholic churches and schools, that deny themselves the very existence of Free-will in relation to religion, join in a chorus of condemnation of the Church's infringement and violation of the sacred rights of Freedom of Conscience.

I. And first, Evolutionists and Mechanical Determinists demand unlimited licence of thought under the name of Freedom of Conscience. What do they mean by Freedom of Conscience? They mean, in the philosophical order, mainly the right to reject all metaphysical philosophy and to be guided by experience alone, and consequently the right to reject the theories of necessary truths, of absolute knowledge, of cause and effect, of substance and accident, of essence or nature and personality, etc. ; the right to be spiritualists or materialists, realists or idealists ; and above all the right of immunity or exemption from the interference of authority, civil or ecclesiastical, in matters of science and philosophy. And in the domain of religious dogma ? By Freedom of Conscience within the domain of religion they mean the right to ignore or deny the existence of God, the spirituality of the soul, a future life and freewill ; the right of repudiating all obligation of paying homage to a personal Being distinct from the world, 'and of cherishing the noblest and most human of man's emotions, by worship, for the most part of the silent sort, at the altar of the Unknown and Unknowable ;'<sup>1</sup> and finally the right of immunity from condemnation or other interference by external authority. And in the department of morality ? They claim the right of denying the existence of right and wrong, and of substituting for ethical morality a system of legal morality, by which society protects itself against the dangers from individuals by prohibiting certain crimes and sanctioning severe punishment for criminals.

Idealist Determinists too, Lutherans, Calvinists and

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<sup>1</sup> Huxley, *Lay Sermons*, p. 14.

Presbyterians, while advocating, as we have seen, a system of universal Determinism and denying the existence of Freewill in every department of life, mental, volitional and corporal, in contradiction to their general principles, call insistently for liberty of belief, and assail the Catholic Church for her opposition to Freedom of Conscience. And what do they mean by Freedom of Conscience? They mean the right and duty, as they conceive it, of every Christian to read the Bible and determine for himself, by his private judgment, what he shall believe and what he shall refuse to believe. They concede that, in a certain sense, a person may be legally bound to adhere to the confession of faith of the local church of which he is a member, but contend that the Scriptures alone have authority to bind the conscience.<sup>1</sup> In the name therefore of Freedom of Conscience they claim absolute independence, in matters of conscience, from external authority, from church authority, but particularly from the authority of an infallible Church.

A Church which claims to be infallible [writes Hodge<sup>2</sup>], *ipso facto* claims to be the mistress of the world, and those who admit its infallibility thereby admit their entire subjection to its authority. . . . It is obvious, therefore, that where this doctrine is held there can be no liberty of opinion, no freedom of conscience, no civil or political freedom.

In the Anglican Church the Evangelical section agree with the Lutherans and Calvinists that the Scriptures alone have power to bind the conscience, that it is the right and duty of every one to read the Bible and determine for himself, irrespective of church authority, what he shall believe and what he shall refuse to believe. And, among the Ritualists, while some demand freedom of conscience in the sense of independence of any foreign church, as of the Church of Rome, others are prepared to submit to the present united sense of Christendom, or to the teaching of the first five centuries.

But, it will be asked, do the Reformers and the Anglican

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<sup>1</sup> Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, vol. i., p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 149, 150.

Church, while claiming independence in matters of conscience from the Church of Rome, permit Freedom of belief to those who remain within their fold? They allow or tolerate Freedom or licence of Conscience along the road to infidelity, but raise an alarm when some of their children attempt to revive the ancient doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church. May not Anglicans and Presbyterians be Darwinian Evolutionists and deny or ignore the existence of God, of the supernatural, of miracles, of a spiritual soul, of Freewill? Are there not Presbyterian ministers and clergymen of the Anglican Church who deny the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity? Are there not Presbyterian and Anglican dignitaries who reject the virgin birth of Christ and deny His divinity? Along the road leading to infidelity Freedom of Conscience is exercised with impunity; but what if a Presbyterian or an Anglican clergyman taught the lawfulness and utility of the invocation of Saints, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the primacy of jurisdiction of the Pope? Should he be allowed Freedom of Conscience among the Presbyterians or in the Anglican Church?

II. Much as they may disagree among themselves in their conceptions of religious liberty, non-Catholics unite in assailing the Catholic Church for her condemnation of Freedom of Conscience. But the Catholic Church condemns the abuse of liberty in every department of action. She cannot permit human reason to be withdrawn from the guidance and obligation of moral law; or rather perhaps she cannot permit it to be taught that the human will is under no obligation of ruling the intellect into conformity with law. Anarchy, she would say, is unlawful; and can it then be lawful for a man to devise mentally anarchical schemes, to publish to the world anarchical theories, to conduct a vigorous anarchical propagandism? Real disloyalty to the Head of the State, she would say, is unlawful; and can it then be lawful to conceive mentally elaborate schemes of disloyalty and to approve mentally of acts of disloyalty? Injustice to the neighbour, she would say,

is unlawful ; and can it then be conceded that a man may lawfully assent to and propound theories subversive of justice, and complain of tyranny if the freedom be refused of advocating immoral doctrines ? And if human reason has its restraints in relation to the affairs of the world, why should it claim immunity from law in relation to religious belief, to divine worship and to the duty of observing the commandments ? Here again the Church would distinguish between the existence and the lawful use of freedom, between physical and moral Freedom of Conscience. She would say : You have the physical power to believe or not to believe in the existence of God, to worship Him or not to worship Him, to submit to His commandments or to transgress them ; but you are not morally free, you are under obligation to know God, to worship Him, to keep His commandments ; and atheism, agnosticism and antinomianism are therefore unlawful and sinful. She would say : You are physically free to select between rationalism and supernaturalism ; but you are not morally free, you are bound to accept divine supernatural revelation. She would say : You are free physically to join a dissenting Christian sect, or some national church, or to enter the one true fold, the Catholic Church ; but you are not morally free, you are commanded under pain of sin to enter the true Church of Christ. She would say : You are physically free to observe or disregard the commandments of God and of His Church ; but you are not free morally, you cannot without sin disregard the commandments. I need scarcely observe that when the Church declares agnosticism, naturalism, rationalism and dissent to be unlawful and sinful, she speaks of these systems in themselves or objectively ; but pronounces no judgment on the subjective condition of each individual, whether he is *bona fide* or *mala fide*, excusable or inexcusable, culpable or inculpable, a material or a formal transgressor of the divine law.

I would remark that the question of the existence or non-existence of Freedom of Conscience should not constitute a subject of special controversy, because the

problem is already solved by the answer we give to the great dogmatic questions: Is there a supreme infinite personal Being distinct from the world? has He made a supernatural revelation to the world and established a supernatural religion? has the Son of God become incarnate? has He established one exclusive Catholic Church, such as He is conceived by the Church of Rome to have established? All men, I should say, would cordially admit the conditional proposition: If there be an infinite personal Being distinct from the world who is the Creator and Lord of the universe, and if His existence is cognized by me, I am not morally free to deny His existence, to refuse Him worship, to disregard His commandments; but I am bound to believe in Him, to worship Him, to obey His laws. Again, all sincere believers in God would admit in its conditional form the proposition: If supernatural revelation be possible, and if it be proved that God has made to the world a supernatural revelation, I am no longer free to remain a deist or a rationalist, I am bound in conscience to reduce my reason to the obedience of faith. Catholics would admit in its conditional form the proposition: If Christ established no external organisation or Church with infallible authority to interpret divine revelation, if He ordained that the Scriptures interpreted by private judgment should be the sole rule of faith, it would be a grave violation of the rights of conscience to force on the world ecclesiastical definitions of faith. And all sincere Christians should admit the conditional proposition: If Christ established one true Church, such as Catholics conceive the Church to be, and if He commanded mankind to become members of His Church, I am not morally free to remain a member of a national church or dissenting Christian sect, I am under a grave conscientious obligation to become a member of the one true Church of Christ, whatever that may be.

Finally, the opposition of the Reformed bodies to an infallible Church and their enthusiasm for private judgment appear to us exceedingly unreasonable. Just consider the diversity and confusion of beliefs outside the



Catholic Church. There are Trinitarians and Unitarians ; believers in the divinity of Christ and humanitarians ; believers and disbelievers in the Redemption, in a future resurrection, in immortality ; believers in a real presence in the Blessed Eucharist and advocates of a spiritual or figurative presence, etc. One party in all these great controversies is in error. And why should 'liberty' be so ardently claimed for 'error' ? Whence comes the fascination of this theory that we have a 'right' to be 'wrong' in doctrine ? What participation has 'freedom' with 'error' ? Should we not rather speak of the 'servitude' than of the 'freedom' of 'error' ? And how can it be maintained that legitimate Freedom of Conscience is impossible in an infallible Church that is divinely guided to protect us from error and declare to us the true sense of the divine revelation ? We are not allowed and we are not all competent to interpret the laws of the realm by private judgment. And as the existence of legal tribunals to interpret with authority and enforce the provisions of civil law does not offend our sense of civil freedom, so we believe it cannot with any show of reason be maintained that a divinely established infallible Church is incompatible with legitimate civil or religious freedom.

DANIEL COGHLAN.

[*To be continued.*]

## LOUIS VEUILLOT—II

IT is not difficult to understand why there should have been a division in the Catholic ranks over the Education Bill of M. Falloux. On the one hand, Montalembert and Dupanloup, fearing that demands for full justice would only irritate the University Party and perhaps destroy for years all chance of settlement, resolved to conclude something in the nature of an 'educational concordat.' Louis Veuillot, on the other, refused to abate one jot of his original demands. Convinced that Thiers and the 'party of order' were anxious for the support of the Church at all cost, he made up his mind that if the Catholics stood firm their every wish should be satisfied, while by concluding a bargain they shut out for years the possibility of improvement. In the circumstances then existing in France perhaps the editor of *L'Univers* was right, but for ourselves, we must confess that we have little sympathy with the policy of standing by principle to the rejection of every concession however favourable. It is right to demand full justice, but is it prudent to reject every advance unless the full demands are satisfied?

The moment the Bill had become law, Louis Veuillot withdrew his opposition, and set himself to make the most of the situation:—

We shall obey [he wrote]. Our bishops are the guardians of the Christian conscience. The law shall be for us what it is for them. May God grant that we shall never be wanting in the humility and courage to carry out the resolutions which, in their wisdom inspired by their faith, they shall take. The bonds which brought us into such close and friendly contact with some of the authors of the law are not broken. We are prepared to go forward in unison with them, to amend the law if experience prove it to be dangerous, or to draw the greatest possible good from it if it be workable, as we hope it is, or to struggle in its defence if in after years we find that we have been deceived in our estimate of its worth, and may this latter prove the case. Our self-pride can receive no wounds when the interests of the Church are safe.

The Holy See requested the bishops to take the places that had been reserved for them on the governing boards, and by this act showed its acceptance of the law. The editor of *L'Univers* hastened to publish the Papal instructions, and to express his complete adhesion. 'The more our opposition has been warm and untiring,' he wrote, 'the more necessary it is now that no doubt can be raised about the sincerity of our submission.'

The Catholics hastened to form a committee of their body to provide for the execution of the law, and, as the University monopoly was broken, Free Secondary Colleges were opened in different places. We find that in two years' time two hundred and fifty Free Colleges had been established in opposition to the Government Lycées, and in 1854 the number of such colleges had increased to 1,081 with 25,000 students in attendance, excluding the Seminarists; whilst the Government was forced to close fifty-two of its institutions for want of pupils.

In the difficult political situations springing up so suddenly from time to time in France it was necessary for the editor of *L'Univers* to determine immediately the attitude of his journal, and with him in such case the supreme criterion was invariably the best interests of the Church. The government of Louis Philippe (1830-1848) had given satisfaction to no party. Socialists, Republicans, Legitimists, Bonapartists, all were united in their efforts to overthrow it, while the sympathy of its supporters was being daily alienated by some new act of royal folly. The end came in '48, a dangerous year for the thrones of Europe. The war of the Sonderbund in Switzerland was the herald of an almost universal European revolution. Berlin, Vienna, Milan, Rome were destined to feel the strength of the democratic movement, while Paris naturally did not lag behind in such a contest. A prohibition against the Opposition banquet was the signal for the outbreak planned for some months before. Barricades were hastily erected in the streets, the gunshops were attacked and plundered; the National Guards, heedless of discipline, began to fraternize with the mob, and on the 24th February

Louis Philippe and his wife escaped from the Tuileries in disguise, and a Republic was proclaimed.

The Catholic party were almost unanimous in accepting the change. Montalembert, once again the friend of Louis Veuillot, hastened to the office of *L'Univers*, and the editorial on the change of Governments was prepared under his eyes and with his approbation :—

The Monarchy has fallen [wrote Louis Veuillot, returning to the subject later on] under the weight of its own folly. Nothing has contributed so much to its ruin as it has done itself. Immoral with Louis XIV, scandalous with Louis XV, despotic with Napoleon, stupid till 1830, deceitful, not to use a harsher term, up till 1848, it has seen the number and the energy of its adherents gradually decrease. Nowhere to-day has it a single partisan. Charles X had around him till the end personal friends and loyal followers, noble hearts bemoaned his death ; his successor could, for a time at least, find soldiers willing to draw their swords on his behalf. Louis Philippe, on the contrary, has been escorted only to the threshold of his palace. His life has been spared, but not his crown, and he was permitted to escape without having even the honour of being considered dangerous. Never before has a throne fallen in such a humiliating fashion. It was so because his throne was no longer a throne. We have not striven for this result ; we have not even desired it ; and although convinced that it must come, we never believed that it would come so quickly. The Catholics have duties to fulfil towards all governments ; we have fulfilled them towards the dynasty of July. These same duties we owe to the new Constitution, and we shall observe them. Our consciences and our interests equally demand it.

But many of the Republican party were unfriendly to the Church. Attempts were made on all sides to show the irreconcilability of republican principles with Catholic theology, and no man and no journal contributed more to spread such a view as the once faithful De Lamennais and his almost anarchist paper, *Le Peuple Constituant*. The elections for the National Assembly were proclaimed. Louis Veuillot refused to become a candidate himself, but was anxious for the return of Montalembert and Lacordaire. A conservative majority, composed largely of Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists, amongst whom was Prince Louis Napoleon, found themselves in the new Assembly.

The first session was held on the 4th May, 1848. amidst scenes of the wildest enthusiasm. The whole city was *en fête* from early morn, and long before the sitting opened the streets and bridges around the Palais Bourbon were packed by throngs of people anxious to catch a glimpse of the solemn proclamation of the Republic. Louis Veillot was there, and has left an enduring sketch of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly. In the evening Montalembert and he returned together to the office of *L'Univers*. The satisfaction of the latter, as expressed in an article which he wrote on the spot, seems to have been greater than even that of Veillot :—

To-day [he wrote] has been an eventful one for the Père Lacordaire, for the Church of which he is the minister, and for the Religious Orders of which he is the most illustrious representative amongst us. When the whole National Assembly appeared on the peristyle of the Palais Bourbon to proclaim the Republic before the people and the National Guards, Lacordaire, in company with the Abbé Cazalès, descended to the grating which was besieged by throngs of the Paris populace. At sight of the eloquent religious and of his monastic robe the crowd saluted him with bursts of acclamation. Lacordaire exchanged the warmest and most friendly greetings with many of the citizens and of the National Guard, and was carried back in triumph to the doors of the Assembly. From this onwards the oppressive laws against which we have struggled so long, and which successive despotisms have in turn evoked against conscience, against patience and devotion, these laws are revoked by the scenes of to-day. The second Republic has repaired one of the most odious iniquities of its predecessor.

But the Republican party, at least the extreme section, was hostile to the Church, and would have no peace except on their own terms. The Paris Clubs and Workingmen's Associations organised by Louis Blanc, and supported by Ledru Rollin, were determined to force the pace of the Assembly. It was not in vain that socialism and communism had been propagated for years in the capital. The mob of Paris rose in revolt against the Assembly and General Cavaignac was appointed Dictator. Thousands were killed behind the barricades or driven headlong into the Seine, or arrested and thrown into prison there

to die of fever. The Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Affre, fell a martyr to duty. In the hope of ending the merciless slaughter of his flock he presented himself with the cross in hand on the barricades only to be shot down by the maddened combatants, and breathing with his last breath the prayer to heaven that his might be the last sacrifice demanded.

The days of June destroyed all confidence in the Republican party. People began to look around for some strong man who could save France from the perils of anarchy. Prince Louis Napoleon was regarded with favour on all sides. Twice before he had attempted to seize the imperial power but without success. His friends made a desperate struggle in the elections of '48, and, as a result, the heir of the Napoleonic fortunes was returned with a sweeping majority in several districts. As soon as the National Assembly had finished its discussions on the Constitution the contest for the Presidency began—General Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon being the real candidates.

Louis Veuillot counselled a non-committal policy as between the two rivals until each had an opportunity of expressing his views on Catholic grievances. Montalembert had numerous interviews with Louis Napoleon, and in the end declared himself satisfied. The latter made a strong bid for Catholic support in his election-address by his references to Catholic educational disabilities. Another topic filled the public mind just then which he was not slow to turn to good account.

On 23rd November, 1848, news arrived in Paris that the revolution had broken out in Rome, that the Papal Prime Minister, the Count de Rossi had been stabbed on the very threshold of the Chamber of Deputies, and that Pius IX was a prisoner in the hands of the insurgents. The national pride of France was wounded to the core; an indignity offered to the Pope was an indignity to the whole French nation. Troops were immediately despatched by the Government to Rome with instructions to ensure at all costs the personal freedom of the Pope, but on no account to interfere with the political developments. The debate

on the subject in the Chamber was long and heated. Montalembert urged the Government to defend the Pontifical States, but without favourable result. Louis Napoleon, who had been absent from the vote, adroitly published an explanation in the columns of *L'Univers* :—

Learning [he wrote] that my abstention from voting in reference to the expedition to Civita Vecchia has been remarked by many, I feel bound to declare that although resolved to support every measure likely to guarantee the liberty and the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, I could not vote for a military demonstration which appears dangerous even for the sacred interests which it was meant to defend.

A week later he published in the columns of *L'Univers* a still stronger declaration in reference to the conduct of his relative, Prince Canino, during the revolution in Rome :—

I do not [he wrote to the Papal Nuncio] think that you should attach any credit to the rumours which make me an accomplice in the conduct of the Prince Canino. For a long time I have had no connexion with the eldest son of Lucien Bonaparte, and I deplore most earnestly that he has not felt that the maintenance of the Temporal Sovereignty of the venerable Head of the Church was bound up in the closest intimacy with the splendour of the Catholic religion, and not less with the liberty and independence of Italy.

These declarations helped to win for him the sympathy and support of French Catholics. Three days later the Presidential elections were held, and Louis Napoleon left his rival, General Cavaignac, behind by about four millions votes. With such a majority the proclamation of the Empire was only a matter of opportunity. Constant disputes embittered the relations between the President and the Assembly, and on the night of 1st December, 1851, the decree was issued dissolving the Assembly, determining a provisional constitution and appealing to the Army to support the President. The more dangerous opponents were arrested, and held in confinement till the Coup d'Etat had been assured.

Louis Veuillot was absent from Paris on vacation when this decided blow was struck. On the receipt of the

news he hastened to Paris, and in the issue of *L'Univers* for the 4th December, proclaimed his adhesion to the act of the President :—

This is no time [he wrote] for choice, or recrimination, or wavering. It is necessary to support the Government : for the cause of the Government is the cause of social order. It is necessary to uphold it to-day, when the crisis is raging, that we may have the right to advise it to-morrow. Even more to-day than before the 2nd December we appeal to men of order ; the President of the Republic is your general ; do not separate yourselves from him nor desert him. If you do not triumph with him you shall be conquered with him, and irretrievably conquered. Rally round him to-day, for to-morrow it may be too late for your safety or your honour. God save France !

Not that Louis Veuillot believed the Government of Napoleon to be by any means perfect :—

The people who hold the power [he wrote] are full of good intentions. They are not Christians, but they are good devils ; not Voltaireans, not philosophers, not Gallicans—three good negative qualities. But they feel a force in the Catholic Church, and they are determined that that force should remain free. Please God, they will serve us better than we could do ourselves. Say ' Yes ' on Saturday [in the plebiscite] like the rest of the people. It is necessary [he adds] to be with the people as long as conscience does not forbid it.

Turning from the public to the private life of Veuillot the reader cannot fail to be struck by the contrast. Though the columns of *L'Univers* were noticed for the energetic and at times bitterly sarcastic criticisms of the editor, yet, at home, in the bosom of his family, he was the most loving and most beloved of men. In 1839, a short time after his conversion, he was suddenly summoned to the bedside of his dying father. His first impulse was to run for the priest of the district, and the last Sacraments were duly administered before the fatal moment came. Years later, in his *Rome and Loretto*, Louis speaks in the most touching terms of this happy scene, and indignantly denounces the atheistic and socialist teaching which had robbed his father of so much religious consolation during life, and almost entirely at the hour of death :—



He remained through life [he wrote of his beloved parent] an honest man, and we, his children, attribute this only to the grace of baptism. In his blind ignorance he withstood all the miseries, all the temptations, all the bad examples, which he saw under his eyes, with which he was daily surrounded, and under which he was at times overwhelmed, without complaining of any person, without envying the knaves who triumph with impunity, without pride in his honesty, the merit of which he did not recognise, or in his courage, the grandeur of which he ignored ; always good, always helpful, his every day had doomed him to privations. Yet, as he had never complained, so, he never hoped ; his regards saw in heaven only a vacant space, and in existence only a chain bringing with it constant suffering. Oh, my poor father, God knows all things ; He has known you, and, therefore, I do not despair.

By the bedside of his dying father, he besought Eugene, the brother whom he dearly loved and to whom he had ever been the most untiring protector, to return to the practices of his religion, and the promise there given was faithfully carried out. His mother shortly afterwards re-married, and Louis though living from hand to mouth took upon himself the support and education of his two sisters. They boarded at a convent in Paris, but when better days came he hired rooms, and took them to live with himself.

But, though this arrangement pleased himself, and the family circle of brothers and sisters was perfectly happy, yet his friends regretted that it appeared to shut out any opportunity of his early marriage ; for he had declared that he would never marry till his sisters had been provided with a home. Fortunately this took place earlier than had been anticipated, owing, we have no doubt, to the dowry of ten thousand francs which he was prepared to give them. Annette was married to a member of the great book-selling firm of Mame in Tours ; and on the conclusion of this marriage Louis friends exhorted him to take a similar step himself. This time he followed their advice. Matilda Murcier, the daughter of a respectable family in Versailles. was his choice, and during the eight years of his married life he had never any reason to regret the selection. The Feast of St. Ignatius was selected for the happy day, and

the distinguished Père Ravignan was the officiating clergyman. During the years that followed Louis remained devoutly attached to his wife and children. Even in his bitterest struggle, at times when judging by his public action and writings, no corner seemed left in his heart for the softer feelings, we see breaking out in every line of his letters his loving attachment to the dear ones at home.

But, alas, his married life was soon to come to an end. In 1852 his youngest daughter, Teresa, died. Her death, as he wrote, was their first great sorrow, and it came as the herald of a still heavier blow—the loss of his beloved wife :—

On the morning of the second day's illness [he wrote in after years] the doctor warned me that he feared the worst, and that I should call in the priest while there was yet time. It was my duty to break the sad news, and I told her that I had been to see her confessor, and that he was coming to bring her the good God. 'What happiness!' she exclaimed, 'God will visit here,' and immediately she called the servants, and ordered them to put all things in readiness, for that the good God was coming. I was more dead than alive, but she—she thought only of the Visitor Who was soon to arrive. The priest heard her confession, consoled her with the promises of the Redeemer, gave her the Holy Communion, and anointed her. She was attentive to all the ceremonies and responded to all the prayers in spite of her sufferings. Then she sank rapidly, and made a sign for me to approach. 'Louis,' she said, 'you are good; I know you would not deceive me. I did not think that I was bad enough for the reception of the last Sacraments. Am I, then, so ill?' 'The doctor,' I replied, 'is anxious, and he has warned me of his anxiety.' 'Bless the good God,' she said. 'You, you can marry again . . . but my poor children.' I promised her, and I felt a kind of consolation in the promise, that our children should have no other mother. She asked me for a cross, indulgenced for a happy death, that had been specially sent to me from Rome. Her eyes clouded; the agony began. She was delirious for a few moments, but I saw that she still thought of me, though she no longer recognised me. I was on my knees beside the bed touching her hand with my lips. It was my brother who placed his hand upon my arm and gently whispered, 'Close her eyes.' She was my only wife before God and man, and it is in all truth that I could write over her tomb these words of the chapter of the Scriptures on the model woman: 'Surrexit vir ejus et laudavit eam.' What a

hard thing is human life, and what a duty there is of being always kind towards the brother in distress. Nevertheless there are men bold enough to neglect that duty, bad enough to destroy Christianity, the sole consolation which never fails.

Considering the difficult times in which Louis Veuillot wrote, the many burning questions which claimed his attention, and his tendency towards sarcasm and ridicule in the straightforward expression of his views, it is no wonder that the editor of *L'Univers* should have won for himself the enmity of many contemporaries. The Gallicans hated him on account of his attachment to Rome and the Holy See; the Liberal Catholics, men who had imbibed something of the De Lamennais school, but nevertheless good sincere Catholics, detested what they were pleased to call the conservatism and blind ultramontaniam of *L'Univers*; the weak-kneed and cringing among the Catholic body feared lest his style of defence should bring upon his co-religionists a still more galling persecution, while the followers of all the fallen royalties of France were furious at his principle of judging all governments by the interests of religion.

During the discussions on the Education Bill, Montalembert and Dupanloup took strong exception to the policy of Louis Veuillot. The latter could never see eye to eye with the editor of *L'Univers* on any question. The division thus begun was fomented by the discussions on the introduction of the Roman Liturgy in which Dom Guéranger took such a prominent part, on the war of the Sonderbund in Switzerland, on the alleged liberalism of Pius IX after his accession to the Papal throne, and the attitude of the Jesuits in Rome.

It was natural, too, that Veuillot should sometimes find himself in opposition to some of the Bishops of France, whose opinions he could not accept. Mgr. Sibour was then Archbishop of Paris, and disliking the tone adopted by *L'Univers* in many of the controversies then raging, published a pastoral in which the editor was sharply reprimanded. The pastoral was published in full in the columns

of *L'Univers*, accompanied by a brief note which is a model of dignity and submission :—

God forbid [he wrote] that it should ever be our lot to enter into a public contest with our Archbishop. We know how to give the example of that respect for episcopal authority which we have always preached, preferring a thousand times to yield up something of our right rather than run the risk of exceeding it. We have, however, a resolution to take, for it is impossible to preserve the character which our journal has hitherto maintained without violating the directions of His Grace the Archbishop, and we should regard it as mean and unworthy were we to attempt to evade his condemnation. Two courses only lie before us—the first is to submit immediately and definitely, the second is to seek a higher decision. Immediate, complete, and definite submission would satisfy our own wishes. Ten or twelve years of struggle, such as we have undergone, crowned by the judgment which has fallen upon us to-day, is sufficient and more than sufficient to make us desire repose. But we cannot make such a submission except by transforming *L'Univers* into a purely political journal, or by suppressing it completely. Transform *L'Univers* into a purely political journal we shall never do ; suppress it we dare not. It only remains to carry our cause and our defence before the tribunal of the Sovereign Pontiff.

The Nuncio at Paris completely approved the decision of Louis Veuillot. Several of the archbishops and bishops, not to speak of a host of priests and laymen, hastened to offer him their sympathy in this difficult crisis. Earnest friends pleaded his case in Rome. Pius IX went out of his way to express his appreciation of *L'Univers* and its sincere, if at times, too outspoken, editor. Negotiations were entered into to bring about a settlement without any public sentence. On 3rd October the editor and his assistants wrote to the Archbishop, that having been reassured of the drift of his pastoral they wished to withdraw their appeal, while on the same day Mgr. Sibour sent a letter congratulating them on their submission. The next morning both letters were published in the columns of *L'Univers*, followed by a brief note which meant as much or as little as the reader was pleased to attribute to it. The Archbishop expressed a wish to receive in audience the editor and two of his assistants, Du Lac and Eugene Veuillot.

He was pleased to welcome them with all the kindness of which his letter contains the expression.

Montalembert and Louis Veuillot, separated on the question of education, were reconciled, and had worked together during the political changes in France. But after some time they quarrelled in regard to the attitude to be adopted towards the Emperor, Louis Napoleon. Montalembert suddenly changed his policy of friendliness to one of uncompromising opposition; Louis Veuillot, on the contrary, stood up for the friendly criticism which he had advocated from the beginning. Besides, two schools of thought were being rapidly formed among French Catholics—the Liberal and the Ultramontane. Montalembert was regarded as the lay-head of the liberal school, of which Louis Veuillot was the uncompromising enemy. The publication of Montalembert's work, *Des Intérêts des Catholiques au dix-neuvième siècle*, in 1852, marked a definite public rupture, and the total break up of the Catholic party. Louis Veuillot replied to the attacks made upon him in this book; and his reply was at times sarcastic and bitter. Yet he expressed a hope that there was left one common ground on which they could all still meet, the interests of the Catholic Church :—

A common ground [he wrote] still remains for us. It is the dominant, sovereign, and exclusive interest of the Catholic Church, that object which neither he nor we have ever abandoned, nor shall we ever abandon. We know no other, and we shall never seek another. M. Montalembert will never accept and will never sustain any other. He will remain what he has been, what we all are—Catholics before everything.

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

[To be continued.]

## FATHER VON HUMMELAUER ON ERRORS IN THE BIBLE

THOSE who have been troubled by fears, however shadowy, that the Bible may ultimately be convicted of historical error, will be thankful, it is hoped, for some account of a very important contribution to the literature of the subject which we owe to Father Franz von Hummerlauer, S.J., one of the principal collaborators on the new *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae*.<sup>1</sup> The name of the author is sufficient guarantee that his thesis is regarded in the most conservative circles as perfectly safe, in the sense of being in no way opposed to any official teaching of the Church.

The treatise—of 129 pages, imperial octavo—is divided into three Parts under the following titles:—(1) Various Kinds of Old Testament Narrative; (2) The Human Side of Inspiration; (3) The Question of the Authorship of Inspired Books.

I. The first of these divisions is introduced by a short Section in which the author shows how the meaning, and therefore the truth, of a narrative depends, not only on the text and immediate context, but also on the character of the narrative itself. Metaphors and parables are true, though not in the strict literal sense: so stated, the principle is admitted by all. The peculiarity of Father v. Hummelauer's treatment is the numerous kinds of narrative which he distinguishes, each with its own peculiar character and claim to be interpreted in a special way. They are: the fable, the parable, epic poetry, religious history, old history, folk-tradition (family tradition), free narrative, midrasch, and prophetic (apocalyptic) utterances.

Fables, parables, and epic poems, must be regarded as true even though all the incidents narrated may not have

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<sup>1</sup> *Exegetisches zur Inspirationsfrage, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das alte Testament.* Freiburg im Breisgau: Herderische Verlagsbandlung.

actually occurred ; histories also, like that of Livy, are not deemed false even though they record traditions which may not correspond with the facts, provided the writer has given us to understand, whether by express statement or choice of style, that it was his intention to record mere traditions,—the most reliable accounts he could gather. So, too, when a narrative is written, not for the purpose of teaching history, but with a view to edification by means of stories drawn from the past, its truth is to be estimated from its general agreement with the facts, allowance being made for a certain amount of freedom in the presentation (page 16). No one thinks of charging the early Italian painters with falsehood, though in a picture, let us say, of the Adoration of the Magi, the scenery may be quite unlike that of Bethlehem, the countenances Italian with some inevitable Moors, knights and squires in Florentine costumes, Tuscan peasants, not a single beast of Oriental character, except, perhaps, some badly drawn asses and elephants (page 41). One does not look for archæology or geography in such pictures, and the painter will be deemed to have delivered his message truly if he has succeeded in depicting an historical event so as at once to edify us and please our artistic sense. Now, literary craftsmen no less than their brother artists have a right to a certain choice of the form in which they shall present their message, without being exposed to an accusation of falsehood.

Further, it is quite plain that no charge of untruth lies against a writer who has expressly declared that he does not vouch for the details of his story ; that his object is to record traditions as he finds them, or to write a historical romance with a moral or religious purpose. After such a declaration he cannot be accused of falsehood unless he has failed to give what he guarantees—a genuine tradition or a lesson that makes for religious or ethical truth.

Father v. Hummelauer contends, not without reason, that liberty of this kind may be secured by an implied as well as by an express declaration of intention on the writer's part ; for example, by the form of composition in

which he has chosen to clothe his thoughts. La Fontaine need not have called his poems fables, nor is the most exact historian expected to avoid metaphor unless upon notice given. It has been always recognised as the province of exegesis to determine what in the Bible is literal, what metaphorical; Father v. Hummelauer would extend the boundaries of this province and make it a question for exegetes to determine, from text and context, including the style and character of the composition, wherein the narrative is to be regarded as exact history and wherein it is merely folk-lore, family tradition, romance, or free historical narrative for purposes of edification.

II. The foregoing principles are applied to the Bible in the second part of the treatise—on the Human Side of Inspiration. Here the author seeks to determine, as an exegete, how far scientific or historical truth demands that the Books of the Old Testament should conform to the results of exact historical and scientific research. We shall do well, for the sake of brevity, to confine our attention to the historical accuracy of the Books of Genesis, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and 2 Machabees—all specially dealt with in Father v. Hummelauer's treatise.

In connection with Genesis the principal question is 'whether any or all of the narratives may be regarded as folk-traditions' (page 25). Lenormant, arguing merely from the contents and the form of the first eleven chapters, denied their historical character; for this, apparently, his book, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, was placed on the Index. Father v. Hummelauer, while holding that Lenormant's arguments do not justify his conclusions, proposes for discussion and argues in favour of what many will regard as a far more liberal view,—that Genesis, and in particular the ten 'generations' contained therein, is mere folk-tradition, and makes no claim to be taken as history in the strict sense (pages 29-32). This opinion is based, first, on the declaration of the writer, who expressly represents the 'generations' as folk-traditions,—such being, according to Father v. Hummelauer, the true meaning



of the Hebrew word *toledoth*, which is translated *generaciones* in the Vulgate; next, on the negative ground that there is no sufficient reason for supposing that oral traditions, by which alone the patriarchal history was preserved down to the time of Moses, were during the long pre-Mosaic period preserved by divine Providence free from error; and lastly, but only in connection with the foregoing, on the ground proposed by Lenormant, of similarity with the folk-traditions of other primitive peoples.<sup>1</sup>

The Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles may be taken as belonging to the same class of literature; they contain the history of the Jewish people for the most eventful period (page 60); and what is said of them may be applied easily to others (page 69). In what sense, then, are we expected to regard these books as historically true?

From the references they contain it is plain to the exegete that they are religious history based on the national annals; and the truth of a narrative of this kind,—leaving out of account its moral and religious purpose—consists, in the first place, in conformity with the documents on which it is based, and but mediately in conformity with the objective facts recorded (page 62). Such truth is consistent with the presence of errors in the text, taken over from the annals.<sup>2</sup>

Errors so taken over [writes Father v. Hummelauer] do not interfere with the truth [of a narrative of this kind], inasmuch as the truth for which the writer's character is pledged is conformity of his account, in the first place, with the annals,

<sup>1</sup> Page 32. The passage is so important that I deem it right to quote the author's words:—'Dem gesagten zufolge lässt sich, glauben wir, die Ansicht, welche in der Genesis Volkstraditionen erblickt, erstens auf die Überschriften *Toledoth* gründen; sodann auf den negativen Grund, dass eine spezielle göttliche Providenz, welche den Übergang der Urgeschichte in Volkstradition während der ganzen epoche vor Moses sistiert hätte, nicht ohne Beweis behauptet werden darf. Im Anschluss an diese Gründe, nicht als selbständiger Grund, liesse sich dann auch die Verwandtschaft der Erzählungen Gn. Kap. 1-11 mit den Traditionen anderer Völker geltend machen.'

<sup>2</sup> It may interest readers to know that Father v. Hummelauer is able to quote (p. 39) quite a number of distinguished recent Catholic writers—Brucker, Prat, S. J.; Scholz, Schanz, Vigouroux, Cosquin, Fonck, Durand, Lagrange, Gayraud—for the view that the Books of Job, Ruth, Judith, Esther, and Tobias are not to be taken as exact histories.

and only mediately and in proportion to the correctness of these, with the actual events (page 62). Fundamentally [he adds], this is but a new application of the old distinction between the *veritas citationis* and the *veritas rei citatae*. The constant reference to the sources becomes a mode of citation. There are more citations in the Old Testament than has been supposed hitherto (page 63).

This view is enforced by reference to 2 Machabees (ii. 20-33), in which the sacred writer expressly states that his object is merely to construct an edifying narrative by condensing a history already written ; leaving to the author on whose book he draws, Jason of Cyrene, the responsibility for the historical truth of the narrative, and claiming for himself the merit merely of putting the story into a form calculated to give edification.

For to collect all that is to be known [says the inspired writer] to put the discourse in order, and curiously to discuss every particular point, is the duty of the author of a history ; but to pursue brevity of speech, and to avoid nice declarations of things, is to be granted to him that maketh an abridgment.

III. Although Father v. Hummelauer, at the close of his treatise, almost warns off this ground persons like me who have no claim to be considered experts in exegesis ; nevertheless, as one who has taken a deep personal interest in the question at issue, and also inasmuch as some of the principles involved belong to the science of theology, as distinguished from exegesis, I hope it may not be considered presumptuous on my part to offer some remarks on his position.

1. The fundamental principle on which he builds is, that the Bible being the word of God, and God's word being necessarily true, however incidentally (*obiter*) it may have been uttered, 'every word of the Bible is true in the sense in which God and the inspired writer have written and intended it' (page 1 ; see also page 64). Accordingly, genuine Scripture can never be false in any historical sense that may have been intended by the human writer and guaranteed by his authority ; and, conversely, when it is found that a genuine Scriptural text, taken in a strictly historical sense, does not correspond with the facts, this

can be explained only on the supposition that the strictly historical sense was not intended either by God or by the human writer.

In connection with this we have frequent statements—based, no doubt, on the Encyclical *Providentissimus*,—to the effect that it was no part of the divine purpose, in granting the grace of inspiration, to instruct us in secular history or science. Statements of this kind are intended, apparently, to dispose us for the view that the divine authority does not cover historical utterances, as such, but only in so far as they may convey a moral or religious lesson. And yet the fundamental principle, as laid down by Father v. Hummelauer, is, that God backs with the authority of His truth every statement made by any writer whom He has inspired, in the sense—historical or scientific—which that writer may have intended. To make room, therefore, for errors in the sacred text taken in its strictly historical sense, Father v. Hummelauer is logically forced back on the contention that the human writer, let us say, of Genesis intended the statements which we have been wont to regard as strictly historical,—that is, as correct representations of past events,—not as history in the strict sense but only as folk-traditions.

The main argument for this view, as we have seen, is based on a new rendering of the Hebrew word *toledoth*, which, as applied to the heavens and the earth, cannot, it is asserted, be interpreted as 'generation,' in the sense in which this word has been hitherto understood. As it cannot mean 'family tree' in case of the heavens and the earth, it can be understood only as signifying folk-tradition. But by inscribing certain parts of his narrative as folk-traditions, the writer of Genesis plainly gives us to understand that he did not intend these passages as exact history; and this expression of intention, as regards these passages, supplies the key to the meaning of the remaining parts of the book of which they form so remarkable a feature. This is Father v. Hummelauer's first and main argument.

Is it, however, so clear that the term 'generation,'

applied to the patriarchs and their progenitors and offspring in the sense of 'family-tree,' may not be used in an analogous sense—not at all as 'folk-tradition'—to denote the succession of stages through which heaven and earth passed in the process of development? The evidence submitted by Father v. Hummelauer on this point does not strike me as conclusive.

2. He goes on to argue that inasmuch as down to the time of Moses the history of the chosen people was not committed to writing but handed down by oral tradition,—a position which, as the Hebrews were a pastoral people, is left untouched by arguments drawn from the fact that the contemporary Chaldeans and Egyptians committed their annals to writing,—it follows that divine Providence should have taken very extraordinary care of these oral traditions if they were to be preserved from historical error. And though there is reason to believe that God did so watch over the religious and moral traditions of the chosen race, there is no proof that He took equal care of their history. Hence, even where the writer of Genesis does not express an intention of merely compiling his people's traditions, that intention is sufficiently implied by the fact, plainly indicated, that he incorporated these traditions in his narrative and did not depend for his knowledge on divine revelation alone.

That folk-traditions, more or less false historically, have been current among primitive peoples, there can be no doubt; nor do I now question the proposition that the Hebrews had no written documents down to the time of Moses. The question, however, is, whether these folk-traditions of primitive peoples were handed down as traditions merely, and not as historically true. Father v. Hummelauer's argument supposes that primitive peoples were wont to regard such accounts as mere traditions and not as true history,—at least that such would be the notion current at the time when some scribe, such as the author of Genesis, might commit the traditions to writing. This may be true; but it seems to me that not only has it not been proved, but that Father v. Hummelauer has

made no serious attempt to prove it. I am prepared to consider the evidence, when it comes ; meanwhile, however, I must confess that I am disposed to expect proof of the contrary, from any evidence that may be forthcoming.

3. Proceeding now to the annals theory and the Books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and the like, I have no doubt that the human writers of these books used as sources pre-existing documents of some kind. Here again, however, the question is, whether, by making use of documents or annals in this way, they merely committed themselves to the assertion that their narratives correspond with the sources from which they were derived ; or did they guarantee the historical truth of their statements. Modern historians make use of documents, and yet are understood to guarantee the actual occurrence of the events they narrate. Early writers of history, especially of religious history, may have conceived their duty differently ; but surely this is not proved by the fact that they drew upon annals. Here again I retain an open mind for any evidence that may be forthcoming ; until it appears, however, judging from the literary character of books such as Kings and Chronicles, I am disposed to expect proof of the contrary : that, truly or falsely, the human writers of these books regarded the facts they narrated as historically true, and recorded them as such and not merely as what they found in the national annals.

So, too, of 2 Machabees. That the writer depended on Jason for his facts is expressly stated ; there is no statement, however, to the effect that he did not regard as historically true and set forth as such the facts which he derived from Jason's history. Rather he seems to take it for granted that the evidence for each statement of fact was sifted by that author, and to represent the events which he narrates as having actually occurred. If an expression of intention to quote or abridge another's narrative were admitted as conclusive evidence that the writer of the abridgment is not responsible for the historical accuracy of the account, but only for the statement that

it corresponds with the sources referred to, modern historians would be relieved of the main part of the responsibility with which we are wont to charge them.

IV. So far for exegetical criticism, in which I confess myself anything but an expert. Underneath the whole question are some principles of scientific theology, as distinguished from exegesis, on which those who are commonly known as theologians have more right to be heard ; and in this connection I proceed to make some remarks on Father v. Hummelauer's treatise.

His fundamental principle I have stated already : that 'every word of the Bible is true in the sense in which God and the inspired writer have understood and written it.' That it must be true in the sense intended by God, I admit ; but where is the proof that it must be true in the sense intended by the human writer ? It is acknowledged, I think, that since God did not grant the grace of inspiration with a view to teaching profane history or science, wherever the human author is inspired to make a statement that is capable of a strictly scientific or historical meaning, there is another—religious or moral—signification which it also conveys and which is intended by the Holy Spirit. But when on the authority of another a statement is made which is capable of two meanings, how does it appear that the person who may have suggested or inspired the utterance is committed to more than the meaning which he himself intended ? This is a question not of exegesis but of ethics, on which theologians and philosophers have at least as much right to be heard as exegetes.

If, for instance, a lady inspires her servant to say to an inconvenient visitor that she is not at home, and if the servant is so foolish or malicious as to intend the statement in its untrue sense, is the mistress responsible for suggesting or inspiring falsehood ? Or, to take an illustration from Scripture, if Caiphas was inspired by God, as seems most likely, to prophesy to the council : 'You do not consider that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish

not,'<sup>1</sup> are we bound to believe that the saying is true, not merely in the sense intended by God, but in that which the High Priest wished to convey?

We have it on high authority that when Jacob represented himself as the first-born there is a sense in which his words were true; and, if this be so, we may well believe the answers he made his father to have been divinely inspired. Does this, however, imply that Jacob himself intended only the mysterious, true signification, and not another and more selfish one the truth of which could not be guaranteed by the Holy Ghost? Is it possible that Old Testament prophecies as to the splendour of the Messianic kingdom may have been understood, by those who uttered them as by the Jewish people generally, to indicate worldly splendour? Does the grace of inspiration, as such, imply that St. Matthew and St. Luke could not have deemed the Lord's second coming imminent? And as regards apocalyptic utterances generally, are we bound to believe that those who delivered them either did not attach any meaning to their words, or understood them rightly in so far as they interpreted them at all?

I must confess that I have some doubts as to these and kindred matters; and so I await theological proof of the statement that God is responsible, not only for the religious or moral significance of utterances which He has inspired, but also for any scientific or historical error which may have been intended by His human instrument. I do not deny that this is so, but merely await proof, and assert that it does not follow immediately from the principle that God, who cannot lie, is responsible for the truth of divinely inspired statements.

Secondly, it would be well, I think, for exegetes such as Father v. Hummelauer,—and for theologians, no less—to determine once for all the position they take up as regards the authority of the Fathers. Were they—the Fathers—unanimous in regarding as historically true the Old Testament narratives to which Father v. Hummelauer

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<sup>1</sup> John xi. 50.

ascribes no more authority than that of the folk-traditions or annals on which they are based ? He tells us (page 70) that the Fathers 'in general recognised all the Old Testament accounts as of uniform historical character,' yet thinks himself at liberty to discard this teaching ; either because the question at issue had not till recently been formulated with precision, and as a consequence, the teaching of the Fathers was obscure and unsteady, not definitive ; or because, as all the Fathers and interpreters down to Galileo's time, did, as Bellarmine asserts, favour an astronomical theory which is now acknowledged to be false, so it may well be with regard to the historical truth of the Bible.

The two reasons are identical, in my opinion ; for it is only a non-definitive utterance of the teaching Church, ancient or modern, that may be proved false, and discarded as such. They justify, as I readily acknowledge, a departure from the patristic view, whenever this is found to be in conflict with science or history and can be shown to be non-definitive. Recent apologists, I am inclined to think, have manifested a tendency to solve the difficulty by regarding as a non-theological matter—that is, as outside the scope of Church authority—the truth or falsehood of any purely scientific or historical views that may have been expressed by the sacred writers. I do not know how this can be made to square with Father v. Hummelauer's fundamental principle,—that the Holy Ghost is guarantee for the truth of every opinion, scientific or historical, that the human instrument of inspiration may have wished to express in an inspired utterance.

Finally, one is tempted to express an opinion on the question discussed in the third part of the treatise,—as to the human authorship of the inspired books. Father v. Hummelauer maintains that, 'in and for itself,' this is not a theological question, and for this doctrine he has been taken to task by his brother Jesuit, Father Billot. In such circumstances one is reminded of the old and prudent advice not to interfere in family quarrels. Perhaps I may escape the blows of both disputants even though



I call attention to the obscurity of the phrase 'in and for itself.' No dogmatic fact comes for its own sake within the sphere of Church authority ; but every dogmatic fact is, all the same, within that sphere. It seems to me that the human authorship of each of the books of the New Testament, at least, is a dogmatic fact ; nor do I see any sufficient reason for saying that it is no part of the business of the Church to decide who were the human authors of the Old Testament books, though it may be that she has not and never will have the information that would justify her in proposing any such decisive teaching.

In conclusion, I should like to state that I have no fault to find with Father v. Hummelauer's main thesis,—that inspiration supplies no divine guarantee for the historical truth of all the details, even of those Old Testament narratives which were heretofore regarded as strictly historical. And though his treatise has failed to convince me on the points to which I have referred, I have laid it down with profound respect for the author's character as a Biblical scholar, and a feeling of deep gratitude for the relief which this, his latest work, is calculated to afford consciences which have been sorely pressed by fears as to the historical accuracy of the books of the Old Testament.

W. McDONALD.

# Notes and Queries

## THEOLOGY

### CO-OPERATION WITH THE EXECUTION OF CIVIL DIVORCE LAWS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Some discussion has taken place as to whether a Catholic lawyer can, with a safe conscience, take part, in his professional capacity, in divorce cases, either for the petitioner or for the respondent. There has also been some discussion as to whether Catholic judges can conscientiously administer a law which is opposed to the Church's teaching in connection with marriage. Might we ask whether there is an authentic decision of the ecclesiastical authorities on this point ?

C. H.

It seems desirable to discuss this subject from a wider standpoint than the question of our correspondent demands. We all know the evils of modern divorce laws. Besides an usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction the modern divorce laws bring in their train many crying evils to domestic life and to the purity of Christian morals. The evils show no sign of abating. On the contrary they show every sign of increase. In these circumstances it is well to examine in detail the obligations of Catholic judges, Catholic lawyers, and Catholic husbands and wives with regard to co-operation with the execution of the iniquitous divorce laws of modern States.

A distinction must be drawn between divorce *a vinculo* and a divorce *a mensa et toro*. With reference to a divorce *a mensa et toro* it is necessary to draw a distinction between the case when there are just reasons for a separation according to ecclesiastical law and the case when there are no such reasons. When speaking of a divorce *a vinculo* we must distinguish between the case when the bond of

marriage does not exist in the eyes of the Church, or, if it existed at first, has been dissolved by Church authority, as sometimes happens in the case of *matrimonium ratum et non consummatum*, and the case when the matrimonial bond remains in the eyes of the Church. We think it well also to distinguish between the particular laws of any country or diocese and the general laws either divine or ecclesiastical which bind the whole Catholic world. We do not intend to speak of the particular laws of any place but rather of the divine or ecclesiastical laws which bind everywhere.

When there is question of divorce *a mensa et toro* and of a case in which ecclesiastical law recognises sufficient reasons for a separation Catholics are justified in applying to the civil courts for a legal separation, Catholic lawyers are justified in acting for clients who seek such separation, and Catholic judges are justified in pronouncing sentence of separation. The S. Cong. Inq., 22nd May, 1860, sent the following reply to the Bishop of Southwark :—

Utrum liceat advocati et actoris partes agere, quando finis litis est simplex separatio absque ulla sententia matrimonii nullitatem secum ipsa trahente. *Resp.* Dummodo pars Catholica nullum aliud tribunal adire possit, a quo sententiam obtineat separationis quoad torum et mensam et dummodo sententia hujus tribunalis nullum alium habeat effectum, quam separationem praedictam, posse tolerari, ut Catholici in foro actoris et advocati partes agant et dummodo adsint justae separationis causae, iudicio Episcopi et, si quid habeat praeterea dubii, recurrat exponens omnes circumstantias et legis dispositiones.

The reply directly deals with Catholics applying for a separation and with lawyers acting for them, but indirectly it seems to follow that a Catholic judge can pronounce a sentence of separation in the case indicated ; because if it is lawful for the parties to ask a separation the sentence of separation cannot be of its nature unlawful, and consequently a Catholic judge can pronounce it, provided at least he cannot without difficulty get out of the case. Of course as the S. Cong. states, it is the duty of the parties

concerned to find out from their Bishop whether or not there is sufficient reason for the separation from the ecclesiastical point of view.

When there is question of a divorce *a vinculo* and of a marriage which does not exist in the eyes of the Church, it is undoubtedly lawful for Catholics to apply to the civil courts for a divorce, for a Catholic advocate to plead their cause, and for a Catholic judge to pronounce a sentence of divorce. The State is bound in this case to make the marriage null in its own sphere. Catholics are in the circumstances only claiming their rights when they seek a divorce, and a Catholic judge is only doing what the law is bound to do when he pronounces sentence of divorce.

When a marriage is valid in the eyes of the Church it is lawful for a Catholic lawyer to act for the respondent even though the respondent is guilty of the crimes because of which a divorce is sought. The S. Cong. Inq., 22nd May, 1860, replied to the Bishop of Southwark :—

Utrum advocatus Catholicus possit defendere causas partis conventae contra actorem vinculi solutionem exquirentem ?  
*Resp.* Dummodo Episcopo constet de probitate advocati et dummodo advocatus nihil agat, quod principiis juris naturalis et ecclesiastici deflectat, posse tolerari.

Special difficulty arises, when there is question of a marriage which is valid in the eyes of the Church, as to the lawfulness of the action of a Catholic judge pronouncing a sentence of divorce *a vinculo*, of a Catholic advocate acting for the petitioner, and of the petitioner seeking a divorce *a vinculo*. The same difficulty arises in connection with a legal separation—the only kind of divorce existing in Ireland according to ordinary law—when there is no reason according to canon law for the separation. In both of these cases it is certainly unlawful to seek or grant a divorce with the intention of setting aside the divine law. But the question remains whether it is ever lawful to seek or grant a divorce if nothing more than the civil effects of the divorce be

intended, and if this be made perfectly clear. The solution of the question depends on the nature of the unlawfulness of such sentence of divorce. If the sentence of divorce be intrinsically unlawful it can never be lawful to pronounce or seek such a sentence. If, on the other hand, the sentence of divorce be not intrinsically unlawful but only extrinsically unlawful on account of the many evil effects which follow from it to Christian morals, a proportionately grave reason will make it lawful for a Catholic judge to pronounce a sentence of divorce, for a Catholic lawyer to defend the petitioner in a divorce case, and for Catholics to seek such a divorce. We shall speak specially of a divorce *a vinculo*, but what we shall say can be easily applied to a legal separation for which there is no sufficient reason in the eyes of the divine law.

Theologians are divided on the nature of the malice of the sentence of divorce. Lehmkuhl, Genicot, Noldin, De Becker, Feije, Palmieri, Tanquerey, Slater, Kenrick, Sabetti, Konings, hold that the sentence of divorce is not intrinsically unlawful. They hold that, provided there be a sufficiently grave reason, it is lawful for a Catholic judge to pronounce a sentence of divorce, for a Catholic lawyer to act for the petitioner in a divorce case, and for Catholics to seek a sentence of divorce. These must make it clear, however, that they hold the Catholic doctrine about the authority of the Church in matrimonial affairs, and that the sentence of divorce affects only the civil contract of marriage. There is some difference of opinion amongst these theologians about the exact degree of gravity that must be possessed by the justifying reason to warrant this co-operation. This difference seems to arise principally on account of the different conditions of different countries. Speaking generally they hold that in the case of a Catholic judge the danger of losing his position would be such a grave reason, because it is of great importance to the purity of public life to have Catholic judges to administer the laws of the land. In the case of Catholic lawyers there must be a great gain arising either from the neces-

sity of defending people justly seeking a divorce or from the necessity of retaining their places on the roll of lawyers.

In the case of Catholics seeking a divorce there must be some great benefit which cannot be otherwise gained, such as the right to safeguard the serious spiritual or temporal interests of legitimate children. Bucceroni, Rosset, Aertnys, Gasparri, maintain that the sentence of divorce is intrinsically evil, and consequently that it is never lawful to seek or pass such a sentence. We shall give our opinion with diffidence. The question is surrounded by so many difficulties it is not easy to speak with confidence. We hope that the Holy See will before long give a definite decision on this much disputed question.<sup>1</sup>

I. It seems *probable* that the sentence of divorce is not intrinsically evil. Such intrinsic evil would arise either from the act granting a divorce, or from the evil intention of the parties co-operating with the execution of the law of divorce, or from the evil intention of the legislators who established the law of divorce. But from none of these sources does the sentence of divorce seem to become intrinsically wrong. Hence the sentence of divorce is not intrinsically evil.

The sentence of divorce taken by itself is not intrinsically evil. The sentence of divorce merely affects a civil marriage, which is a civil ceremony at least virtually distinct from the true matrimonial contract. It does not touch the sacramental contract itself. It affects only the marriage which the State established. Now, the mere dissolution of a civil marriage does not seem to be intrinsically evil. It is hard to see why that dissolution should be worse in itself than the civil marriage which the Holy See in certain cases permits, even before the sacramental contract exists. It seems to be just as bad to admit a civil

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<sup>1</sup> See Lehmkühl, n. 701; Genicot, n. 561; Nokdin, n. 164; De Becker, p. 399; Feije, n. 583; Gasparri, n. 1232; Rosset, vol. vi., n. 4063; Palmieri, Vol. vi., n. 519; Tanqueray, p. 346; Slater, pp. 491, 496; Sabetti, n. 559; Konings, n. 1053; Kenrick, n. 111; Bucceroni, *Ench. Mor.*, Appendix (ed. 1887); Aertnys, n. 522.

marriage where there is no true marriage as to deny or revoke a civil marriage when a sacramental union exists. We conclude, then, that the act granting a divorce does not seem to be in itself intrinsically evil.

It has been urged against this argument that the sentence of divorce is intrinsically unlawful, because the law of divorce is intrinsically unlawful owing to the evil effects which are inseparably connected with that law. In reply we say that the law of divorce is unlawful not because it orders an act which is intrinsically unlawful but because it recalls without authority and without sufficient reason civil recognition from valid marriages. Though there is no sufficient reason to justify the supreme legislators in establishing a divorce law, there may be sufficient reasons to permit an individual to co-operate with the execution of the law. The law of divorce is no worse in itself than the law which demands a civil marriage. Yet the Holy See, in certain cases, permits Catholics to contract a civil marriage even before a sacramental marriage has been contracted, provided they intend merely a civil ceremony.

The sentence of divorce is not made intrinsically wrong by the intention of the co-operators with the execution of the law. The parties concerned can abstract from the evil effects of the law, just as they can abstract from the evil effects of the law demanding a civil marriage. In both cases they intend merely civil effects and permit the evils which follow. The parties perform an action which is not intrinsically unlawful, and from which good and bad effects follow. The good effects do not follow from the bad effects. They intend the good effects. They permit, for a sufficient reason, the bad effects.

The evil intention of the legislators does not make the sentence of divorce intrinsically unlawful. The intention of the legislators does not enter essentially into the law or the execution of the law. The intention of the legislators is equally wrong when the sentence of divorce is certainly lawful. The intention of the legislators is equally bad when they established a civil marriage, yet the Holy

See permits Catholics to go through the civil ceremony of marriage. We think, then, that the intention of the legislators cannot be taken as the measure of the morality of the co-operation of Catholics with the execution of the law of divorce. This co-operation can be looked at independently of this unlawful intention.

II. There do not seem to have been any decisions of the Roman Congregations which prove the intrinsic malice of the sentence of divorce. We shall first mention some decisions which seem to be against this view. The S. Cong. Inq., 25th June, 1885, sent a reply to the Archbishops and Bishops of France according to which Catholic judges and advocates could take part in divorce proceedings:—

Dummodo catholicam doctrinam de matrimonio deque causis matrimonialibus ad solos iudices ecclesiasticos pertinentibus *palam* profiteantur et dummodo ita animo comparati sint tum circa valorem et nullitatem conjugii tum circa separationem corporum, de quibus causis judicare coguntur, ut nunquam proferant sententiam neque ad proferendam defendant vel ad eam provocent vel excitent divino aut ecclesiastico juri repugnantem.

This reply gave rise to some controversy, to end which the Bishops asked whether a judge who, in the case of a marriage which is valid in the eyes of the Church, mentally abstracts from that marriage and, applying the civil law, declares that there is a case for divorce, ‘modo solos effectus civiles solumque contractum civilem abrumpere mente intendat eaque sola respiciant termini prolatae sententiae?’ They also asked whether a Syndic could lawfully, under the same conditions, pronounce a sentence of divorce. The S. Cong. Inq., 27th May, 1886, replied to both questions, ‘Negative.’ There were subsequently some replies of the S. Pen., *v.g.*, 5th January, 1887; 3rd January, and 16th April, 1891; 7th January, 1892, which prohibited, in individual cases, an application for a divorce *a vinculo*,

In connection with these replies the question at once arises whether they must be looked on as a condemnation of the sentence of divorce as intrinsically



evil. The question has special reference to the replies of 1885 and 1886. It is well to bear in mind that the reply of 1886 speaks only of the case when the judge and Syndic mentally hold the true doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church. The question, however, which we are discussing refers to the case when the parties concerned openly profess the true Catholic teaching about marriage. We believe that this reply of 1886 and the reply of 1885 do not declare the sentence of divorce to be intrinsically wrong. It seems to us that the sentence of divorce was declared wrong merely in the peculiar circumstances of France. The divorce law had been recently renewed. It is easy to understand that in a Catholic country the necessity of a protest against the immoral law would make it unlawful to participate in its execution. Moreover, participation in a law so recently introduced would very easily be looked on in practice as a denial of the Catholic doctrine of the indissolubility of marriage. Our reasons for thinking that the replies of 1885 and 1886 referred rather to these peculiar conditions of France than to any intrinsic unlawfulness of the sentence of divorce are the following :—

1. When the reply of 1886 was published the Apostolic Nuncio at Brussels stated :—

Em. Card. a Secretis Status, significavit mihi, jubente hoc Sanctitate Sua, Congregationem S. Officii declarasse quod decretum d. 27 Maii non respicit Belgium, et idcirco nihil esse in hac regione mutatum quoad ea quae spectant ad materiam divortii.

In Belgium the judges tried divorce cases, and gave decisions in accordance with the civil law. Hence the intrinsic malice of the sentence of divorce was not declared by the decision of 1886. Some theologians reply to this argument that the decision of the S. Office referred *de facto* to France alone, since the decree was sent to the Bishops of France alone. In stating that the decision did not refer to Belgium, the S. Cong. meant nothing more than this. The S. Cong. did not mean to settle the question of principle. We think, however, with Feije, that this explana-

tion is not worthy of the dignity of the S. Cong. Everybody knew that the decision was sent to the Bishops of France alone. There was no need to seek that information from the S. Cong. Inq. What was required was a declaration of principle which would solve the practical doubts of people in Belgium. A mere quibble in giving a reply would hardly be in harmony with the dignity of the Holy See.

2. The Bishop of Luçon asked the S. Pen. for a decision about the lawfulness of a sentence of divorce pronounced by a Syndic after the declaration of the judge that there was a case for divorce. The Syndic was a strong defender of Catholic causes. He was prepared to state publicly that he maintained the Catholic doctrine about matrimonial cases, and that his sentence would refer to the civil contract alone. He would lose his position to the detriment of Catholic interests if he were to refuse to pronounce the sentence of divorce. The S. Pen., 24th September, 1887, sent the following reply:—

S. Poenit. Ven. in Xto Episcopo Lucionen. ad praemissa respondet, eundem in hoc casu particulari, si inspectis omnibus ejus adjunctis ita in Domino expedire judicaverit, tolerare posse, ut Syndicus ad actum, de quo in precibus, procedat. . . .

This was a decision permitting, in a particular case, even in France, a sentence of divorce. But it would not be lawful, even in a particular case, to pronounce a sentence of divorce if that sentence were intrinsically evil. Gasparri, who favours the strict view, says of this decision: 'Explicationes, a rigidae sententiae patronis usque modo datae, solidae minime videntur.'

3. Finally, there is a decision of the S. Pen., 30th June, 1892, which, to a request to permit a Catholic to apply for a civil divorce, replied: 'Orator consulat probatos auctores.' Many approved authors hold that the sentence of divorce is not intrinsically unlawful. Hence the S. Cong. did not think that the case was already decided against the opinion of these authors.

III. Whatever opinion be held about the speculative

question, the milder opinion can be safely put into practice on account of the very many able theologians who hold it. Hence a Catholic judge can, with a safe conscience, deliver a sentence of divorce if he cannot, without giving up his office, avoid the performance of this disagreeable task. He ought to persuade the parties to settle their differences if there be any hope of success. He ought to transfer the hearing of the case to another judge if that be at all possible. But if all fail, he can safely try the case, and pass a sentence of divorce in accordance with the civil law, making it clear that he holds Catholic doctrine about marriage cases, and that his sentence applies only to the civil contract. A Catholic lawyer can lawfully act for the petitioner whenever it is lawful for the petitioner to seek a divorce. He can also act for the petitioner when his refusal to do so would entail the loss of his position as a lawyer. He must, however, make it clear that he holds the true doctrine on marriage, and that he seeks only a sentence which has reference to the civil contract. Catholics, in rare cases, can lawfully seek a divorce *a vinculo* in the civil courts, provided they make it known that they do not mean to interfere with the authority of the Church in matrimonial cases, and that they seek a sentence having effect merely so far as civil recognition of marriage is concerned. They can do this when the law of the land, as in some States of America, does not allow a divorce *a mensa et toro*, if there be sufficient reason for a divorce *a mensa et toro* in the eyes of the ecclesiastical law. Even in countries where the law has a legal separation, as well as a divorce *a vinculo*, very rare cases may arise when the legal separation would not grant all the civil effects requisite for safe-guarding the grave spiritual or temporal interests of legitimate children. In such exceptional cases Catholics may, under conditions already mentioned, seek a divorce *a vinculo*.

What we have said about a divorce *a vinculo* can be easily applied to a divorce *a mensa et toro* in the civil courts, when there is no reason to justify a separation in the eyes of the Church. A Catholic judge can lawfully pass such

a sentence of separation when he cannot get out of the hearing of the case, provided he intimates that his sentence refers alone to the civil aspects of marriage. The same holds true of a Catholic advocate defending the petitioner. Catholics may, in very extreme cases, be petitioners in such a trial, because of a great benefit to be gained or a great evil to be avoided.

**ADMINISTRATION OF HOLY COMMUNION TO A PERSON  
WHO IS NOT FASTING**

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I trouble you to give your opinion on a question which is by no means speculative, but to my knowledge, eminently practical. I will first place my own view of the case before you, and then I will request you to confirm my contention, or else to rectify my erroneous notion regarding it.

Till lately a doubt never dawned on me, but that, with the exception of persons in danger of death, it was forbidden to all who were not fasting to receive Holy Communion. Not very long ago, however, my attention was directed to a quotation from what is called the '*Asserta Moralia* ; Auctore, M. M. Matharan, S.J., Editio Nona, 1895,' which runs as follows :— '*Imo et extra hujusmodi (mortis) periculum, si jejuniū servare nequeat, in morbo diuturno, saltem paschali tempore, et juxta aliquos pluries in anno.*' And then my curiosity and research being aroused, I chanced to look into Kœnings, where I found, page 64, 'De Eucharistia,' No. 1309, Elbel quoted as approving some others for the same thing, *aliquoties in anno*.

But though these references somewhat surprised me, they did not at all stagger me in my conviction to the contrary ; in other words I cannot bring myself to admit that they constitute a probable opinion which could be acted on, or reduced to practice. My reason for saying so is, that in the passages I adduce from Kœnings, he himself immediately after declares the contrary to be the *sententia communissima theologorum*, against which no opinion can be considered probable ; such also appears to be the opinion of Genicot, Lehmkuhl, and Palmieri.

No doubt both Genicot and Lehmkuhl, quoting in support D'Annibale, Gasparri, and Noldin, admit of an exception in favour of the Paschal Communion, and hold *as probable* that

it *can* be given to persons unable to fast, because, as they say, the precept of annual Communion *flows* from the *divine law*, which ought to be allowed precedence over the *ecclesiastical law of fasting*, or, as Lehmkuhl perhaps more correctly says : 'The Ritual excepts from privilege those who communicate *ex devotione*, but the Paschal Communion is *ex precepto*.' But as far as I can gather, they restrict the concession to the Paschal Communion, and do not at all admit that it can be extended outside it, *e.g.*, to those who communicate at other times of the year *ex devotione*, or even in times of a jubilee. Moreover, they require that before those anxious to receive Paschal Communion without being fasting, can lawfully do so—a trial must first be made to find out whether they can remain fasting even for some short time after midnight, when it is quite lawful to administer Communion to such infirm persons not dangerously ill. I am aware that the Holy See is very facile in granting dispensations to infirm people *non jejunis* to communicate *pluries in anno*, but even then so strict is it that it limits the food to be taken to liquid food—*per modum potus*. The authors I have quoted may have been led into the mistake by unguardedly supposing that Communion was allowed *aliquoties in anno*, even without a dispensation.

To sum up my view, then :—1°. I believe that Holy Communion cannot be allowed to infirm persons not in danger of death, who are not fasting, except *probably* in case of Paschal Communion ; and even then only after they have tested their inability to fast for some short time after midnight, when the priest should strive to administer it to them. 2°. That in all other cases, *e.g.*, of Communion from devotion through the year, or even for the purpose of gaining a jubilee, it cannot be allowed to those who are not fasting. And 3°. That the opinion of Matharan, S.J. (and others) does not carry with it sufficient probability to entitle anyone to act on it with safety ; the sure and easy course for such infirm people being to procure a dispensation. I beg to add that I had no sooner written the foregoing than I happened to hit upon an able and exhaustive paper on this very question from the pen of the learned theological writer in the I. E. RECORD, 1896, page 151, which, if I had not so unhappily forgotten, I would not now have sought to occupy your time or attention.

The learned writer therein maintains, with much force and

skilful ability, 'that the opinion allowing Paschal Communion to a person unable to fast, is not and never was really probable, or to be recommended;' and he entirely rejects the authority of Elbel in the old school, and of Haine and D'Annibale in the new, in favour of the opinion. But as, since that time (1896), modern authors of great weight and respectability, such as Genicot, Gasparri, Noldin, and Lehmkuhl, have considered it *solidly probable* that infirm persons not fasting may be admitted to their Paschal Communion, one would feel prone to conclude that four or five such respectable authorities agreeing in what would seem to be an *independent* expression of opinion on the point ought to be sufficient to produce a probability solid for safe and conscientious practice.

Genicot, *e.g.*, admits it as *probable* (*De Euch.*, page 210), quoting D'Annibale and Gasparri in support; Lehmkuhl in his last great work, *Casus Cons.* page 99, No. 175, writes:— 'Verum sunt qui putent *in Paschale id licere aegrotis* etiam non periculose decumbentibus qui jejuni Communicare nequeat, ne circa mediam noctem quidem, cum Rit. Rom. hac indulgentia eximat solos aegrotos non periculose decumbentes qui *ex devotione* S. Communionem desiderent, Communio autem paschalis sit *ex praecepto*. Quod *probabile esse censeo*.' And Lehmkuhl adds, in the next paragraph, 'Nam de paschali Communionem jam modo allata est *probabilis exceptio*.' I have not got Gasparri or Noldin, but I have no doubt they are correctly quoted, 'Sed haec haesitans dico, salvo meliori iudicio.'

By giving your opinion on this whole matter, you will certainly oblige me, and doubtless you will interest many readers of the I. E. RECORD.

A SUBSCRIBER.

We refer our readers to the exhaustive article on these questions which was published in the I. E. RECORD, February, 1896, page 151. The conclusions arrived at in the article are the following:—(1) It is not lawful to administer Holy Communion to a person who is not fasting when the Communion is one of mere devotion. This law admits of no exception, such as Elbel maintained to exist in the case of those who are not in danger of death, but who, nevertheless, are unable to fast long enough to receive Holy Communion. (2) It is not lawful to administer the

Paschal Communion in similar necessity to persons who are not fasting. The only remedy for such cases is to give Holy Communion soon after midnight.

The practical conclusion of the article referred to is that in neither of these cases is there sufficient support of theologians for the milder view to make it safe in practice. We agree with this view in so far as the article spoke of the time when it was written—and it spoke only of that time. What was true then of the Communion of mere devotion is true now. During the last decade, however, a great change has come over theological opinion with regard to the question of administering Paschal Communion in case of necessity to a person who is not fasting. The opinion which, in 1896, received very little support from theologians, receives to-day the approval of many theologians of great authority. To prove this we need only mention, with our correspondent, that the safe probability of the milder view is maintained by the following theologians :—Haine, D'Annibale, Gasparri, Berardi, Lehmkuhl, Genicot, and Noldin. In face of such authorities it would, we think, be useless to deny solid probability at present to the opinion which was so long struggling for recognition.

J. M. HARTY.

## LITURGY

### NUMBER OF CANDLES AT LOW MASS

REV. DEAR SIR,—You will very much oblige by stating in the I. E. RECORD, (a) the cases in which it is permitted to use more than two candles at Low Mass, (b) what is the maximum number that may be used.

SACERDOS.

The word Low is here taken, we presume, as contradistinguished from Solemn. In a Low Mass, in this sense, which is *strictly private* and celebrated by one inferior in dignity to a Bishop, only two candles are permitted,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S.R.C. Decr., nn. 1131, 3262.

exclusive of a third which may be necessary to enable the Priest to read the Missal on dark mornings, and also exclusive of the Elevation candle—which, however, custom has now generally abolished. A Bishop enjoys the privilege of having four candles at his private Mass, and this number should be used whenever the feast is a solemn one.<sup>1</sup> But when a Low Mass assumes a public, or semi-public character, such as a Parochial, or Community Mass of any description, then on the more solemn feasts 'more than two candles are allowed.' Here the additional lights are permitted in order to mark the exterior solemnity of the occasion. With regard to the maximum number that may be used, we have seen nothing definitely laid down. In many places custom has fixed upon six, and we think that this number ought not to be exceeded. For this is the number that is usually prescribed for a High Mass,<sup>2</sup> and we think it would not be proper to exceed this in a Low Mass. What has been said does not regard circumstances altogether extrinsic to the Mass, such as the Exposition of a Relic or the Blessed Sacrament, which may demand lights for other reasons than those which we have been considering.

**USE OF VERNACULAR IN EXEQUIAL SERVICE; ASPERGES ON SUNDAYS; COMMUNION OF SICK; CARRYING OF HOLY OILS; BROWN SCAPULAR**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer following questions in some future issue of the I. E. RECORD :—

1. How far is it permissible to use Irish or English at funeral services? Would not an authorised translation of the ritual into Irish or English, of the prayers said at the grave, be far more devotional, more natural and in many ways more commendable than the official and perfunctory reading of the same prayers in a language unknown to the mourners and frequently read in a hurried or careless manner by the officiating clergyman?

2. When the ceremony of sprinkling holy water on the congregation before Low Masses on Sundays is practised, what Rubrics ought be observed?

<sup>1</sup> *Cer. Epis.*, i. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *De Herdt*, v. i., p. 332.



3. Outside the time of the Easter and Christmas Stations, how often may the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion be administered to those incapacitated from attendance in the church, but not in *periculo mortis*.

4. May a priest carry Holy Oils with him when visiting his country districts—not on a sick call.

5. Is the entry of names a necessary condition for valid investment or only for some of the Indulgences. If through omission of such an entry (without any fault of the wearer of the Scapular) such a person be deprived of the Indulgences attached, it would be rather severely punishing those for the mistake or carelessness of the clergyman.

DUBIUS.

1. The extent to which the use of the vernacular is permitted in the Exequial Service by the present discipline of the Church is very slight. Custom sanctions the practice in accordance with which the officiant, when he has finished the reading of the Ritual, asks, either in English or Irish, or any other language, the prayers of those standing around for the soul of the deceased. Then Wapelhorst<sup>1</sup> mentions another custom, which seems to be common in Germany, namely, of substituting for the funeral oration at the graveside a prayer in the vernacular. With these limitations the Exequial service at the interment must be conducted in the Liturgical language of the Church, and as long as the present legislation and discipline prevail, little profit can be gained from any discussion as to the desirability of having a change introduced into the existing method of conducting these solemn rites.

2. The ceremony of sprinkling Holy Water before the principal Mass in a church, which is neither *Solemnis* nor *Cantata*, is not of grave obligation,<sup>2</sup> but it is commonly recommended as a very laudable practice. It is performed on Sundays only, Easter and Pentecost excepted, and commemorates the Sacrament of Regeneration which was formerly conferred on these two days. The method of performing the ceremony before a Low Mass is, making

<sup>1</sup> *Comp. Sac. Lit.*, pp. 484-5.

<sup>2</sup> S.R.C. Decr., n. 4051, ad. I.

due allowance for the absence of sacred ministers, practically the same as when it precedes a Solemn Mass. The celebrant vests in amice, alb, cincture, stole and, if convenient, a cope of the colour of the Mass, and, putting on his biretta, issues from the sacristy with hands joined preceded by a clerk carrying a vessel with holy water and an aspergil. Having reached the centre of the Altar he removes his cap, makes a reverence, kneels on the lowest step, receives the aspergil, and sprinkles the altar, first towards the cross, next towards the Gospel, and, lastly, towards the Epistle side, reciting in the meantime the antiphon *Asperges me*, or *Vidi aquam* according to the season of the year. He then signs himself with the aspersory, and having risen and sprinkled the kneeling clerk, he makes the proper reverence to the Altar and proceeds, accompanied by the holy water bearer, to asperse the people. This he may do from the centre of the Communion rail, or, if it is customary, he may proceed through the nave of the church starting from one side and returning by the other. While he sprinkles the people he keeps his left hand on his breast, and recites the *Miserere*. Arrived at the Altar he makes a reverence, stands and, having finished the *Miserere*, repeated the Antiphon and said the versicles *Ostende nobis*, etc., retires to the sacristy as he came, with the necessary reverences to the Altar.<sup>1</sup> If he wears a cope it would be well if he were accompanied by a clerk on either side to hold it back; these would also hold the book while he read the prayers. The *Gloria* at the end of the *Miserere* is omitted on Passion and Palm Sundays. The celebrant need not necessarily return to the sacristy after the aspersing. He may receive the maniple and chasuble at the foot of the Altar, or at a bench on one side.

3. Persons of the condition described may get Confession and Communion as often as their devotion prompts them, and especially if there is any particular reason which recommends the reception of these Sacraments, as, for

<sup>1</sup> De Herdt, *Sac. Lit. Prox.*, v. iii. nn. 132, 133; Wapellhorst, *Comp. Lit.*, nn. 80, 81; S.R.C. Decr., 3114, etc.

instance, the occurrence of a festival.<sup>1</sup> Their requests, however, must be reasonable in order that a Priest might be bound to satisfy them. Each visit costs him a certain amount of inconvenience, and consequently his services ought not be requisitioned too lightly or too inconsiderately.

4. The practice of carrying the oil-stocks about indiscriminately whenever one goes through his parish is, we think, quite opposed to the letter and spirit of the Rubrics, which lay down definitely how the Holy Oils are to be kept and carried to the sick. But when a Priest is going to a distant part of his district and has a reasonable apprehension that he may require to anoint some person—to whom he has a short time previously administered the Viaticum, let us say—on the way, we see no great objection to his taking the Oils with him on such occasions.

5. There can be no doubt since the Decree of the Congregation of Indulgences, published on the 27th April, 1887, that the entry of the names is an essential condition for valid membership in the Confraternity of the Scapular, so that without it *none* of the Indulgences can be gained. When the Church grants a pure favour she has a right to specify the conditions on which it may be obtained, and she cannot be reproached with undue severity if she rigorously insists on the fulfilment of all the specified requirements. Now the Indulgences of the Brown Scapular are confined to members of the Confraternity,<sup>2</sup> and for membership a formal reception is necessary which, among other things, consists in the inscription of the name. No doubt it is rather hard on a person to be deprived of the spiritual benefits accruing from enrolment in the Society by the mistake or carelessness of the Priest. But the same may be said wherever the latter fails in his duty to his people, and it only shows his great responsibility. Sometimes *Decreta sanationis* are issued in reference to these Confraternities making good, retrospectively, the Indulgences which may have been lost owing to want of

<sup>1</sup> Van Der Stappen, *De Sac. Adm.*, n. 205; *Rit. Rom. De Com.* inf. iii., etc.

<sup>2</sup> Berenger, ii., p. 200.

compliance with essential conditions. Such a Decree was issued some few years since healing this very defect which we are discussing.

**BLESSING OF THE BAPTISMAL FONT ON HOLY SATURDAY  
AND THE VIGIL OF PENTECOST**

REV. DEAR SIR,—As some doubt exists about the ceremonies to be observed on these two days, may I trouble you to explain in the April number of the I. E. RECORD the following points :—

1st. In most of the churches of this diocese, if not in all, where the Paschal Candle and Font are blessed, the ceremony is performed *sine cantu*. The prayers are merely read. The Mass which follows is also read, not sung. Is this in keeping with the Rubric which forbids private Mass on Holy Saturday? May the Font be blessed without the Mass being said?

2nd. In some of our rural parishes there is only one priest, or, if there be two, there are also two churches, or it may be three, what is to be done in such cases? It would be impossible to have a High Mass, and even the ceremonies of the blessing of the Font can only be carried out by aid of some trained acolytes.

As private Masses are prohibited, the proper thing apparently would be to bless the candle, read the Prophecies, bless the Font, saying the Litany afterwards as prescribed in the Missal, and then to stop.

3rd. As there is no prohibition against private Masses on the Vigil of Pentecost, I presume the Mass might be said, or omitted *ad libitum*. In that case, may the Font be blessed apart from Mass at any time during the day?

Of course if the Mass is not to be said on Easter Saturday or the Vigil of Pentecost, but the Font is merely blessed, the celebrant need not be fasting.

INQUIRER.

1. Since the publication of the *Memoriale Rituum* by Benedict XIII, in the year 1725, it is no longer necessary that the ceremonies of Holy Saturday, and the two preceding days, should be carried out in an elaborate manner with Solemn Mass, sacred ministers, and choir. These

formalities, beautiful and impressive as they are, have been dispensed with where they are impossible, in order to bring it within the power of every Parish Priest to have the substantial ceremonies of the Triduum of Holy Week performed in his church. We believe it is the desire of the Church, that, at least in their abbreviated form, these devotional functions should be universally carried out,<sup>1</sup> and we are convinced that the people would only be too glad to be present at them with much spiritual advantage to themselves, especially if a word were said beforehand from the altar explaining the commemorative and mystical character of these rites. In convents and similar communities these ceremonies are usually carried out by one Priest with the aid of three or four altar-boys. Why may not an individual Priest similarly carry them out in his parochial church? Even a choir is not necessary, and the officiant need not sing, but merely recite the prayers, the Mass having all the character of a Low Mass.

It is, then, quite in conformity with the Rubrics, as abridged in the *Memoriale Rituum*, and in compliance, too, with the wishes and desires of the Church to carry out the Holy Week ceremonies in connection with an ordinary Low Mass. But if even this cannot be said, and if the new oils are at hand, the blessing of the Font may be performed at any hour on Holy Saturday. In this instance, seeing the blessing is an independent function and unconnected with the ceremonies of the day, the Ritual form should be used.

2. The answer to this question is contained in the preceding. The ceremonies should be carried out in connection with a Low Mass. When it is said that *private* Masses are prohibited during the Triduum the meaning is that Masses, whether Solemn or Low, that are unconnected with the ceremonies, are forbidden; and, as we have stated, for the purpose of these a Solemn Mass is not necessary in the circumstances to which the *Memoriale Rituum* applies, that is, in parochial churches where the Holy

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<sup>1</sup> S.R.C. Decr., n. 4971.

Week functions cannot be performed with due solemnity. The privilege of using the *Memoriale Rituum* is not extended to non-parochial churches. These require a special indult. It must be borne in mind also that the ceremonies of the Triduum are so closely related to one another that the Church prohibits them on any one of the three days unless they are held also on the other two. Finally, we would refer our readers to a well-known manual<sup>1</sup> for information as to the method of carrying out these ceremonies in large as well as in small churches.

3. If the Mass cannot be said on the Vigil of Pentecost the blessing of the Font may be performed as an independent function, and the officiant need not be fasting. But we can scarcely conceive any reason why even a Low Mass could not be said and the ceremony gone through as in the Missal.

PATRICK MORRISROE.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ceremonies of Some Ecclesiastical Functions*, by Dr. O'Loan; may be had of Messrs. Browne & Nolan, Ltd., or Gill and Son. See also I. E. RECORD, 1895, p. 356; 1897, p. 360; 1903, p. 361.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## THE ITALIAN PRONUNCIATION OF 'MIHI'

REV. DEAR SIR,—The admirably clear directions given by the Bishop of Canea in your issue of last December for the pronunciation of Latin in the Italian manner, recently recommended by the Bishops of Ireland for adoption in our seminaries, were reproduced with due acknowledgment in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* of January. In the remarks with which the editor introduces and enforces Dr. Donnelly's rules, he demurs to one point only. 'In regard to the pronunciation of the *h* in the middle of words, which Dr. Donnelly gives as somewhat like *ch* or *h*, it might be suggested that this is not the pronunciation of cultured Italians who make a point of enunciating accurately. The habit is common enough, like that other of adding a mute *e* to words ending in a consonant, as *Dominusē* for *Dominus*. Here may be applied what Cicero says of the pronunciation of this same letter *h* in his own day: "Usum loquendi populo concessi, scientiam mihi servavi."'

Some who wish to adopt the Italian pronunciation will be glad to find that they may pronounce 'mihi' *meehee* and not *michy*, and that they need not try to imitate any peculiar Italian *cantilena*, tone, or drawl, but may speak unaffectedly in their own natural way. It is well also to notice that the loud sound of *laudare* is produced by pronouncing the *a* and *u* separately.

The adoption of this uniform pronunciation would make Latin more than ever the universal language of the Church.—  
Yours faithfully,

M. R.

## DR. O'QUEELY, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have read with pleasure the learned paper on Dr. O'Queely, Archbishop of Tuam, in the March number of the I. E. RECORD, and it has occurred to me that an account of the honour paid to the martyred Prelate in the University of Paris may interest your readers. I take it from a manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Université

Paris, entitled *Conclusions de la Nation d'Allemagne dans l'ancienne Université*, Registry No. 26, fol. 337, A.D. 1613-1660. For sake of clearness let me premise that the official title of the *Nation d'Allemagne* in the Faculty of Arts was, *Natio Constantissima*, and that it was composed of two sections, *Insulares* (Masters from Ireland and Scotland) and *Continentes* (Masters from provinces bordering on the Rhine). The Irish were the most numerous. In December, 1645, the Right Rev. Bartholomew Archer of Kilkenny, Apostolic Prothonotary, officer of the household of the Queen of Great Britain, and chaplain in ordinary of Anna Maria, eldest daughter of Louis Duke of Orleans, was elected Proctor of the Nation.

At a meeting of the Masters held on 7th February, 1646, the following resolution was adopted. I translate from the Latin text :—

'At the same meeting, a little before this discussion began, moved not only by personal affection, but also by the request of others, I proposed to the most Constant Heads, to have a funeral service celebrated for the soul of the most illustrious and Most Reverend Malachy Queely, Archbishop of Tuam, an Irishman, doctor, and fellow of Navarre, and sometime master in the most Constant Nation, who a few months ago in defence of the Catholic faith fell by the swords of impious men. To this proposal of mine all assented. All the Continentals, and two Islanders, viz., M. Pendric and M. Fraser, expressed a wish to pay this tribute to the memory of so great a man without prejudice to the martyr (*sine injuria martyris*), (as we piously believe him to be) in proof of the singular affection of the most Constant Nation for the Most Illustrious Queely, without however any obligation, present or future, of celebrating a service for other doctors of the other Faculties of the Academy of Paris. The other Islanders, though more numerous, unanimously voted without any such restriction, that this office be celebrated by the most Constant Nation as due to a doctor, as well as to the other Masters, and I ruled with all, without prejudice to either side.

'BARTHOLOMEW ARCHER, *Procurator*.'

On 3rd March, the same Proctor made the following entry :—

'A funeral office was celebrated for the happy repose of the Most Rev. Malachy Queely, Archbishop of Tuam in Ireland.'

In Lynch's *MS. De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, p. 939 (Mazarin VOL. XVII.

2 A



Library), there is preserved the following beautiful epitaph composed by Redmund Meary, M.D., in honour of Dr. O'Queely :

' Praesulis hic multo laniatum vulnere corpus,  
Canitiesque sacro sanguine sparsa jacet,  
Pro grege non renuit vitam profundere pastor.  
Quam bene pastorem mors decet ista bonum !  
Purpurei fulgete Patres in murice ! Sanguis  
Pulchrius hic vestri muricis igne rubet.'

At the meeting of the Masters above-mentioned there was present Dr. James Duley who succeeded Dr. O'Dwyer in 1669, as vicar apostolic of Limerick. Dr. O'Dwyer, whose funeral is so touchingly alluded to in the paper on Dr. O'Queely, took refuge in Brussels after the capitulation of Limerick, and he died there in 1664. Lynch, in his manuscript, tells us that Dr. O'Dwyer was provisionally interred in the vault of Our Lady's Chapel, in the church called *Frigidi Montis* (*in cavea B. Virginis in Ecclesia vulgo Frigidi Montis appellatâ*) (MS., p. 714). His solemn obsequies were postponed, because some alleged that the bishop had not been absolved from the censures promulgated by Rinuccini against the partisans of the truce with Inchiquin. Lynch maintains that Dr. O'Dwyer was free from all censure, for three reasons—1°, because general censures do not affect bishops unless they are specially mentioned; 2° because Rinuccini had declared to Mgr. (afterwards Cardinal) di Bagni, Nuncio in France, that it was not his intention to include bishops in the censures, and 3°, because several learned men had in written treatises impugned the validity of the censures, and their opponents had made no reply. For all these reasons, the second of which seems strongest, Lynch concludes that there is no stain on the memory of Dr. O'Dwyer, and he adds that as he had suffered for the faith, he ought to be regarded as a martyr.

How pathetic the lot of Dr. O'Dwyer ! Once, if not twice, a captive in the hands of the Turks ; then the siege of Limerick and his escape, and last of all his death in exile. *Sunt lacrymae rerum*. Let us trust that his sufferings have merited for him a martyr's crown. Apologizing for this long letter,

I remain, Rev. and dear Sir, yours sincerely,

P. BOYLE, C.M.

IRISH COLLEGE, PARIS, 12th March, 1905.

## DOCUMENTS

### THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD

#### E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

##### CENETEN

#### IN OMNIBUS DEFUNCTORUM ANNIVERSARIIS DUPLICANTUR ANTIPHONAE

Hodiernus sacris caeremoniis praefectus in Ecclesia Cathedrali Ceneten., de consensu Rev. mi sui Episcopi sequens dubium Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi, pro opportuna declaratione humillime proposuit, nimirum :

Utrum verba Rubricae Ritualis Romani, cap. 4, *Officium defunctorum*, quae ita leguntur '*In die vero . . . anniversario duplicantur Antiphonae*,' intelligenda sint de primo tantum anniversario vel etiam de caeteris anniversariis sequentibus annis celebrandis ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, respondendum esse censuit :

*Negative* ad primam partem, *Affirmative* ad secundam.

Atque ita rescripsit die 4 Novembris, 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen, Secret.*

#### ERECTION OF STATIONS OF THE CROSS

#### E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

##### VENETIARUM

#### IN ERECTIONE STATIONUM VIAE CRUCIS, CRUCES AFFIGI POSSUNT SUPER SCAMNA, DUMMODO SINT INAMOVIBILIA ET SATIS ERECTA

Huic Sacrae Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, circa locum ad quem Cruces affigi debeant in erectione Stationum Viae Crucis, sequentia dubia dirimenda sunt proposita :

I. Utrum ad validitatem erectionis sit essentialis conditio,

ut Cruces ad parietem tantum affigantur ; an vero affigi possint etiam supra scamna, quin erectio sit invalida ?

Et quatenus affirmative quoad 1<sup>am</sup> partem.

II. Utrum erectiones dictarum Stationum cum affixione Crucium supra scamna, convalidatae censendae sint a recentioribus Decretis huius Sacrae Congregationis, quibus sanati fuerunt omnes defectus admissi in erigendis Stationibus ?

Et Emi. Patres, ad Vaticanum coadunati die 18 Augusti, 1904, responsum dederunt :

*Ad I<sup>am</sup>.* Quoad 1<sup>am</sup> partem *Negative* ; quod 2<sup>am</sup> *Affirmative*, dummodo scamna sint inamovibilia et satis erecta.

*Ad II<sup>am</sup>.* Erectiones Stationum cum affixione Crucium supra scamna inamovibilia non indigere sanatione ; erectiones vero Stationum cum affixione Crucium supra scamna amovibilia convalidatas quidem esse a recentioribus Decretis huius S.C. ; iniungitur tamen, ut Cruces a scamnis amovibilibus removeantur, et ad locum stabilem affigantur.

De quibus relatione facta SSmo. Dno. Nro. Pio PP. X in audientia habita ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto die 14 Septembris 1904, Sanctitas Sua Emorum. Patrum responsiones ratas habuit et confirmavit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S.C., die 14 Septembris, 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus*.

L. ✱ S.

✱ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen, Secret.*

#### CANDLES USED AT SACRED FUNCTIONS

##### E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

##### PLURIUM DIOECESIIUM

#### CIRCA QUALITATEM CERAE PRO SACRIS FUNCTIONIBUS USURPANDAE

Nonnulli Sacrorum Antistites a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione semel atque iterum reverenter postularunt : ' An attenta etiam magna difficultate, vel veram ceram apum habendi, vel indebitas cum alia cera commixtiones eliminandi, candelae super Altaribus ponendae, omnino et integre ex cera apum esse debeant ; an vero esse possint cum alia materia seu vegetali seu animali commixtae ? '

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, in Ordinario Coetu die 29

Novembris hoc vertente anno in Vaticanum coadunato, omnibus perpensis, una cum suffragio Commissionis Liturgicae, antea decreta mitigando, rescribere rata est : ' Attenta asserta difficultate, *Negative* ad primam partem ; *Affirmative* ad secundam, et ad mentem. Mens est, ut Episcopi pro viribus curent ut cereus paschalis, cereus in aqua baptismali immergendus et duae candelae in Missis accendendae, sint ex cera apum, saltem in maxima parte ; aliarum vero candelarum, quae supra Altaribus ponendae sunt, materia in maiori vel notabili quantitate ex eadem cera sit oportet. Qua in re parochi aliique rectores ecclesiarum et oratoriorum tuto stare poterunt normis a respectivis Ordinariis traditis, nec privati sacerdotes Missam celebraturi de qualitate candelarum anxie inquirere tenentur.' Atque ita rescripsit, die 14 Decembris 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

**LETTER TO CARDINAL GIBBONS FROM HIS HOLINESS  
POPE PIUS X**

PIUS X GRATES REPENDIT OBSERVANTIAMQUE TESTATUR INDUSTRIO  
POPULO AMERICAЕ SUPERIORIS

*Dilecto Filio Nostro Jacobo tit. S. Mariae trans Tiberim, S.R.E.  
Presbytero Cardinali Gibbons, Archiepiscopo Baltimorensium*

PIUS PP. X

*Dilecte Fili Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.*

Americae regionem, inter praestantes humanitate gentes multiplici re commendatam Nobisque apprime caram, tuae Nobis cariorem reddidere litterae, quas nomine Praesulum Foederatarum Americae Superioris civitatum haud ita pridem dedisti. Affectos enim istic mirifice in Romanum Pontificem esse animos, quamquam et saepe alias, et a te ipso etiam, quum primum fuimus ad Petri Sedem evecti, didicimus, novo tamen placuit constitisse argumento. Quod communi annui conventus voto gratulari Nobis dignitatem sacerdotii summam voluistis, id humanitati plane congruit comitatieque vestrae. Ecclesiam autem quum simili prosequendam gratulatione putastis, quippe cui eum Christus Vicarium praefecerit qui instaurare omnia in eodem Christo constitutum habeat, id enimvero non sine obse-

cratione ac prece vos fecisse censemus, ea Nobis e coelo subsidia impertiri, e quorum vi debet proficisci tota, si quae erit unquam in Nobis, sollicitudinis Nostrae efficacia. Vobis demum ipsi satis ea de re gratulatis, quod nempe propensissima Nostro in animo insit erga Americanam gentem voluntas. Hunc porro sensum e quo tam multum voluptatis, perinde quasi e vestri argumento amoris luculentissimo, cepimus, afficere non modo laude, sed confirmare etiam gaudemus. Quam enim observantiam caritatemque catholicus Americae populus, optimorum exemplo Praesulum obsecutus, exhibendam Nobis, pro filiorum officio, censuit, eam studiosissima voluntate rependimus. Nostrae vero impertiendae demonstrandaeque in vos benevolentiae si assidua se occasio praebebit, erit Nobis id ad laetitiam, plurimumque procul dubio conducet ad necessitudinem arctius devinciendam, quae illustri vestro industrioque populo cum Apostolica Sede intercedit. Testem interea animi Nostri coelestiumque munerum auspicem Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi, collegis tuis, universisque dioecesiumstrarum fidelibus peramanter in Domino impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die 13 Iunii anno 1904, Pontificatus Nostri primo.

PIUS PP. X.

#### NEW VICARIATE APOSTOLIC IN AFRICA

#### E SACRA CONGREGATIONE PROPAGANDAE FIDEI

#### DECRETUM

ERIGITUR PRAEFECTURA APOSTOLICA DE STANLEY-FALLS IN AFRICA ET INSTITUTO PRESBYTERORUM A S. CORDE IESU COMMITTITUR

Cum in Generalibus Comitiis huius S. C. Propaganda Fide, habitis die 25 superioris mensis Iulii, relatum fuit sacerdotes quosdam Instituti Presbyterorum a S. Corde Iesu profectos fuisse ad sacrum ministerium sub iurisdictione Vicarii Apostolici Congi Independentis seu Belgici exercendum, in quandam plagam eiusdem Missionis eis a praedicto Ordinario excolenda designata : ac insuper per plures annos ibidem cum magno animarum fructu adlaborasse: Emi. Patres, consentiente Vicario Apostolico, voluerunt ut territorium in quo praefati sacerdotes usque nunc apostolicas curas impenderunt, a Vicariatu Apostolico

Congi Belgici distraheretur ac in separatam Praefecturam Apostolicam erigeretur. Huius vero Praefecturae Apostolicae, titulo de Stanley-Falls nuncupandae, ac Instituto praedicto concedendae, limites sequentes erunt; nempe: Ad Septentrionem confinia meridionalia Praefecturae Apostolicae de Uellé; ad Orientem confinia occidentalia Vicariatus Apostolici Victoriae Nyansae Septentrionalis, scilicet gradus 30 longitudinis orientalis (Greenwich); ad Meridiem limes septentrionalis Vicariatus Apostolici Congi Superioris: id est linea ducta ab ora meridio-occidentali lacus Alberti Eduardi usque ad ostium fluminis Lela, scilicet usque ad locum Lokandu; hinc vero alia linea usque ad locum Bena-Kamba ad flumen Lomani; ad Occidentem vero cursus fluminis Lomani a praedicto loco Bena-Kamba usque ad ostium eiusdem in flumen Congo, et dein cursus huius fluminis usque ad confinia Praefecturae Apostolicae de Uellé.

Hanc vero Emorum. Patrum sententiam, per infrascriptum huius S. C. Secretarium, in Audientia hesternae die habita, SSmo. D. N. Pio divina providentia PP. X relata, Sanctitas Sua in omnibus ratam habuit ac confirmavit, praesensque ad id S. C. Decretum confici iussit.

Datum Romae, die 3 Augusti 1904.

H. M. Card. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

A. VECCIA, *Secretarius*.

#### EXTRAORDINARY CONFESSORS OF NUNS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM

SUPERIORISSA NEQUIT EX SEIPSA DENEGARE SUIS SORORIBUS  
CONFESSARIUM EXTRAORDINARIUM, ETIAM OB MOTIVA EX-  
TRINSECA, QVAE IUDICIO ORDINARII ERUNT SUBIICIENDA

*Beatissime Pater,*

P. D. Maurus Serafini, Abbas Generalis Congregationis Cassinensis a primaeva Observantia O.S.B., ad pedes Sanctitatis Tuae provolutus, humiliter proponit dubium prout sequitur circa Decretum quod incipit '*Quemadmodum*,' datum die 17 Decembris 1890 de Confessariis Monialium.

Licet 17 Augusti 1891 Sacra Congregatio Episcoporum et Regularium responderit ad 2: 'Superiorem teneri subditi

precibus semper indulgere quamvis plane videat necessitatem esse fictam, et vel scrupulis vel alio mentis defectu ut veram ab ipso petente apprehensam;’ insuper ad 3 : ‘ Religiosam petentem eligere posse inter diversos ab Ordinario deputatos, qui sibi munus Confessarii impleat;’ nihilominus nonnullae Sanctimonialium vel Sororum Religiosarum Superiores adhuc contendunt sibi licere, decisis non obstantibus, Sorori petenti Confessarium, quem prae caeteris mavult, denegare ex motivis, uti aiunt, extrinsecis.

Quaeritur utrum, saltem ob motiva huius generis, Superiorissa licite possit Confessarium ex deputatis a Sorore electum ipsi denegare? Et Deus, etc.

Et S. Congregatio Negotiis et Consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, omnibus sedulo perpensis, die 5 Augusti 1904 respondit : ‘ *Negative* ; sed si adsint rationes vere graves, Superiorissa eas subiiciat Ordinario, cuius iudicio standum erit.’

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

PHILIPPUS GIUSTINI, *Secretarius*.

#### INDULGENCES FOR INVOCATION TO THE SACRED HEART E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

##### URBIS ET ORBIS

INDULG. 7 ANN. ETC. CONCEDITUR TER RECITANTIBUS POST PRECES  
PRAESCRIPTAS IN FINE MISSAE PRIVATAE, INVOCATIONEM :  
‘ COR JESU SACRATISSIMUM, MISERERE NOBIS ’

Quo ferventius Christifideles, hac praesertim temporum acerbitate, ad Sacratissimum Cor Iesu confugiant Eique laudis et placationis obsequia indesinenter depromere, divinamque miserationem implorare contendant, SSmo. Dno. N. Pio Pp. X supplicia vota haud semel sunt delata, ut precibus, quae iussu s. m. Leonis XIII post privatam missae celebrationem persolveri solent, ter addi possit sequens invocatio ‘ Cor Iesu Sacratissimum, miserere nobis,’ aliqua tributa Indulgentia Sacerdoti caeterisque una cum eo illam devote recitantibus.

Porro Sanctitas Sua, cui, ob exultam vel a primis annis pietatem singularem, nihil potius est atque optatius, quam ut gentium religio magis magisque in dies augeatur erga sanctissi-

mun Cor Iesu, in quo omnium gratiarum thesauri sunt reconditi, postulationibus perlibenter annuere duxit; ac proinde universis e christiano populo, qui una cum ipso Sacerdote, post privatam Missae celebrationem, precibus iam indictis praefatam invocationem addiderint, Indulgentiam septem annorum totidemque quadragenarum, defunctis quoque applicabilem, benigne elargiri dignata est. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. Congnis. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, die 17 Iunii 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praefectus*.

DIOMEDES PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secretarius*.

## PROFANATION AND RECONCILIATION OF A CHURCH

### E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

#### NOLANA

#### SIMPLEX SACERDOS NEQUIT ECCLESIAM BENEDICTAM ET VIOLATAM RECONCILIARE ABSQUE ORDINarii SUI DELEGATIONE

Rituale Romanum docet, Ecclesiam violatam, si sit consecrata, ab Episcopo, si vero benedicta tantum, a Sacerdote delegato ab Episcopo, esse reconciliandam. Quum vero circa delegationem ab Episcopo obtinendam pro Ecclesia benedicta non sit unanimis Doctorum sententia, ad inordinationes praecavendas, hodiernus Rmus. Episcopus Nolanus a S. Rituum Congregatione humiliter petiit: 'Utrum simplex Sacerdos possit iure suo Ecclesiam benedictam, ubi violata fuerit, reconciliare sine ulla Ordinarii sui delegatione?'

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, propositae quaestioni respondendum censuit: '*Negative*, et servetur Rituale Romanum, tit. VIII, cap. 28.'

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 8 Iulii 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

Μάριε Νί Εἰρήνη: Ὀπῆμα Σπῆανημῆρ ἰ νῆδᾶεὶλῆς ἄγυρ  
 ἰ μῆεϋρῆλᾶ. Τομάρμας Ἀμᾶλῆδαὶ, σο ἱγνῖοβ. ἰ μῆδαίε  
 Ἀτᾶς Ἰλῑατ: ἰε μ. ἡ. ῖλλ ἄγυρ ᾶ Ἰῆας, τῆορᾶντα, 1905.  
 Price 4d.

IN the movement to restore the Irish language to its original dignity and place as a spoken idiom the theatre has an acknowledged place and can be of immense service. In recognition of its influence several Irish writers have in recent times turned it to account. One of the most successful efforts of the kind that has come under our notice is that of Mr. Thomas McAuley which is now before us. This play has excellent dramatic qualities. The condition of the language, and the capabilities of an audience in various stages of proficiency require that the plot should be simple and the treatment rather rudimentary. For that reason the author keeps to rather homely scenes, and does not seek to draw his hearers into any of the intricate problems that are offered for solution on the modern stage.

The scene is laid in an Irish-speaking district, and the principal 'dramatis personae' are Πᾶορᾶις ὕδᾶ Εἰρήνη, P.L.G., a farmer; Ὑρῖξῖο, his wife; Μάριε, their daughter; and George Swiggins, an English planter. Πᾶορᾶις wishes Μάριε to marry Swiggins for whom, and for whose language, he has a great admiration. He is anxious to cultivate the 'rale livin' lang-widge of edication,' as he calls it. George's conversation, however, is such as only befits an uneducated upstart. When he comes to visit Μάριε, the latter speaks to him in Irish, much to his discomfiture, and in spite of the indignant remonstrances of her father, who in spite of himself constantly relapses into Irish. Μάριε has already made her choice, and that is Σεᾶῖᾶν Ὁ Concubᾶιρ. The latter is ordered out of the house by Μάριε's father. But George Swiggins has not abandoned all hope. With two of his servants, 'Arry and Berty, he makes a plot to steal one of Ὑῑᾶμ Σανντᾶδ's sheep, and leave the hide in Σεᾶῖᾶν Ὁ Concubᾶιρ's house so that the latter may be accused of stealing the sheep, and George

be left free to win over *Μάιρ*. But unluckily for the conspirators they are overheard by *Τομάριν* and *Johneen* *Μίσιλ* *Όαρ*, who however decide to let them carry out the plot before they inform *Μάιρ* or *Σεαζάν*. The plot is still further frustrated by *Ψεαρσορδα*, the old blind piper, who, concealed himself, overhears *Berty* and *'Arry* as they are actually concealing the skin in *Σεαζάν's* house. *Ψεαρσορδα* sends *Τομάριν* and *Johneen* to tell *Λίαν Σαννταδ* and some of the neighbours, and all proceed to *Μάιρ's* house where they interrupt *George* as he is making a second attempt to induce *Μάιρ* to accept him. He has been threatening to accuse *Σεαζάν* of stealing the sheep, unless she consents to marry him. But when the crowd of neighbours come in, *Λίαν* in their midst loudly demanding the price of his sheep and with difficulty restrained from wrecking vengeance on *Swiggins*, the discomfiture of the latter is complete. Old *Πάορδαις* now comes in, and everything is explained to him. He is reconciled with *Σεαζάν*, and everyone rejoices over the down-fall of the *Ψεαργαλλοα*, including *Λίαν Σαννταδ*, who has got the money equivalent of his sheep. The curtain goes down on an impromptu *Σέιλιρ*.

There seems no doubt that as the language advances, as it is taken up and spoken by the educated and intellectual classes, it will rise gradually from the comparatively humble scenes in which it here exclusively finds a refuge. It is capable of indefinite expansion and development. It is rich in picturesque and beautiful expressions. It is congenial as no other language ever will or can be to the whole nature of Irishmen. If ever we are to have a literature in the true sense of the word it must be in the old Gaelic language. Nothing else will inspire Irishmen with the highest motives or attract the attention of the foreigner to what is done amongst us. There are, no doubt, difficulties in the way, great and serious difficulties; but whatever may be the drawbacks and the disadvantages we hope that the difficulties may be overcome, and that in another generation all Irishmen may be able to speak the ancient language of Erin. In that great effort of evolution *Mr. McAuley's* play, *Μάιρ Νί Ειρίον*, will do its part. But the author is young and has the world before him. We can look forward with confidence to the result of his activity during the next twenty-five or thirty years, towards the end of which

period we suspect the last Irishman incapable of speaking the language of his forefathers will have disappeared.

A HISTORY OF IRISH MUSIC. By W. H. Grattan Flood.  
Dublin : Browne & Nolan, Ltd. 1905. Price 6s. *net*.

MR. GRATTAN FLOOD deserves the thanks of all lovers of Irish Music for the pains he has taken in producing what can only be described as an invaluable book. The volume is evidently the work of a life-time. It is a regular storehouse of information on the history, development, and characteristics of the musical art such as it has been practised amongst Irishmen as far back as history will take us. At every stage of the development of Irish music the author has made wide and laborious researches, and now he places before us, in permanent and convenient form, the result of his investigations. We cannot speak too highly of the value of his work. It is the most exhaustive, the most illuminating and the most whole-hearted treatment of the subject that has yet come from any source, native or foreign. We congratulate Mr. Grattan Flood very sincerely and we recommend his book to all our readers. A book that represents such wide learning and such a cultivated sympathy with a subject of national importance, to say nothing of the vast labour bestowed on the work, deserves the support and encouragement of all Irish priests.

As we looked through various parts of Mr. Flood's volume we were everywhere struck with the vast amount of reading the author had to do in dealing with each branch or phase of his subject ; but we confess that it was with a feeling of great regret we noticed that the *references* were so frequently omitted. The value of Mr. Flood's work would have been enormously enhanced had he given the detailed references in footnotes or otherwise. Nobody with any pretensions to scholarship at the present day will accept information at second hand, and most scholars regard with suspicion the quotations given from authorities without a reference to the precise spot from which they are taken. It is no use telling us that St. Augustine says so and so unless we are told exactly where he says it, that we may see for ourselves whether he really does say it or not. And it is easy to state that Totilo of St. Gall

was an Irishman named Tuathal, without giving us any inkling as to whether this is a mere conjecture transformed into a fact or an ascertained fact of history duly proved. Nor is it of much use to refer us to the glosses of St. Gall on a very doubtful point in the development of harmony, unless we are told what particular sentence in the glosses is relied on. It is not very easy to see how such an assertion could find a place in marginal or interlinear notes in Priscian's Grammar. It would, at least, satisfy our curiosity if Mr. Grattan Flood had either quoted the words or given us some clue to their whereabouts. At almost every page we feel that the authority of the writer would be greatly strengthened were the means of verifying his statements facilitated. As it is we fear it will not be easy to remedy the defect in a second edition : yet we do not think the task beyond the powers of so industrious and painstaking a scholar as Mr. Grattan Flood.

J. F. H.

LE LIVRE D'ISAÏE. Père Condamin, S.J. 'Etudes Bibliques.' Paris : Lecoffre, 1905.

EVERY reader knows that, of all the prophets, Isaias is the most sublime. Bossuet used to read a chapter of Isaias as a preparation and stimulus before he commenced to compose one of his own magnificent sermons. Few, perhaps indeed none, of the other books of the Old Testament has been the subject of so numerous and learned commentaries and dissertations. Père Condamin—who is, by the way, now taking refuge at Canterbury from M. Combes—makes great use of modern German and English writers, for the most part non-Catholic. But he is thoroughly independent and progressive, and if he so often mentions the opinions or the textual emendations of these scholars, he does so in order to present what is amongst the best of its kind to his readers, and he always appraises what he quotes. His commentary and his notes are models of criticism, and show that the Jesuit scholar is superior to any of the *A Catholics* whose names so frequently figure in his pages. His work is the most erudite one we know of, and it must be added that no other translation we are acquainted with renders the sense of the sublime original half so well. This is due both to Père Condamin's thorough grasp

of the genius of the Hebrew language, and to his equally perfect comprehension of the laws and structure of Hebrew poetry. Readers of the *Revue Biblique* will remember his numerous articles on Zenner's theory or system of choral song in the Psalter. In his present commentary he applies throughout Zenner's system of strophe, antistrophe, and refrain, and in a most scientific manner. The result is that the beauty of the poetry of Isaias is made evident to a degree that it never was before. This is true in particular of the part from chapter xl. on, the so-called 'Deutero Isaias.' Great care is taken to point out the divisions of the book, or the short poems complete in themselves of which it is composed. See, for instance, ix. 7, x. 4, where the groups of three tetrastichs with their refrain of two stichoi, and the groups of varying numbers of lines with the same refrain, are so clearly indicated. As regards the sense, one of the most pathetic parts of the prophecy (also for the most part written in tetrastichs), viz., the Passion-Prophecy or the passage (lii. 13-liii. 12) about the Servant of Jehova, is commented on so well, that it would be difficult to match the explanation by anything else in modern Catholic exegesis. Those who know Hebrew will find Père Condamin's translation and notes delightful reading, and even those who do not may learn a great deal from them.

R. W.

#### TRACTATUS DE DIVINA TRADITIONE ET SCRIPTURA.

Fr. De San, S.J. Bruges: Beyaert, 1903.

THIS work marks a great advance beyond a similar work by Cardinal Franzelin. That such an advance should have been possible is due in part to the great progress of knowledge in general in the last thirty years. It is to the credit of the learned confrère of Franzelin, that he has availed himself of all the latest and best sources of information. His work is characterized by thoroughness and precision. Among the sections that strike us as being especially good, we may mention those on the nature of Tradition and the authority of the Fathers, and also those on the nature of Inspiration and the contents of the Canon. Nowhere, indeed, is the author's erudition seen to greater advantage than in the part dealing with the Canon of the New Testament. Here our theological students will

find what is rarely to be met with outside treatises such as those by Zahn and other specialists ; treatises, it need hardly be said, which young ecclesiastics are not yet prepared to read with profit. On this account, as well as on several others, we heartily recommend Father De San's work to all readers ; not to students only, but to those who know a great deal about Tradition and Scripture, and are for that reason desirous to know more.

R. W.

QUAESTIONES DE JUSTITIA. Father A. Vermeersch, S.J.  
Bruges : Beyaert, 1904.

THIS is the second edition of a book that has largely contributed to increase the fame of its learned author. We get in it a profound and at the same time lucid exposition of the principles of law, justice, contracts, restitution, etc. Besides all this, we find the questions of our own times, and the questions, too, of different countries, explained practically. Copyright, custom-house duties, wills, etc., are among these subjects ; while socialism, women's rights, etc., also come in for their due share of attention. All through the learned professor, who appears to have read everything bearing upon his theme, follows most faithfully the teaching of Leo XIII, and Pius X. Among the numerous authorities he quotes St. Thomas and Molina often appear side by side. All moral theologians will find that the volume is a valuable addition to their library, for it would hardly be possible to get a more useful book.

R. W.

MONITA PII X ET GREGORII MAGNI, SACERDOTIBUS EXERCITIA OBEUNTIBUS PROPOSITA. Fr. G. Lahousse, S.J.  
Bruges : Beyaert.

THE celebrated Jesuit theologian, Père Lahousse, has just edited this admirable little work for the use of the clergy, especially during their annual retreat. As he explains in his preface, it contains all the passages referring to the duties of priests, etc., that are to be found in the two Encyclicals *E Supremi* and *Jucunda sane* of the present Pope. In his first Encyclical Pius X announced his aim, *Omnia instaurare in Christo*, and called on the clergy to assist him in his efforts ; in his second

he exhorted both bishops and priests to read in time of retreat a homily that St. Gregory the Great preached in the basilica of St. John Lateran. They will thus perceive the dangers to be avoided, and on the other hand learn the means they are to employ in order to attain the sublime end which the Pope has so much at heart. Père Lahousse has had the happy thought of issuing all this in a little manual. We heartily welcome this useful and opportune publication, and hope that it will be made use of in every clerical retreat.

R. W.

**ROSA MYSTICA : MARIAE IMMACULATAE TRIBUTUM JUBILAEUM.** By the Rev. Knelm Digby Best, of the Oratory. London : Washbourne ; Laslett & Co. 1904.

THE interest manifested last year in the Jubilee Celebration of the Proclamation of the Definitions on the Immaculate Conception shows how earnest is the attachment of the Catholic world to Mary Immaculate. Amongst the vast pile of literature which appeared at that time we read with special pleasure the work of Father Digby Best. It is exactly the sort of work which, from our acquaintance with his other books, we should have expected from him. The first part is given up to a series of reflections on the Mysteries of the Rosary, while the second part treats of the other 'Joys, Sorrows, Glories, and Perogatives of our Blessed Lady.' But we specially admired the illustrations. The first part is illustrated with copies of the Rosary frescoes of Giovanni di San Giovanni. The second part reproduces the pictures of many other distinguished artists. No expense has been spared in the publishing of the book.

J. MACC.



## PHILOSOPHY AND THE SCIENCES AT LOUVAIN

### I

**T**HE rise and progress of Neo-Scholastic Philosophy at the Catholic University of Louvain, in Belgium, during the past fifteen years, has attracted the attention of philosophers of every school and every shade of opinion the whole world over.<sup>1</sup> It has been noticed more than once in the pages of the I. E. RECORD,<sup>2</sup> but it deserves to be better and more generally known than it is. It marks an epoch in the history of Modern Philosophy, and it contains many important educational lessons for Irishmen, circumstanced as they are at present regarding University education. In the following pages we shall aim at giving a very brief sketch of the spirit that animates

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *L'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie à L'Université Catholique de Louvain* (1890-1904), by Rev. A. Pelzer, D.Ph. (30 pp.; Imprimerie Polleunis et Ceuterick, 32, rue des Orphelins). *Le Mouvement Neo-Thomiste* (16 pp.), extrait de la *Revue Neo-Scholastique*, publiée par la Société Philosophique de Louvain. Directeur: D. Mercier. Secrétaire de Rédaction: M. De Wulf. (Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1, rue des Flamands, 1901). *Deux Centres du Mouvement Thomiste: Rome et Louvain*, par C. Besse. (63 pp.; Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 17, rue du Vieux-Colombier, 1902). *Rapport sur les Etudes Supérieures de Philosophie*, présenté par Monseigneur D. Mercier au Congrès de Malines, 1891. (Louvain, Librairie de l'Institut de Philosophie, Louvain, 1891, 32 pp.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. article in I. E. RECORD of July, 1903, by the Rev. T. P. H. Russell, Louvain; also article in I. E. RECORD of September, 1904, by the Rev. J. Kelly, Ph.D.



the work that is being done at Louvain in the department of Philosophy, and at conveying some idea of the significance and influence of the new movement. We have been already endeavouring to show how Scholastic Philosophy, subsequent to the rise of Cartesianism, became divorced from the Natural Sciences, to the great detriment of both, and of the Catholic religion as well<sup>1</sup>; and how Leo XIII sought, with all the power of a great mind, to repair the damage done, or at least to prevent a continuance of it, by renewing once more the long shattered alliance.<sup>2</sup>

#### I.—THE PROJECT OF A PHILOSOPHICAL INSTITUTE AT LOUVAIN

It was Leo XIII himself who conceived the project of founding a special Institute for the study of Scholastic Philosophy in close connexion with the sciences, in the Catholic University of Louvain. During the time he had been Papal Nuncio in Belgium he had learned to esteem and admire the splendid work done in every department of education by the Louvain professors, lay and clerical alike.<sup>3</sup> He felt that a centre of such scientific renown, such intellectual activity, and such frank and fearless Catholicity, would be just the fittest place in the whole Catholic world to wed once more the old Scholastic Philosophy with the progressive modern sciences. The idea of the possibility of such a union gave a severe shock, no doubt, both to timid Catholics on the one hand, and to impudent infidels on the other. But Leo XIII *knew* Scholastic Philosophy, and knowing it he had confidence in its harmony with scientific truth. Fortunately, too, he found men in Belgium, or rather a man, to share that confidence in the fullest, to take up his project with ardour, and to carry it through many difficulties and much opposition to the well deserved success which it enjoys to-day. We allude

<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, January.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, February.

<sup>3</sup> The professors are, of course, all Catholics. They number over one hundred. About two-thirds are laymen. Some priests are to be found in all the faculties. In the appointments—whether of clerics or laics—merit alone is looked to. Over 2,000 students—all Catholics—frequent the University.

to Monseigneur Mercier, the present well-known and distinguished director of the Louvain Philosophical Institute. He was then the Abbé Mercier, Professor of Philosophy in the Petit Séminaire of Malines, when, in 1880, he was called to Louvain to fill the new chair of Thomistic Philosophy established at the University in obedience to the wishes of Leo XIII.<sup>1</sup> The establishment of this chair was only a preparation for the subsequent scheme. Eight years afterwards, in July, 1888, the Pope evidently considered that the time was ripe for making a trial at the foundation of a special Institute. In a Brief to Cardinal Goossens, Archbishop of Malines, he unfolded his plans. 'It seems to Us useful and supremely advantageous,' he wrote, 'to establish a certain number of new chairs so that from these different departments of teaching, wisely bound together and knit with harmony, there may result an Institute of Thomistic Philosophy, endowed with a distinct existence.' More than a year afterwards when some attempt had been made to carry out the Pope's wishes, and want of funds proved their greatest obstacle, Leo XIII. came to the rescue with a gift of £6,000 (150,000 francs), exhorting them to use their best efforts to collect the necessary balance from all friends of education in Belgium. That he was determined to have the good project carried out, is evident from these further words in a Brief of November, 1889:—

We consider it not only opportune but necessary [he wrote] to give to philosophical studies a *direction towards nature* so that students may be able to find in them, side by side with the lessons of ancient wisdom, the discoveries we owe to the able investigations of our contemporaries, and may draw therefrom treasures equally profitable to religion and to civil society.

It is easy to recognize in those words the predominant idea that runs through the whole Encyclical *Aeterni Patris*<sup>2</sup>: that Scholastic Philosophy must be taught

<sup>1</sup> Brief of December 25th, 1880, to Cardinal Dechamps, Archbishop of Malines.

<sup>2</sup> I. E. RECORD, February

in close connexion with all the bordering natural and social sciences, if it is to come out into the open, and vindicate for itself—as it ought—an honourable place amongst the thought-systems that agitate the scientific and social and religious worlds in the twentieth century. That idea was taken up and developed by Mgr. Mercier and his friends at Louvain, with a largeness and liberality of view, and also with an amount of zeal and devotedness which we may look for in vain in Rome itself. Speaking of the Institute in those days of its infancy, the Abbé Besse writes :—

A new force born of the soil, so to speak, gave it life. To its director is due the credit of having at first maintained, then emphasized, enlarged, developed the programme of the Pope and the school of the Pope ; and, finally, of having created a Thomism which, while devoid of all Roman initiative and imitation, has nevertheless given to the Pope's idea a more decided success than it ever met with in Rome.<sup>1</sup>

The appeal for funds to go on with the work met with a response which, if slow at first, was on the whole generous. The Belgian Catholics have to bear a heavy financial burden for the annual upkeep of such a vast University as Louvain. But they realize the importance of education as neither classes nor masses in Ireland do ; and large gifts, often anonymous, unexpected, providential, are usually forthcoming in Belgium to tide any worthy educational enterprise over its financial difficulties. The foundation and equipment of the Philosophical Institute was not unduly delayed for want of funds.

But there were other difficulties and disappointments, and enmities and oppositions, such as are incident to the undertaking of any great and difficult work. To these we shall return later on. They persisted long enough to break the spirit of anyone less indomitable than Mgr. Mercier. However, they gradually diminished as time wore on and as the Institute began to show signs of a vigorous and flourishing life. God's blessing was with

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<sup>1</sup> *Deus Centres, etc.*, p. 38.

the good work. The devoted zeal of its director in the cause of truth, and, above all, his deep and sincere religious spirit enabled him to overcome all opposition and win the respect of all. He ever enjoyed the fullest confidence of Leo XIII,<sup>1</sup> and had the pleasure of hearing the holy Pontiff publicly praise and recommend the work of *his* (Leo's) Institute—the Pope might have said *their* Institute,—as lately as the year 1900.<sup>2</sup> To-day the Louvain Philosophical Institute is the admiration of every impartial visitor. Not indeed that it is yet fully equipped and organised, or perfect in every detail, but that it is a decided success so far, an institution that is doing a vast amount of solid, substantial work of a very superior and highly creditable sort. It is training professors of Philosophy not only for Belgium, but for many seminaries, colleges, and universities all over Europe and the English-speaking world; and giving them a training which, it is our honest belief, cannot be equalled elsewhere in the world. It is only the bare truth to say that

if you find engineers who would wish to have studied at Zurich, doctors who would wish to have been through the Pasteur Institute, young theologians who matriculate in the University of Tübingen, it seems that it is towards the Institute of Louvain that our young philosophers ought in future direct their steps.<sup>3</sup>

With such a general notion of the Institute, got as it were from without, we are now in a position to examine

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<sup>1</sup> We are glad to be able to state that our present holy Pontiff, Pius X, is altogether of the same mind towards the Neo-Scholastic Philosophy and the Louvain School. In a Brief to Mgr. Mercier and the masters and students of the *Seminaire Leon XIII*, dated June 20th, 1904, and published in the August number of the *Revue Néo-Scholastique*, the Holy Father speaks in the highest terms of the Institute and its work. He thanks God for blessing the project of his predecessor in founding the Institute, and exhorts teachers and students alike to continue their noble work: 'Minime dubitantes quin in Nobis, apud quos benemeritum Institutum vestrum plurimum valet, et singularis gratiae et benignae voluntatis ii nunquam desiderentur sensus, quibus ipse Decessor Noster vos enixe est prosecutus.'

<sup>2</sup> Discourse of Leo XIII to the Belgian pilgrims, December 30th, 1900. *Revue Néo-Scholastique*, February, 1901, pp. 84, 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Deux Centres*, etc., p. 38.

more closely the spirit which, from the outset, animated its inner life and working. What is really most accountable for the remarkable success of the Institute is

## II.—THE SPIRIT THAT ANIMATES PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES AT LOUVAIN

We can find no more authentic exponent of that spirit than Mgr. Mercier himself. He was invited by the Cardinal-Archbishop of Malines to give an exposition of the leading ideas of the projected Papal scheme, before the 'Higher Education Section' of the Congress held in that city in 1891. He did so in a very remarkable *Rapport sur les Etudes superieures de Philosophie*.

### (a) THE CONGRESS OF MALINES

Commencing with the observation that 'Catholics live in a state of isolation in the scientific world,' he went on to seek the causes of that isolation, fatal alike to science and to religion. Apart from the systematic opposition of some scientists to everything Christian, he set down as a leading cause of the phenomenon, the widespread prevalence amongst non-Catholics of a preconceived idea that we Catholics are always engaged in preoccupations tributary to the defence of our faith :—

Yes, the idea is widely entertained that the Catholic *savant* is a soldier in the service of his religious faith, and that, in his hands, science can be nothing but a weapon for the defence of his *credo*. In the eyes of a great number he would seem to be always under the bolt of an excommunication that threatens him, or shackled by dogmas that trouble him, and to remain faithful to his religion he must renounce all disinterested love and free cultivation of the sciences. Hence the distrust which he encounters. A publication coming from a Catholic institution—Protestant institutions are judged more favourably, without doubt, because they have given proofs of their independence by their revolt from authority—is treated as a plea *pro domo*, as an apologetic to be refused *a priori* the honour of an impartial and objective examination.

Such is the great current misconception of the Catholic's

attitude towards science, in the minds of non-Catholics. To remove this misconception must be our first aim in the future scientific and philosophic education of our Catholic youth. Side by side with this misconception, and perhaps to some extent the cause of it and of the consequent ostracism of Catholics from the world of science, is another misconception, in the minds of Catholics themselves—the mistaken manner in which a large number of Catholics regard science.

For them science consists in learning and collecting results already achieved, in order to synthesize them under the direction of faith or of a spiritualist metaphysic. Contemporary science has no longer these comprehensive aims, these synthetic tendencies; it is, before all, a science of partial, minute observations, a science of analysis.

From that diversity of point of view in the way of looking at science results this consequence: that Catholics resign themselves too easily to the secondary rôle of mere scholars of science; too few of them have any ambition to work at what may be called *science in the making*; too few aim at gathering and moulding the materials which must serve in the future to form the new synthesis of science and Christian philosophy. Undoubtedly this final synthesis will harmonize with the dogmas of our *Credo*, and with the fundamental principles of Christian wisdom; but while waiting till that harmony shine forth in its full light, the objections raised by unbelief conceal it from the eyes of many, and because our champions are not always there to give back with recognised competence and authority the direct and immediate answers which these objections call for, doubts arise and convictions are shaken; the materials are grouped, arranged, and classified without us, and too often against us, and infidelity monopolizes for its own profit the scientific prestige which should be made to serve nothing but the propagation of truth.

We would fain believe that the above picture is somewhat overdrawn, but we fear it fairly represents what was the real state of affairs when Mgr. Mercier proposed the remedy which he has been ever since carrying out with such gratifying results. That remedy he outlined in these very explicit terms:—

To form, in greater numbers, men who will devote themselves to science *for itself*, without any aim that is professional or

directly apologetic, men who will work *at first hand* in fashioning the materials of the edifice of science, and who will thus contribute to its gradual construction ; to create the resources which this work demands ;—such at the present day ought to be the two-fold aim of the efforts of all who are solicitous for the prestige of the Church in the world, and for the efficacy of its action on the souls of men.

So far this one idea stands out prominently : that if the Catholic is to be heard and respected in the world of modern science and modern philosophy *he must be taught to cultivate those studies for their own sake*, and not with any conscious, intended dependence on dogma, nor with any direct subservience to apologetical ends.

But to find the resources for forming Catholic youth on those lines in the sciences is no easy matter. And to give them such a formation in Philosophy seems more difficult still ; for the latter presupposes the former discipline : *nemo metaphysicus qui non prius physicus*. Mgr. Mercier, however, in no wise minimises these difficulties : he has quite a luminous view of all that such a programme would include :—

There is question of giving to the Church workers who will break the soil of science as of old the monks of the West broke the virgin soil of Christian Europe and laid the foundations of the material civilization it enjoys to-day ; of showing the respect of the Church for human reason, and the fruit she expects from its works for the glory of Him who has proclaimed Himself Master of the Sciences. . . .

An immense field is open to scientific investigation. The boundaries of the old philosophy have become too narrow : they must be extended. Man has multiplied the power of vision ; he enters the world of the infinitely small and fixes his scrutinizing gaze upon regions where our most powerful telescopes discern no limits. Physics and Chemistry progress with giant strides in the study of the properties of matter and of the combination of its elements. Geology and Cosmogony reconstruct the history of the formation of our planet and of the origins of our globe. Biology and the natural sciences study the minute structure of living organisms, their distribution in space and succession in time ; and embryogeny begins to lay bare their origins. The archæological, philological, and social sciences remount the past ages of our history and our civilizations. What an inexhaustible mine to exploit, what

regions to explore and materials to analyse and interpret ; finally, what pioneers to set to work and gain a share in all those treasures ! . . .

It is imperative that in those different domains we should have explorers and masters, who, by their own activity, by their own achievements, may vindicate for themselves the right to speak to the scientific world and to be heard by it ; and then we can answer the eternal objection that faith blinds us, that faith and reason are incompatible, better far than by abstract principles, better far than by an appeal to the past : we can answer it by the stubborn evidence of actual and living facts.

But if it is important for the Church to have Catholics as scientists, it is far more important for her to have Catholic scientists who will be also philosophers :—

If we must devote ourselves to works of analysis we must remember—experience has only too clearly shown—that analysis left to itself easily gives rise to narrowness of mind, to a sort of instinctive antipathy to all that is beyond observed fact, to positivist tendencies, if not to positivist doctrines.

But science is not an accumulation of facts, it is a system embracing facts and their mutual relations.

The particular sciences do not give us a complete representation of reality. They *abstract* : but the relations which they isolate in thought *lie together in reality*, and are interwoven with one another ; and that is why the special sciences demand and give rise to a science of sciences, to a general synthesis, in a word, to Philosophy. . . .

— Sound philosophy sets out from analysis and terminates in synthesis as its natural complement. . . . Philosophy is by definition a knowledge of the totality of things through their highest causes. But is it not evident that before arriving at the highest causes we must pass through those lower ones with which the particular sciences occupy themselves ? . . .

But at the present day, when the sciences have become so vast and numerous how are we to achieve the double task of keeping *au courant* with them all, and of synthesizing their results ? That difficulty is a grave and delicate one.

Since individual courage feels itself powerless in presence of the field of observation which goes on widening day by day, association must make up for the insufficiency of the isolated worker ; men of analysis and men of synthesis must come together, and form, by their daily intercourse and united action, an atmosphere suited to the harmonious development of science and philosophy alike. Such is the object of the special School of Philosophy which Leo XIII, the magnanimous restorer of higher studies, has wished to found in our country and to place



under the patronage of St. Thomas of Aquin,—that striking incarnation of the spirit of observation united to the spirit of synthesis, that worker of genius who ever deemed it a duty to fertilize Philosophy by Science and to elevate Science simultaneously to the heights of Philosophy.<sup>1</sup>

We find condensed in the above passages,—glowing as they are with the eloquence of one inspired with a noble zeal in the cause of truth,—an exalted and true conception of the scope and mission of philosophical training ; a faithful and enthusiastic reiteration of Leo the Thirteenth's bold and outspoken ideas on the close and intimate relations that ought to exist between Science and Philosophy<sup>2</sup> ; a clear understanding of the need to bring together those various studies in one and the same educational centre ; an implicit confidence that true Science and true Philosophy would and should harmonize with each other and both alike with the Catholic Faith ; and a frank and open assertion, based upon that very confidence, that in schools of Science and of Philosophy those subjects should be taught to our Catholic youth without any view to apologetics but simply and solely for their own sakes,—that the teaching and learning of those branches, to be successful, must be disinterested.

In order to re-establish more effectually the long superseded alliance between Scholastic Philosophy and the Sciences, Mgr. Mercier found it necessary to insist most emphatically that that Philosophy was far more than what many Catholics had come to consider it—a mere intellectual discipline subsidiary to the Theology of Faith ;—that face to face with that Theology, from which it received such illumination, and to which it could never run counter, it was itself an independent and autonomous science, based upon all the natural sciences of observation and experiment.

No one [wrote the Abbé Besse] could mark off more clearly the respect we owe to theology, from the liberty we retain in science. Mgr. Mercier here admirably lays down the *a priori*

<sup>1</sup> The above passages are all translated from the various pamphlets enumerated at the head of this article.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* I. E. RECORD, February.

rights of nature and of grace. It is just because he is quite certain that grace never will be wanting to the sincere scientist that he becomes himself a sincere and disinterested scientist irrespective of grace.<sup>1</sup>

(b) DIFFICULTIES ARISE

But how were all these views and projects of Mercier received when they were first put forth by him? Like everything that sounds novel—not without suspicion. Was Philosophy, then, really based on the sciences, and were Catholic philosophers to be obliged to take account of what was going on in the scientific world? Was not Catholic Philosophy something far above such commerce with the 'things of earth'? Was it not a pure intellectual system subservient only to the noble Queen of Sciences; *Philosophia ancillans Theologiae*? What could it have to do with laboratories and dissecting-rooms? So argued the Catholic advocates of the *status quo*,—philosophers and the scientists alike. We have seen already what a struggle there was in Rome<sup>2</sup> between the old ideas and the new before the latter got a *locus standi* in the schools. At Louvain the same struggle was fought over again, only with greater success in the issue. The scientists were at first inclined to look askance at what they considered an unwarrantable sort of dilettante dabbling in laboratories on the part of those young philosophers; and to hold aloof rather than co-operate. Those of the philosophers who were not radically opposed to the new departure expressed their fears that the neo-Thomists were going far beyond the Papal wishes, if not in direct opposition to them. In reality the disobedience lay with those who, clinging to the letter, neglected the spirit of the Papal reform:—

There was no excuse for their having denounced the work of Louvain as a work of 'discord' and of 'disobedience,' nay, even of 'treason.' The truth is that Mgr. Mercier was . . . the most comprehensive admirer of the idea of Leo XIII. But if he has directed it entirely towards the twentieth cen-

<sup>1</sup> *Deux Centres*, etc., p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* I. E. RECORD, February.

tury, if he has instinctively put it into the thick of the contemporary conflict, thus making it actual and living, if he has transported it into the region of proof and criticism, giving it that attitude of confidence and *abandon* in presence of the revelations of experience and the warnings of science, all this was neither a wilful misreading of the Papal wishes, nor a pretence, nor a betrayal, but the steady march of a mind that believed the Pope with the self-same movement as it did the truth, and that ennobled the Papal directions while submitting to them.<sup>1</sup>

Mgr. Mercier aimed and succeeded in putting Philo-

<sup>1</sup> *Deus Centres, etc.*, p. 60. The writer of the articles reprinted in this brochure, draws a contrast between the two centres of the Neo-Scholastic movement,—Rome and Louvain. He says that Leo XIII probably never meant to establish at Louvain anything more than a 'Roman College' on the lines of Cornoldi's school at the Gregorian University in Rome. That may be—and certainly such a college would have been a failure at Louvain ;—but, whatever Leo's intention in the beginning may have been, it seems certain that Mercier's larger and bolder work has been thoroughly in the spirit of Leo's ideas, and has always had the warm sympathy and support of the late Pontiff. Neither is there any room to doubt that Louvain has been hitherto vastly more successful than Rome in teaching, modernizing, popularizing, propagating the Philosophy of the Schools on the lines indicated by Leo. In that sense the contrast drawn by the Abbé Besse—an ardent admirer of the Louvain Institute—is quite justifiable. But it is also only fair to observe that the success of the Louvain Institute is largely due to a combination of favourable surroundings which the movement in Rome did not enjoy,—such, for example, as the presence of flourishing faculties of Science and Medicine, etc., with the ablest professors to give special courses in the Philosophical Institute ; the presence not only of the best lay professors to teach, but of the best lay students to frequent the courses of the Institute in company with the ecclesiastics ; the presence of well equipped laboratories ; the employment of the vernacular in all their teaching ; the fulness and variety of that teaching throughout a three years' course ; the superiority of their staff in numbers and in qualification ; the life and reality infused into their studies by their attention to the current periodical literature in the various departments ; the great intellectual activity and general scientific prestige of their University. These circumstances—partly, no doubt, of their own making at Louvain—have placed the Philosophical Studies of the Institute on a higher level which the Roman professors have been making very laudable efforts to attain. We cannot speak with any authority on Philosophical Studies at Rome. But from a few weeks' experience last year we have gathered that they are very like our own in Maynooth, and very unlike those of Louvain. Like ours, they are more metaphysical, more theological,—i.e., wedded to faith and subservient to dogma,—more purely speculative and deductive, and at the same time less closely allied to the study of the natural sciences,—less analytic and experimental, less historical, less critical of other contemporary systems, and proportionately less known and less heard of than the studies of Louvain. But though a somewhat different spirit has thus animated each of the two centres there are not wanting signs to show that Rome has been willing to learn from Louvain. We, too, have much to learn from it.

sophy at Louvain 'into the thick of the contemporary conflict' between the various modern systems and sciences, and he did so because, from a deep and masterly study of the Scholastic Philosophy in the light of Modern Science, he was convinced that he saw *a substantial harmony between the fundamental principles of the former and the established conclusions of the latter.*

### (c) ANTI-SCHOLASTIC PREJUDICES

It was in the various non-Catholic camps of modern Science and modern Philosophy that this vigorous action of Mercier's in giving expression to the projects of Leo, produced the greatest comment and the profoundest sensation. The idea that Catholics could be disinterested scientists seems to have been regarded—then as now—by many unbelieving scientists as a good joke. The determination with which Mercier and his Neo-Scholastic friends kept insisting that they could and would train disinterested scientists and disinterested philosophers in the very heart of a Catholic University; that they meant to 'substitute for the existing patched up peace between Science and Faith, an agreement that would be steady and yet progressive, interior and regular;'<sup>1</sup>—that determination made unbelievers impatient and then afraid, lest after all there might not be some danger that the Catholics might succeed, and the infidel monopoly of 'Modern Science' and 'Modern Philosophy' be unceremoniously interfered with.

But then the idea of a 'Scholastic' revival in Philosophy, of a 'Thomism' that would be 'scientific'! That, of course, appeared nothing short of ludicrous to the enlightened Moderns in their blissful ignorance of what Mediæval Philosophy was and what it contained! For, what was Mediæval Philosophy to them? It was a vast fabric of errors,—multiplied and monumental,—of errors that were grotesque in their puerility, and of calumnies

<sup>1</sup> *Deux Centres, etc.*, p. 43.

that were hoary with age ; such was the idol that passed for Mediæval Philosophy—for Scholasticism—in the minds of 'the moderns,' and that stood unassailed until recent critical researches into the history of that period demolished the idol by shedding forth a light before which it has crumbled into dust. Those historical studies in Mediæval Philosophy,—so sadly needed in order to do justice to Scholasticism in the eyes of the modern world,—were then and are still being carried on partly in Germany, partly in Paris, and partly in Louvain. The prominence given to the history of Philosophy is one of the features of the Neo-Scholastic programme of studies at the Louvain Philosophical Institute. Thanks to the very great progress that has been made in that department, the 'moderns' are now willing to recognise that Mediæval Thomism was after all something other than a tissue of barren speculations and empty formalisms ; that the great scholastics were not 'a crowd of dogmatic idealists trying to construct a world out of the categories of speech'<sup>1</sup> ; that they were by no means disdainful of the observation of facts ; that, on the contrary, they were great men and great philosophers who have been much misrepresented ; that their system of philosophy had been travestied and distorted, and then ignorantly ridiculed by the heralds of our 'Modern Philosophy ;' that, in fine, its latest presentation to the modern world at the hands of the Neo-Scholastics,—in its proper historical setting, and in close contact with the modern sciences,—points to this conclusion, that *amongst all the philosophical systems in vogue at the present day, the modern Scholastic Synthesis, on the lines of Aristotelian Animism, is most in harmony with the conclusions and tendencies of modern physical science.* Some of the most distinguished scientists have explicitly avowed that greater harmony between Science and Scholasticism.<sup>2</sup> Catholic scientists can have no difficulty about it,—it is only what they should expect,—but for

<sup>1</sup> *Deux Centres, etc.*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> As, for example, Wundt in Germany. See I. E. RECORD, February.

many non-Catholic scientists such a revelation must be not a little startling.

(d) PALEO-SCHOLASTIC PREJUDICES: NEGLECT OF HISTORY

In the ranks of the Catholic exponents of the traditional Scholasticism the idea of a close alliance between the natural sciences and their secluded system was looked upon with doubt and suspicion. They could not with any good grace oppose the new project; for they, too, professed to believe that in Scholasticism there lay concealed in some mysterious way a vast treasure of doctrine that could easily put to flight the impious modern scientist. But they shrank from putting it to the test. They were apparently content to guard their 'hidden treasure' and express a pious opinion about its efficacy. They would not ransack it in order to bring forth from it 'new things and old.'

The fact is that those philosophers did not appreciate the value of the legacy that was bequeathed them from the golden age of Scholasticism,—and that for two reasons: because, firstly, they had followed the tradition of neglecting the history of Philosophy—even of the system they studied;—and secondly, and consequently, they had more or less fallen a prey, quite unconsciously, to the ultra-spiritualist views and tendencies of post-Cartesian Philosophy.

In the first place, down to very recent times the history of Philosophy was entirely neglected, even by philosophers themselves. Those most devoted to Philosophy were least devoted to its history. Innumerable errors about systems and doctrines were the inevitable result. False theories and opinions crept into systems and became incorporated with them even in the hands of the traditional exponents of those systems: witness the false doctrine of the migratory *species impressae*, and other post-Renaissance theories, that vitiated and discredited later day Scholasticism. It required the work of such recent pioneers in the history of Mediæval Philosophy as De Wulf, Baeumker, Ehrle,

Denifle, Mandonnet, Picavet, Clerval, to make even a beginning in dissipating those errors. If the traditional exponents of Scholasticism had only attended a little to its history the Neo-Scholastics of to-day would not have experienced so much trouble in giving to the world the authentic philosophical teaching of the thirteenth century,—nor so much opposition in proclaiming an alliance between it and the findings of modern science. Unfortunately historical studies had not been in vogue in any department of learning. Even Catholics, though so largely dependent on Tradition in matters of Faith and Theology, which their philosophical studies always subserved, had nevertheless acquired no special leaning towards historical criticism of the sources and development of their great deposit of Natural and Revealed Truth. One would have expected some such development; for, what is Tradition without History if not a mere empty formula? The Abbé Besse writes some hard things about modern Scholastics who would continue, even in the present age of historical research in every department, irrespective of its history, to teach Scholastic Philosophy as of old.

Defenders of Tradition, they have become its prisoners, and not a little blindly,—seeking to know it only in its official framework. They hardly possess the historical sense. They are unaware of all that is to be gained by an intimate acquaintance with the *milieu* of facts and ideas that accompanied each step in the progress of systematization, and each new contribution to the precision of terminology. Their philosophy has neither topography nor chronology. It is of no age. It seems to issue from the night only to plunge into it again. That is undoubtedly the secret of the *ennui* that results from reading their amorphous pages. Fearing, as it were, to disturb the soul in its pure contemplation of ideas they have shut it up in a cavern.

In the second place inattention to the historical sources and growth of Scholasticism left its modern exponents open to the danger of unconsciously misconstruing its whole method and spirit. It was inevitable that the exaggerated spiritualism introduced into Philosophy by Descartes should issue later on in two distinct currents of idealism and materialism. The Scholastics naturally fell

under the influence of the former current in opposition to materialism. Then, also, Descartes had unduly emphasized the use of the *deductive method* and created a chasm between Philosophy and the Physical Sciences. Again, the Scholastics followed in the same direction: all the more easily because the Physical Sciences soon afterwards claimed a monopoly of the newly 'invented' *inductive method*,<sup>1</sup> and identified themselves with materialism. And so Scholasticism in the second half of the last century found itself in a condition, of which the following paragraph gives a striking picture:—

Catholics for a long time have seen their only safety in this divorce of things from science. The more Philosophy developed in that direction the more they felt at ease with it. They remained content with the sound of certain familiar words such as: God, the infinite, the perfect, the good and the beautiful, the ideal, etc. In that effort to escape all concern in the science of material things they saw a pledge of moral elevation, something of that good taste of which the poet speaks:

*Coetusque vulgares et udam  
Spernit humum fugiente penna.*

Illusion and folly! It was thus that Philosophy came in for the staggering blows of the school of Taine, and of science in general after him.<sup>2</sup>

Now this false spell of Cartesianism had to be broken by once more establishing Scholasticism on the basis of the Physical Sciences; and the way had to be cleared for this reform by the historical criticism that would show how completely such reform would harmonize with the true spirit of the great Mediæval Scholastics:—

✠ To historical criticism is due the credit of having re-established the truth. On that point doubt is no longer possible. Mgr. Mercier speaks like our best historians of Philosophy, like M. Boutroux, M. Brochard, M. Picavet. Aristotle had the true teaching of science. It was, we have seen, incomplete; even

<sup>1</sup> Which had been employed by Roger Bacon, Albert the Great and Thomas of Aquin centuries previously.

<sup>2</sup> *Deux Centres*, etc., p. 50.



erroneous on many points. Instead, therefore, of despising it we should have corrected it. We should have freed it from its faults, its limitations, its shortcomings. We should have completed it. . . . Above all, we should have transformed it according to the new methods of observation and experiment. And so we should have avoided that conflict between science and metaphysics which is the greatest conflict of modern times.<sup>1</sup>

#### (e) IMMUTABLE METAPHYSICS ?

But yet another obstacle was raised by the defenders of the old Scholasticism, another attempt to forbid the banns between Science and Philosophy ; a final fear was expressed by them for the stability and definitiveness of any superstructure of Metaphysics reared on the shifting and progressive basis of Physics. How can such Metaphysics have any pretensions to finality, if they partake of the nature of hypotheses based upon the observation of nature ? This apprehension for the immutable truth of Metaphysics was genuine and sincere. But it was an apprehension for which the alliance of Metaphysics with Physics could give no grounds ; because, in any case, in so far as Metaphysics is endowed with any positive, real content, it is dependent, for that content, upon the domain of Physics where it gets all its ' raw material ' so to speak. And it must rest content with this raw material, such as it is, and take it for what it is worth.

It is by the employment of hypothesis that the philosopher attempts to establish an order and a hierarchy in that heterogeneous mass. But he knows that he is quite exposed to see the genetic principle he has discovered, declared at any time arbitrary and useless. Hence it is that we cannot exercise too much patience in waiting before we attempt to open a parley with that invisible basis of all things, that hidden god which, like the other God no doubt, enlightens the timid and blinds the daring.<sup>2</sup>

But how long then are we to give in to this ' timidity ' ?

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<sup>1</sup> The conflict between science and faith is only one particular aspect of it. (Besse : *Deux Centres, etc.*, pp. 49, 50.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

To content ourselves with the experimental and inductive side of things before attempting any comprehensive synthesis? Are we to postpone our Metaphysical Synthesis of things until we can make it, once for all, absolutely definitive, after the physical exploration of facts is completed,—that is, *indefinitely*? Or are we to make it independently of Physics altogether? Or are we to make an incomplete and perfectible working synthesis, based on the actual state of Physics, and progressive as the latter? Not the first nor the second alternative, but the third, must be chosen. Not the first evidently, for no matter how men may pretend to despise Metaphysics they cannot and will not get on—it is not in human nature to get on—without Metaphysics of some sort. Not the second, for such a Metaphysic would be nothing better than an empty formalism woven from man's inner consciousness. Therefore the third, imperfect as everything else that is human, must satisfy us in this world of second bests.

In short, one or other of two things : either after the scientific progress realized since the time of Aristotle the investigation of facts can be allied with the work of a dogmatic elaboration, or such elaboration will be indefinitely retarded. In the first case some at least of our preconceived errors can be rectified, some at least of our uncertainties settled ; in the second case, such elaboration, even though neither definitive nor absolute in its conclusions, should be outlined nevertheless, and in spite of the risks. It would be unstable, like science, but like it, too, progressive. When Metaphysics is made to spring from Physics, Metaphysics has just the same value as Physics. Approximative and provisional, as it is, at all events it contains the positive, the real, the actual. But all that—is **THE TRUE**. This point of view which surpasses in extension, while interpreting and following, that of Aristotle and the School, is perhaps the only reasonable one.<sup>1</sup>

### III.—INFLUENCE OF THE LOUVAIN SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY

It is from that point of view that Scholastic Philosophy has been taught at Louvain for now nearly a quarter of a century. The principles on which their whole method

<sup>1</sup> *Deux Centres, etc.*, p. 51.

is based at the Philosophical Institute, appear to us to be thoroughly sound; and that they are practical and fruitful is abundantly proved by the ample measure of success that has resulted from their adoption. The Louvain Institute has attracted the close attention of contemporary philosophers of every shade of opinion, not only all over the Continent, but all over the English-speaking world as well. It reflects credit on Catholic Belgium, and deserves well of all Catholics for having renewed, as it were, and re-invigorated Scholastic Philosophy. It is giving that Philosophy a new place—and an honorable place—in the history of Philosophic Thought at the dawn of the new century.

The widespread publications of the Institute have drawn to that Philosophy the serious attention of scientists who had at first been inclined to ask: 'Can anything good come out of Galilee?' Some of them already recognise in that venerable system a *via media*, equally removed from the erroneous extremes of Cartesian Spiritualism and Modern Materialism, and more in harmony than either with the results of modern scientific research. That the Neo-Scholastic Philosophy has to be counted with in the world of modern Philosophical Systems is altogether evident from even a cursory acquaintance with the Philosophical periodicals on the Continent. It is not merely in the Catholic reviews but in those of every shade that we find Neo-Scholasticism discussed—favourably or adversely as the case may be. That it should be met with in such publications as the *Revue Thomiste*, the *Divus Thomas*, the *Année Psychologique*, the *Revue de Philosophie*, the *Philosophisches Jahrbuch*, the *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und Speculative Theologie*, the *Beiträge für die Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, the *Historisch-Politische Blätter für das Katolische Deutschland*, the *Ciudad de Dios*, the *Revista Ecclesiastica*, the *Era Novella*, etc., is, perhaps, in no way remarkable, for those are Catholic publications; but the large amount of attention it receives from time to time in such Philosophical reviews as the *Kantstudien*, the *Zeitschrift für Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane*, the

*Revue de Metaphysique et de Morale*, the *Revue Philosophique*, the *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement*, the *Revista Filosofica*, the *Revista Critica*, etc.—shows very plainly that the influence of the new school of Philosophic thought at Louvain has made itself felt far and wide. Wherever its tenets are attacked it is not wanting in champions able and willing to defend it in a thoroughly scientific and scholarly manner. Even where it is controverted it is respected and wins esteem for its adherents.

In brief, it bids fair to win, if indeed it has not already won, an honourable *entrée* into the vast arena of Modern Philosophy. Of this providential fact, what the ultimate significance may be, whether for Science, for Philosophy, or for Religion, it would be hard to say. So far at any rate the new Scholasticism has been shedding upon the natural sciences a flood of light which they had been seeking in vain from the competing philosophies: it gives promise of interpreting and complementing them in such an eminently rational manner as to justify its claim to be not merely *a* philosophy amongst many philosophies, but to be *the* True Philosophy.

We have been living through an age of negative Philosophy, and have witnessed the spread of the 'cowardly' Agnosticism. We have watched that philosophy confess with false humility that it 'could know practically nothing': an appropriate anti-climax to the source whence it had sprung,—the Rationalism that had proudly proclaimed its ability to 'know all things.' We have seen the sciences abandoned by sane philosophy and left to be misinterpreted by Materialism. Now, at last, in the new Scholasticism we have a positive philosophy that gives back certainty and security to the sciences and offers a positive explanation of the Great Enigma. Man cannot live on negations: by recent systems of philosophy his soul has been starved and left desolate, and he is now a-hungering for positive truth. If he turns to the new Scholasticism he is much more likely to find it than elsewhere:—

There he will find the counter-proof and, if I may say so,

the counter-eloquence of contemporary Materialism. There, where science, hitherto interpreted by a group of materialists, seemed to furnish negative solutions, the same science on the same problems now furnishes positive counter-proofs at Louvain. What will result from this system in twenty,—fifty years? At the decline of our critical age, do we not see breaking, in this direction, a new dawn—that of an organic age, and of an affirmative philosophy? If the slow moral anæsthesia produced by the influential scepticism of the *savant* has long been a source of uneasiness to every serious mind, will not the certainty now restored by science and jealously guaranteed by it, be to the same serious mind a source of strength and comfort? With us people had almost begun to despair of knowledge. 'Would science be sad?' said Renan; and in that little phrase lay hidden and cowering all that ironical pessimism with which he has, as it were, assassinated us. But I expect the opposite effect to be wrought in the long run by metaphysical certainty through science. After a series of counter-proofs, at the end of an important cycle of discoveries and demonstrations, let us hope that men will awake from universal scepticism to find in science a source of joy and peace. Yes, that is the aim of philosophy: to hasten that hour of light for men, to bring it nearer to them. They pine away on empty formulæ as long as certainty appears not in its true form, which is science. We must then force it to appear, and lead back souls to themselves and to God by this sweet violence, as if nothing should be one day more evident, and we should no longer believe but know that we have souls, and acknowledge God no longer merely because He has said that He is, but because we know it and have proved it.<sup>1</sup>

The beneficial results which indirectly redound to Catholicism, especially in Belgium, from this growing prestige of the new Scholasticism, would be hard to over-rate. Nowadays, more than ever since the early centuries of Christianity, Religion is attacked by false philosophies, and relies on true Philosophy for her defence. The same is true of Morality and social order in general. And true Philosophy is not any system specially manufactured for polemical ends: it is the Philosophy which is a rational interpretation of the sum total of things:—

To the solid ground  
Of Nature trusts the mind which builds for aye.

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<sup>1</sup> *Deux Centres, etc.*, p. 61.

With such a Philosophy the minds of the young Belgian Catholics are formed at Louvain. It is a living and progressive and inspiring discipline. It anchors their minds in Truth in this age of doubt and shifting unbelief. It remains with them in after life as an illuminating intellectual heritage, and as a vitalizing force that stimulates to noble action. It fills them with an enthusiasm for the 'things of the mind.' It puts the highest ideals in religious and social, and civil action, before all in common; and ensures community of interests and activities. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the new Scholasticism making so many proselytes; to find so many young Catholics issue from the University of Louvain, and from the halls of its Philosophical Institute to attain positions of the highest eminence in the parliament, in the courts, in the government, in the schools and universities of the State. With such men as these to leaven society the future of Belgium is full of bright hopes.

What are the causes of this widespread and beneficial influence exerted by the new Scholasticism? How are we to account for the rapid progress it has made and the happy results it has already achieved?

Firstly and chiefly by the spirit that animates the new movement, and which we have been trying to outline in this article. The whole movement is a triumph of the Truth,—an illustration of the familiar old proverb: *Magna est Veritas et praevalabit*. And why should we Catholics wonder at that? Do we not know that we possess the Truth in inheriting a philosophy that is in such wonderful harmony with the conclusions of Science, with the demands of Reason, and with the dogmas of Faith? Should we not rather wonder that such an instrument had not been hitherto more powerful in our hands? It was because we did not use it aright. And herein lies the second and equally important reason of their striking success at Louvain. They are zealous in the propagation of the Truth. They do not hide their light under a bushel. They come forth fearlessly into the twentieth century with their combined treasures of mediæval wisdom and modern

science. From those treasures they bring forth the *nova et vetera*. They dispense those intellectual riches to their students and to a wider public in the garb of the living vernacular—and their books are being translated into most of the European languages. They spare no pains in preparing and communicating the most solid doctrine in the most attractive form. Their teaching is a living, organic, vitalizing formation, not at all a dry, unreal, academic discipline.

The work of Mgr. Mercier offers itself as a vigorous reaction of the scientific spirit against a rigid and anti-scientific formalism. . . .

In opposition to the old procedure in Metaphysics . . . which is *unilateral*, that is to say, bearing exclusively on the data of the understanding, we are here in presence of a *bilateral* procedure, that is to say, bearing simultaneously on the phenomena of things and on the phenomena of the mind. And each professor, on each question, is expected to observe and to respect this distinction, being officially appointed to show his students the same fact under its two aspects : the experimental and the rational or legal.<sup>1</sup>

But we must postpone details as to the internal organization of the Institute and of its teaching to a future article. There is much that is interesting and instructive to be learned from a glance at its inner life and working. Many contrasts might be pointed, and many useful lessons learned—lessons of great educational import for our Irish Catholic students—if we be only willing to learn them.

P. COFFEY.

(To be continued.)

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<sup>1</sup> *Deux Centres, etc.*, pp. 52, 60.

## THE REBELLION OF 1641

THERE is no subject connected with Irish history about which so many untruths have been told as about the Rebellion of 1641. Thirty years ago a brilliant English writer—perhaps the most brilliant English writer of our generation—wrote a book called *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*; and the account which he then gave of the Rebellion has passed current in England since. The idea which, in the main, still exists in the English mind about the Rebellion of 1641 is, that it was a wanton massacre of the English settlers in Ulster having its origin in the murdering propensities of the Irish race. It is the old story of the double dose of original sin which, it is supposed, was given to the Irish at the beginning. There is another cause which has helped to “nail this particular lie to the mast” (as a member of the House of Commons once said). No intelligent person now attempts to justify Cromwell’s operations in Ireland. But his apologists say that he went to the country as an avenging angel—went to avenge the ‘massacre of 1641.’ Cromwell himself, in fact, took this view of the case. ‘I am persuaded,’ he wrote to the Parliament from Drogheda, ‘that this is a righteous judgment of God upon those barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood.’ The unconscious humour of this sentence is delightful. Three thousand persons were slaughtered at Drogheda. Of these half (it is said) were English royalists who had no more to do with the ‘massacres of 1641’ than Cromwell himself. Of the other half who were Irish, there is not a particle of evidence to show that any of them were concerned in the Rebellion.

‘At Drogheda,’ says Mr. Lecky, ‘there had been no pretence of a massacre and a large proportion of the garrison were English.’ In fact Cromwell’s sentence is grotesque in the unconsciousness of its humour.

There is another point with which I wish to deal at once.



The figures given of the English 'massacred' in 1641, are appalling. First it was said that 30,000 were 'murdered.' These figures rose gradually to 50,000, to 100,000, to 150,000, to 200,000, to 300,000. Well, these figures, can easily be disposed of. There were not 300,000 English in all Ireland in 1641. There were not 200,000 English in Ulster. There were not 100,000, there were not 50,000, there were not 30,000—there were 20,000. Later on we shall see how many of the 20,000 fell; but for the present, I shall pass from this part of the subject asking the reader to bear in mind that we have to deal with 20,000, and not with 300,000.

There is yet another matter on which I must touch by way of introduction. This Rebellion is often spoken of as if English and Irish stood on a footing of perfect equality with reference to it. This, of course, is not the case. The English came as conquerors. That is a vital point to be borne in mind in considering the ethics of the question. It is the duty of every people to defend their territory against the foreign invader. 'I would rather die,' said the great Lord Halifax, 'than see a blade of English grass crushed by the foot of a foreign trespasser.' This is a sentiment which we can all admire. It is a noble sentiment. But there is nothing specially sacred in an English blade of grass. The blades of grass of other soils are quite as well entitled to be defended. It is possible, indeed, that a people, in defending their own territory, may commit excesses; and for these excesses they must stand at the Bar of History. But it is not for the conqueror to complain. Let me put a homely case. A burglar enters your house. Instead of showing him quietly to the door, you seize him neck and crop, pitch him into the street, and fracture his skull. It may be that you have acted with unnecessary, and even reprehensible violence. But, if, when the burglar takes his stand in the dock, he complains that you broke his head, what think you would the judge say? Why, the answer is obvious: What business had you in the house? And so, it may be, that Ireland must stand at the Bar of History, for the excesses of 1641; but England must not be the accuser. The honest householder may

have exceeded the bounds of moderation in defending his property against the thief. But Bill Sykes must not come forward as the accusing angel.

The Rebellion of 1641 was a continuance of the war waged by the Irish not only to defend their land, but to preserve the very existence of their race. To make this point clear, a brief retrospect of Irish history, for at least a hundred years before the Rebellion, is necessary. In 1541, Henry VIII summoned a parliament in Ireland. In that parliament Irish chiefs, and Norman barons sat side by side. It was a thoroughly representative Irish body. The Speaker addressed the House of Commons in Irish; and his speech was translated into English by the Earl of Ormonde. Irish sentiment was not wholly ignored, Irish views were more or less considered. The question for the Irish was whether they should carry on the war to the bitter end, or, being worsted in the field, accept honourable terms of peace. Henry's English advisers in Ireland and in England urged him to give the Irish no terms. The true policy, they said, was to root out the Irish race, and to pour in English settlers to possess the land. Henry refused to adopt this policy. He resolved to make honourable terms with the vanquished. The chiefs were to acknowledge him as 'King of Ireland;' he was to leave them in possession of their lands (though they were to hold these lands on the terms of feudal tenure rather than in accordance with Irish tribal law), and in the enjoyment of political autonomy. The policy of wholesale extermination and confiscation (urged upon the King) was utterly repudiated. The 'peace' so made left Ireland tranquil. 'Well would it have been both for England, and Ireland,' says Mr. Joyce, 'if a similar policy had been followed in the succeeding reigns.'

Henry died in 1547. The breath was scarcely out of his body when everything was changed. The policy of extermination and confiscation—the policy of 'stamping out the Irish,' as if, to use the language of Mr. Froude, they were of 'no more value than their own wolves'—was at once adopted, and rigorously enforced.

In 1547, the Chiefs of Leix and Offaly were attacked. The O'Moores, the O'Connors, the O'Dempseys were driven from their possessions, and a horde of English settlers—the Barringtons, the Cosbies, the Breretons, the Hartpools, the Deverels, the Bowens, and the Pigots—poured into the country to seize the lands of the plundered clans. A fierce struggle followed. 'The warfare which ensued,' says Mr. Richey, 'resembled that waged by the early settlers in America with the native tribes. No mercy whatever was shown to the natives, no act of treachery was considered dishonourable, no personal tortures and indignities were spared to the captives.' This warfare went on during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. The combatants, on both sides, were at length exhausted, and terms of peace were proposed. It was agreed that the English settlers should hold the lands they had captured, and that the Irish clans should keep the lands they had preserved; and that both should, in future, live side by side in friendship. In 1577 the English invited the Irish chiefs to meet them in conference at the Rath of Mallamast, in order that the terms of peace should be ratified. The Irish—the O'Moores, the O'Lalors, the O'Kellys, the O'Donnellys—came with their retainers to the number of 200. They were met by the English settlers—the Cosbeys, the Hovedens, the Hartpools. The Irish—who were unarmed—marched between files of English soldiers into the rath. But none of them ever returned. When the last man had filed past, the English soldiers surrounded the fort, and the doomed clans were slaughtered to a man.

The warfare of extermination was carried on in the North as well as in the South. In 1570 the lands of the Ardes in the County Down was granted to Elizabeth's Secretary, Sir Thomas Smith. In 1573, Smith sent his son to take possession of the territory and to drive out the 'wolves.' The 'wolves' on this occasion were the O'Neils of Clandeboy. They fought for their homes. Smith's son was killed, and the 'settlement' was abandoned.

In 1573, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, was granted

the whole of what is now called the County of Antrim. He was given plenary powers to exterminate the natives ; and he exercised these powers to the full. He attacked the O'Neils of Clandeboy. Again they fought for their homes. He found he could not destroy them, and he made peace with Sir Brian O'Neil. On the termination of the struggle Brian invited Essex to his castle. Essex, accompanied by a military escort, came. He remained for three days. There were festivities in his honour. He was treated with royal hospitality. On the third day, when Brian's household had retired to rest, Essex called in his soldiers, surrounded the castle, seized Brian, his wife, and brother, and 'put all his people men, women, youths, and maidens to the sword.' Brian, his wife, and brother were sent to Dublin Castle, where 'they were cut into quarters.'

In 1575, Essex sent Captain Norris with a force of English soldiers to attack the Scots in Rathlin Island. The Scots defended themselves bravely, but they were overpowered, and men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. The massacre lasted for several days. While it was going on Essex wrote cheerfully to the Queen : 'News be brought to me that they be occupied still in killing, and have slain that they have found in caves and cliffs of the sea to the number of 300 or 400 more.'

Despite these atrocities, the 'settlement' was a failure. Essex returned to Dublin baffled and chagrined, and died in 1576, as many a scoundrel has died before and since, full of religious sentiments. Two more incidents of the Elizabethan wars may be mentioned :—

An English officer, a friend of the Viceroy [says Mr. Lecky], invited seventeen Irish gentlemen to supper, and when they rose from the table had them all stabbed. A Catholic Archbishop fell into the hands of the English authorities, and before they sent him to the gallows they tortured him to extort a confession of treason by one of the most horrible torments human nature can endure—by roasting his feet with fire.

But, as Mr. Lecky rightly says, these 'isolated episodes, by diverting the mind from the broad features of the war,

serve rather to diminish than to enhance its atrocity.' He continues :—

The suppression of the native race in the wars against Shane O'Neil, Desmond, and Tyrone, was carried on with a ferocity which surpassed that of Alva in the Netherlands, and has seldom been exceeded in the pages of history. . . . The slaughter of Irishmen was looked upon as literally the slaughter of wild beasts. Not only the men, but even the women and children who fell into the hands of the English were deliberately and systematically butchered. The sword was not found efficient. But another method was found much more efficacious. Year after year, over a great part of all Ireland, all means of human subsistence was destroyed, no quarter was given to prisoners who surrendered, and the whole population was skilfully and steadily starved to death. The pictures of the condition of Ireland at this time are as terrible as anything in human history.

And all this was done in pursuance of a well defined policy.

The Government [continues Mr. Lecky] believed that the one effectual policy for making Ireland useful to England was, in the words of Sir John Davies, to root out the Irish from the soil, to confiscate the property of the septs, and to plant the country systematically with English tenants.

The plantation of Ulster came between 1603 and 1610. The Irish chiefs were dispossessed, and English and Scotch adventurers poured in to take their place. The native population was driven from the rich lands to the poor, and English and Scotch tenants were imported instead.

Says Mr. Gardiner :—

Six counties were declared to be forfeited to the Crown, under an artificial treason law which had no hold on the Irish conscience. English and Scotch colonists were brought in to occupy the richest parts of the soil. The children of the land were thrust forth to find what sustenance they could on the leavings of the intruders, and were debarred even the poor privilege of serving the new settlers for hire, lest they should be tempted to fall upon their masters unawares. . . . Everything which had been done in Ireland since . . . 1607 had been of a nature to lead up to such a catastrophe [as the Rebellion of 1641].

Says Burke :—

Unheard of confiscations were made in the northern parts, upon grounds of plots and conspiracies never proved upon their supposed authors. The war of chicane succeeded to the war of arms, and of hostile statutes; a regular series of operations were carried on in the ordinary courts of Justice, and by special commissions, and inquisitions; first under the pretence of tenures, and then of titles in the crown, for the purpose of the total extirpation of the interest of the natives in their own soil—until this species of ravage being carried to the last excess of oppression and insolence . . . it kindled the flames of that rebellion which broke out in 1641.

Finally, Mr. Lecky sums up the policy which had been pursued prior to the rebellion in the following words :—

It had become clear beyond all doubt to the native population that the old scheme of rooting them out from the soil was the settled policy of the Government; that the land which remained to them was marked as a prey by hungry adventurers, by the refuse of the population of England and Scotland, by men who cared no more for their rights and happiness than they did for the rights and happiness of the worms which were severed by their own spades.

Thus, throughout the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I was the 'wind sown.' In the reign of Charles I, the 'whirlwind was reaped.' Provoked by the 'accumulated wrongs and anomosities' of generations, the people rose against the foreign oppressors who had robbed them of their lands and planned the destruction of their race.

Behind them [says Mr. Lecky] lay the maddening recollections of the wars of Elizabeth, when their parents had been starved by thousands, when unresisting peasants, when women, when children, had been deliberately massacred, and when no quarter had been given to the prisoners. Before them lay the gloomy and almost certain prospect of banishment from the land which remained to them [and] of the extirpation of the religion which was fast becoming the passion as well as the consolation of their lives.

The Rebellion broke out in Ulster on the night of October 22nd, 1641. It was the rising of an undisciplined body of men, a 'tumultuary rabble.' On the 30th of

November, Ormonde wrote to the King, 'the rebels are in great numbers, for the most part merely armed with such weapons as would rather show them to be a tumultuary rabble, than an army.' They first rushed on the English settlements, and drove the settlers from the lands of which their fathers had been robbed only thirty years before. The Scotch settlers were not attacked. The Irish, apparently, desired to have no quarrel with them. The wrongs inflicted on Ireland had not been done by Scotland, but by England. It was the English name that was abominated. It was the Englishman that represented the dominion of the foreigner. It was his presence that revived memories of the past, and stirred up fears for the future. It was the power of England that had crushed Ireland and, naturally, it was on the English 'garrison,' that the Irish fell. The English settlers were driven out, as the natives had been driven out thirty years before. The settlers were left to shift for themselves as the natives had been left to shift for themselves, the natives recovered their own. The settlers fled for refuge to the towns, perishing in thousands, through want and cold on the way. 'Probably,' says Mr. Lecky, 'by far the greater number of those who were represented as massacred, died in this manner from cold, want, and hardships.'

Those who perished [says Mr. Gardiner] were for the most part those who were driven naked through the cold November nights amongst a population which refused them a scanty covering, or a morsel of food in their hour of trial. To the Irish it seemed mercy enough when no actual blow was struck against the flying rout. Men hardly beyond niddle life could remember the days when Mountjoy had harried Ulster, and when the sunken eye, and the pallid cheek of those who had been dearest to them had told too surely of the pitiless might of the Englishman.

As the English had sown, so had they reaped.

It is clear that at the outset there was no intention on the part of the rebels to commit murders. Their sole object was to drive out the settlers and to recover the lands. Mr. Lecky reminds us, that even Sir Phelim O'Neil

—the one blameworthy rebel leader—‘had the reputation much more of a weak and incapable than of a deliberately cruel man.’ On the 24th of October, he issued a proclamation ‘denouncing the penalty of death against any who committed outrages,’ and declaring that the ‘rising was not against the King,’ but only for the defence and liberty of ourselves, and the Irish natives of this kingdom.’ On the same day—October 24th—Chichester wrote to the King from Belfast, saying :—

The Irish in the northern parts of your Majesty’s Kingdom of Ireland, two nights last past, did rise with force, and have taken Charlemont, Dungannon, Tonragee, and The Newry, with Your Majesty’s stores there—towns all of good consequence—and have slain only one man.

On the 23rd December, 1641, a Commission was issued by the Government to make inquiries on oath respecting the rebellion. The spirit in which the Commissioners—Mr. Jones, Dean of Kilmore, and several other Protestant clergymen—set to work may be gathered from the statement of the objects of the Commission : ‘To keep up the memory of the outrages committed by the Irish to posterity.’ Nevertheless, it is a curious fact, that, in this Commission there is no direction to inquire into the ‘murders’ committed by the Irish. The Commissioners are instructed only to inquire into the ‘losses’ sustained by the English, and the ‘robberies’ committed by the Irish. A second Commission was issued on the 18th of January, 1642, and ‘murders’ were included in it ; but the fact that ‘murders’ were not included in the first seems to show that murders were not a prominent feature at the outbreak of the Rebellion. The general character of the Rebellion may, perhaps, be gathered from the following extract from Clogy’s *Life of Bedell* :—

There was no people under Heaven lived in a more flourishing state and condition for peace and plenty of all things desirable in this life, when, on a sudden, we were turned out of house and hold, and stripped of all outward enjoyments, and left naked and bare in the winter ; and on the Sabbath day put to flight but had no place to flee to. The land that was a little



before like a garden of Eden was speedily turned into a desolate wilderness.

The best history of the Rebellion was written by Mr. Warner, a Protestant clergyman, who lived in Ireland in the eighteenth century. He had strong prejudices against the Irish and the Catholics. Nevertheless, he wrote :—

Whatever cruelties are to be charged upon the Irish in the prosecution of their undertaking—and they are numerous and horrid—yet their first intention went no further than to strip the English and Protestants of their power and possessions, and, unless forced to it by opposition, not to shed any blood.

‘Blood’ was ultimately ‘shed ;’ ‘horrid crimes’ were committed by the ‘tumultuary rabble ;’ but not, in all probability, until the disciplined armies of England showed the example.

It is certain [says Mr. Lecky] that there was nothing resembling a massacre in the first days of the Rebellion. It is equally certain that, before a week had passed, the troops slaughtered numbers of the rebels without the loss of a man on their side. And [he adds] it is very difficult to distinguish [the cases of those] who were murdered in cold blood from the case of those who perished in fight ; and it must be remembered that during the latter part of the time the English had been waging what was little less than a war of extermination against the Irish.

Petty, one of the Cromwellian plunderers, who naturally hated the people whom he had helped to rob, says, upon this question of who began the bloodshed : ‘As for the bloodshed in the contest, God best knows who did occasion it’—a remarkable statement from such a quarter. ‘Horrid crimes,’ cold-blooded murders, were ultimately committed by the Irish, and Sir Phelim O’Neil shares responsibility for some of these excesses. To what extent he was responsible it may be difficult to say, but it is clear that he was quite unable to restrain the excesses of the ‘tumultuary rabble,’ when they had been driven to outrageous extremes by the butcheries of the disciplined armies of England.

It is probable [says Mr. Lecky, speaking of the charges brought against Phelim O’Neil] that these crimes [the murder of English

persons] were exaggerated, and it is a remarkable and a significant fact that, when Owen Roe O'Neil assumed the command in July, 1642, he found English prisoners alive in [Phelim's] camp.

It was stated that Sir Phelim O'Neil murdered Lord Caulfield. But Prendergast says :—

[Phelim O'Neil] treated Lord Caulfield and his family with great care when he surprised the fort of Charlemont on the 23rd day of October, 1641 ; there Lord Caulfield was kept until the 14th of January, when he was sent, under an escort to Clongorth Castle.

Lord Caulfield was shot at Clongorth Castle by one of the 'rabble ;' but O'Neil was absent at the time, and knew nothing of the business. Mr. Lecky mentions the fact that 'numbers of Protestants were sheltered by the mother of Sir Phelim O'Neil ;' and Mr. Walpole—an Englishman—in his history of Ireland, says :—

In recounting the ferocity of the Irish insurgents, it should not, however, be forgotten that there were frequent cases of English and Scotch Protestants being protected by their Irish neighbours, and owing life and safety to their unselfish generosity. Some of the Irish priests, and Jesuits, were especially conspicuous for these acts of Christian mercy, hiding terrified suppliants under the altar cloths, and striving to stop the bloodshed at the risk of their own lives.

It is notorious, that wherever the rebels were led by competent commanders, outrages were rarely, if ever, committed. This was notably the case in the County Cavan, where Philip O'Reilly led the insurgents. No doubt fugitives were robbed, and sometimes killed by wandering bandits and starving and infuriated peasants ; but, in the main, as Mr. Lecky says, 'there appears to have been no general attempt to destroy the fugitives.' O'Reilly captured Belturbet. He allowed 800 English settlers to leave with their property. They set out for Dublin. The rector who accompanied them tells us what happened :—

That night we all lay in open fields. Next day we were

met by a party of Rebels, who killed some, robbed and spoiled the rest. Me they stripped to my shirt in miserable weather ; my wife was not so barbarously used ; both of us, with a multitude of others, hurried to Moein Hall. That night we lay in heaps, expecting every hour to be massacred.

But they were not massacred. They ultimately reached Kilmore in safety, and took refuge with Bishop Bedell. Finally, the numbers of fugitives increased to 2,000, and these, then, continued their march to Dublin, accompanied by a rebel guard of 200. At first the guard did their duty successfully, protecting the settlers from the fury of starving and naked peasants, who hung on the flank of the refugees. At last, as the mob swelled to larger dimensions, the guard was rushed, and the refugees plundered :—

The warm clothes of the hated English [says Mr. Gárdiner] would be a precious possession in the cold winter nights which were approaching. It was but a moment's work to rush upon the helpless crowd, to strip both men and women to the skin, and to send them on in their misery. Irish women and Irish children rushed to the spoil even more savagely than the men.

But we do not hear that any of the refugees were killed. Out of the whole 2,000, 100 perished on the way, from cold and hunger, the rest reached Dublin safely, but miserably.

Bishop Bedell was, as I have said, the English Protestant Bishop of Kilmore. The County of Cavan, in which he lived, was wholly in the hands of the rebels. He was absolutely at their mercy. But he was not only left unmolested, but he was allowed to protect the refugees who flocked to him from all quarters. He was for a time kept in captivity on Lough Erne ; but even then, as his biographer and son-in-law Clogy, tells us, he was allowed perfect liberty, 'to use the divine exercises of God's worship, to pray, read, preach, and sing the songs of Zion in a strange land, as the Three Children, though, in the next room, the priest was acting his Babylonish Mass.'

Bedell died in the hands of the rebels in February, 1642. Says Clogy :—

He was laid in the grave, according to his desire in his last

will and testament, hard by his wife's coffin that had been buried there four years before. The chiefs of the Irish Rebels gathered their forces together, and, accompanied the corpse from Mr. Sheridan's house to the churchyard of Kilmore, in a great solemnity; and desired Alexander Clogy, the Minister of Cavan, to perform the Office for the Dead (according to our manner in the former times), and promised not to interrupt in the least; but we, being surrounded with armed men, esteemed it more prudent to bury him, as all the patriarchs, prophets, Christ and His apostles, and all saints and martyrs, in former ages, were, than attempt such a hazardous office (and sacrifice for the dead, as they call it), and needless at such a time in the presence of those Egyptians. But instead thereof, they gave him a volley of shot, and said with a loud voice: *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum.*

Bedell's family, with about 1,200 English, set out later for Dublin. They were escorted by a rebel guard of 2,000.

The Rebels [says Clogy] offered us no violence—save in the night, when our men were weary with continual watching, they would steal away a good horse, and run off—but were very civil to us all the way, and many of them wept at our parting from them, that had lived so long and peaceably amongst them, as if we had been one people with them.

The essential fact to emphasise, in dealing with the outrages perpetrated during the Rebellion is, that, while the outrages committed by the rebels, were the acts of a 'tumultuary rabble,' the outrages committed by the English were the acts of disciplined armies, stimulated by authoritative commanders, and sanctioned by Parliament. 'From the very beginning,' says Mr. Lecky, 'the English Parliament did the utmost in its power to give the contest the character of a war of extermination.' Excesses one naturally expects from a 'tumultuary rabble;' one does not expect them from disciplined armies and civilized governments. But the armies and the government of England exulted in the slaughter of the Irish. Sir C. Coote, St. Leger, Sir F. Hamilton, Sir William Parsons, Sir Arthur Loftus carried fire and sword throughout the country, butchering indiscriminately guilty and innocent, men, women, and children. 'These men,' says Mr. Lecky, 'rivalled the worst crimes perpetrated in the

days of Mountjoy and Carew.' 'The soldiers,' says Carte, 'in executing the orders of the Lords Justices murdered all persons promiscuously, not sparing the women, and sometimes not children.' Lord Castlehaven says that 'orders were issued to the parties sent to every quarter to spare neither man, woman, nor child.'

The expression, 'nits make lice,' was used by the soldiers to justify the murder of infants. All these things were done not by a rabble, but by trained soldiers carrying out the orders of their commanders who, in all they did, acted under the authority of the English Parliament. Far different was the conduct of the great Irish leader, Owen Roe O'Neil. He took command of the Ulster Rebels in July, 1642. His first act was to send all the English prisoners whom he found in camp to Dundalk; his next to issue a proclamation condemning outrages, and making the awful threat that he would rather join the English than tolerate excesses. He soon converted the rabble into an army; and that army gave a good account of itself at Benburb and Clonmel.

'All the Irish officers,' as Mr. Lecky tells us, 'laboured to give a character of humanity to the war.' All the English officers laboured to give it a character of inhumanity. Parliament itself stimulated the butcheries of the soldiers. In 1643, there was a cessation of hostilities.

The cessation of hostilities [says Clarendon] was no sooner known in England, but the two Houses declared against it . . . persuading the people that the Rebels were brought to their last gasp, and reduced to so terrible a famine that, like cannibals, they did eat one another; and must have been destroyed immediately, and utterly rooted out, if, by Popish counsels at Court, the King had not been persuaded to consent to this cessation.

I repeat, that the civilized government which provokes, or sanctions outrage, is infinitely a greater criminal than the 'tumultuary rabble' which, maddened by injustice and oppression, and goaded by fears of utter destruction, rushes into violent excesses.

The last question is, how many of the English fell in

the Rebellion? The most reliable English authority on this subject, despite his anti-Irish prejudices, is Warner. Writing about the year 1763, and having examined all the materials collected by English hands, he sums up the evidence thus :—

The number of people killed upon *positive* evidence collected in two years after the insurrection broke out, adding them all together, amounts only 4,109 ; on the *report* of other Protestants 1,619 more ; and on the *report* of some of the Rebels a further number of 300 ; the whole making 4,028.

Besides these, he tells us, that '8,000' were 'killed by ill-usage' Thus, the grand total would, according to this estimate, amount to 12,000 English destroyed in one way or another—a total sufficiently terrible, but far below the original estimates which, as we have seen, varied between 30,000 and 300,000. I think, that, at this time of day it is absolutely impossible to say, with precise accuracy, how many of the 12,000 fell in battle, or were killed in defending their houses and property ; how many perished by cold, want, and hunger, or were murdered in cold blood. I am myself prepared to accept Mr. Lecky's statement of the case, that, 'probably by far the greater number of those who were represented as massacred died in this manner [driven from their homes in the winter nights] from cold, and want, and hardship.'

How many of the Irish fell ? I know not, and I do not think that anyone knows. The Irish were not left in a position to make estimates ; and the English writers cared not to reckon the number of 'wolves,' or 'worms' that were destroyed. One statement, however, may be made :—

We can hardly [says Mr. Lecky] have a shorter or more graphic picture of the manner in which the war was conducted, than is furnished by one of the items of Sir William Cole's own catalogue of the services performed by his regiment in Ulster —'starved and famished of the vulgar sort, whose goods were seized by this regiment, 7,000.'

Twelve thousand English were destroyed by the whole 'tumultuary [Irish] rabble' in Ulster. Seven thousand

Irish were destroyed in that province by one disciplined English regiment, acting under the orders of an authoritative English commander, who manifestly gloried in his work.

To sum up the whole question of the Rebellion of 1641, it comes to this :—

1. The Rebellion broke out after ninety years of untold wrongs and miseries inflicted on the native race ;

2. It took place in that part of the country which, thirty years before, had been the scene of wholesale confiscations ;

3. The original intention of the rebels was to drive out the English settlers, and to recover the lands from which the native population had been dispossessed ;

4. Murders and outrages began when a war of extermination was waged against the Irish ;

5. The outrages committed by the Irish were committed by a 'tumultuary rabble' ;

6. The outrages committed by the English were committed by disciplined armies, stimulated by authoritative commanders, and provoked or sanctioned by the English Government ;

7. Finally, all the Irish officers laboured to give the war a character of humanity ; all the English officers laboured to give the war a character of inhumanity.

In considering the whole case and, generally, in judging the sins of the conquerors and the conquered, it should never be forgotten that the one comes to attack, the other to defend ; that the one comes to rob, the other to hold what is his own ; that the one fights to enslave, and that the other rightly struggles to be free.

R. BARRY O'BRIEN.

## LAST WORDS OF VIRGIL TO DANTE

PURGATORIO, XXVII. 124-142

**T**HERE is something very pathetic in the last words addressed by Virgil to Dante. He had conducted him in safety through the eternal fire of Hell, and the temporal fire of Purgatory, and had led him to the verge of the earthly Paradise, which itself leads on to Heaven. But Virgil, who in life had been a pagan, could now no further go. He, therefore, takes his leave, and comforts his devoted follower by telling him that Beatrice, with her beauteous eyes full of gladness, was coming to greet him. In the meantime, he may gratify his senses with the beauties of the earthly Paradise. He no longer needs a guide. His soul has been purified from every stain of sin, in passing through the Seven Circles of Purgatory; and his free-will, on earth inclined to evil, is now made sound and upright, and he may follow its bidding with a safe conscience. Therefore, Virgil sets a crown upon his head, as a token that henceforth he is master of himself. To enter fully into the meaning of this passage, it is necessary to remember that, in Dante's poem, Virgil represents human intelligence, while Beatrice represents Christian faith. The one may serve as a guide in the steep and difficult ways of life; the other alone can lead us up to Heaven.

Come la scala tutta sotto noi  
 Fu corsa, e fummo in su il grado superno,  
 In me ficcò Virgilio gli occhi suoi,  
 E disse: ' Il temporal fuoco e l'eterno  
 ' Veduto ai, figlio, e sei venuto in parte  
 ' Ov'io per me più oltre non discerno.  
 ' Tratto t'o qui con ingegno e con arte;  
 ' Lo tuo piacere omai prendi per duce;  
 ' Fuor sei dell'erte vie, fuor sei dell'arte.



' Vedi là il sol che in fronte ti riluce ;  
' Vedi l'erbetta, i fiori, e gli arbuscelli,  
' Che qui la terra sol da sè produce.  
' Mentre che vegnan lieti gli occhi belli,  
' Che lagrimando a te venir mi fenno,  
' Seder ti puoi e puoi andar tra elli.  
' Non aspettar mio dir più, nè mio cenno ;  
' Libero, sano, e dritto, è tuo arbitrio,  
' E fallo fôra non fare a suo senno ;  
' Perch'io te sopra te corono e mitrio.'

When the whole flight of stairs beneath us lay,  
And we were now upon the topmost step,  
Virgil his eyes upon me fixed, and said :  
' The temporal fire thou hast seen, my son,  
' And the eternal too ; and thou hast come  
' Where I no further, of myself, can see.  
' With judgment and with skill I've brought thee here ;  
' Henceforth thy pleasure thou shalt take for guide ;  
' Beyond the steep and narrow ways thou art.  
' See there the Sun that shines upon thy brow ;  
' See the fresh herbs, the flowers, and the trees,  
' Which here the earth produces of itself.  
' Until the gladsome beauteous eyes shall come,  
' Which erewhile weeping made me come to thee,  
' Thou mayest sit, thou mayest walk, 'mid these.  
' Expect no further speech or sign from me ;  
' Free, healthy, upright, is thine own good will,  
' And 'twere a fault its bidding not to do ;  
' Therefore I crown thee ruler of thyself.'

GERALD MOLLOY.

## THE IRISH BRIGADE AT FONTENROY

1745<sup>1</sup>

**I**N his life of Frederick the Great, Carlyle refers in the following terms to the manner in which Englishmen regard the events of the War of the Austrian Succession, a war which occupies an important place in the history of the eighteenth century :—

Of Philippi and Arbela educated Englishmen can render an account, and I am told young gentlemen entering the army are pointedly required to say who commanded at Aigos-Potamos, and wrecked the Peloponnesian war; but of Dettingen and Fontenoy where is the living Englishman that has the least notion, or seeks for any ?<sup>2</sup>

Such is not the attitude of Frenchmen, nor of Irishmen. They take a lively interest in the events of that great war; and particularly in one of the most important events in it—the battle of Fontenoy. Quite recently a French writer, M. Charles Gailly de Taurines, has made the battle of Fontenoy the object of special study, and

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<sup>1</sup> In the preparation of this paper the following works have been consulted :—*Memoires et pieces relatives aux campagnes du Marechal de Saxe en Flandre depuis 1744 à 1748*. Two volumes in manuscript marked 3,084, and 17 *Fonds de Suede*, Archives historiques du Ministère de la Guerre, Paris; *Fontenoy*, an article in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, 15th June, 1887, by M. le Duc Albert de Broglie, de l'academie française; *Memoires des Duc Richelieu*, vol. vii., pp. 131-136. Paris, 1790; *Memoires du Duc de Luynes*, tom. vii., pp. 161-167 and 179-185; *Histoire de Maurice Comte de Saxe*, par D'Espagnac, edit. 1775, vol. ii., pp. 75-79. Third volume has plates; *Précis du siècle de Louis XV.*, Voltaire, tom. iv.; *Fragments historiques sur l'Inde et sur le General Lally*, idem. art. iv., pp. 346-351; *Frederick the Great*, Carlyle, vol. iv.; *England in the Eighteenth Century*, Lecky, vol. ii.; *Histoire de France*. Louis XV. Michelet; *Fontenoy—Liste des officiers tués et blessés par regiments tirés des archives de la Guerre*, par M. Charles Gailly de Taurines. Paris, 1904; *Historical Notes on the services of the Irish Officers in the French Army*. Addressed to the National Assembly in 1792 by General Arthur Dillon. Translated by J. P. Leonard. (Duffy, Dublin); *Les Campagnes du Marechal de Saxe; Fontenoy* (February and March, 1905), a series of studies in the *Revue d'Histoire rédigée à l'état Major de l'Armée*, with documents, not yet finished, to be published later in a volume.

<sup>2</sup> Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, vol. iii., p. 333.

has published a list of the officers, regiment by regiment, who were killed or wounded in that famous battle. On that list are to be found the names of many valiant Irishmen, officers of the Irish Brigade (consisting of six regiments of infantry and one of cavalry), who had so large a share in turning the tide of victory in favour of France. The Irishmen who fought at Fontenoy deserve to rank with 'the unforgotten brave.' Nothing which throws greater light on their valour can fail to interest Irishmen. The object, therefore, of the present paper is—first, to give a general account of the battle of Fontenoy; secondly, to examine how far the glory of the victory was due to Irish valour; and, thirdly, to lay before the reader the names of the valiant Irishmen who fell in the combat.

## I.

In the spring of 1745 Marshal Saxe, Commander-in-Chief of the French forces, advanced into Flanders at the head of an army of about 90,000 men, and laid siege to Tournay. The Duke of Cumberland, with 93 pieces of artillery and an army of about 60,000 men, of whom 20,000 were English, 3,000 Hanoverians, and the rest Dutch and Austrians, marched to relieve the beleaguered city. The hostile forces met on the field of Fontenoy.

The French general had left nearly 20,000 men to continue the siege of Tournay. With the main body of his army he took up a position on the right bank of the Scheldt to await the enemy. The day before the battle was spent in preparation. Marshal Saxe fortified Antoin and Fontenoy, and erected three redoubts in the interval which separated them. In front of Fontenoy a deep trench was dug; and at the wood of Barry two redoubts were constructed, and trees were felled to bar the progress of the enemy. The French headquarters were fixed at the village of Calonne. Bridges were also thrown across the Scheldt, to facilitate the passage of troops in case of retreat. Louis XV with the Dauphin had arrived from Paris to be witnesses of the engagement. The Allied

Forces on their side advancing from Brussels, by way of Mons, had fixed their headquarters at Vezon.

When day dawned on the 11th May, a fog covered the plains on the banks of the Scheldt. About six o'clock, the fog cleared away, and revealed the two armies in position awaiting the struggle. The French line extended from Antoin on the right, to Fontenoy in the centre, and then away to the wood of Barry on the left. The French King, with his Household troops, to the number of 6,000, took up a position at the village of Notre Dame-aux-Bois, on an eminence surmounted by a windmill, a circumstance which earned for him the title of *Louis du Moulin*. A large body of troops had been posted to guard the bridges, thus reducing the French forces in the field to between 50,000 and 60,000 men with about 80 cannon.<sup>1</sup>

In front of the French lines lay a plain, oval in shape, measuring about a mile and a half in breadth, by about two miles in length, flanked by woods and sloping down towards the banks of the river. In their rear lay the Scheldt, and away in the distance, about five miles off, the walls of Tournay were visible. To reach Tournay and raise the siege it was necessary that the Allied Army should cross the plain in front of Fontenoy, and cut its way through the French lines. The Duke of Cumberland, at that time about twenty-two years of age, commanded in person. The English and Hanoverians formed his right,

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<sup>1</sup> The writer of the articles in the *Revue d'Histoire*, February and March, 1905, states that the number of men engaged on each side was nearly equal, amounting to about 50,000 in each army. The French infantry in the field consisted of fifty-five battalions, making about 35,000 men; the cavalry of 101 squadrons, or about 14,000 men; or about 49,000 in all. The strength of a battalion would, therefore, be about 640 men, that of a squadron of horse 140. What was the strength of the Irish Brigade? From the official report at the *Ministère de la Guerre* of the inspection of Dillon's regiment, made in 1788, it appears that it consisted of two battalions, making a total of 1,136 men. FitzJames' cavalry in 1764, consisted of four squadrons of 138 men each. The Irish infantry regiments seem to have consisted of two battalions, each amounting to a total of from 1,100 to 1,200 men. In the official account of the order of battle, it is stated that the Irish Brigade consisted of six battalions. Taking 640 as the strength of a battalion this would make the Irish infantry at Fontenoy 3,840 men. Add FitzJames' horse with 300 to 500 men, and we reach a total of over 4,000. Of course if the regiments were at their full strength the total would be over 6,000 men.

opposite to Barry and Fontenoy ; the Austrians and Dutch his left, opposite Antoin. Early on the morning of 11th May, he advanced against the French centre at Fontenoy, while the Dutch moved forward to attack Antoin. Three times the English attacked Fontenoy with the greatest bravery. But each time they were met by deadly fire from the French batteries ; and the trench in front of Fontenoy was filled with dead. Twice the Dutch attempted to capture Antoin, but with no better success. Nothing seemed to remain for Cumberland but to retire ingloriously from the field. As a last resource, by the advice of the Austrian general, Konigseck, he took the daring resolution of forcing his way through a pass not more than 900 yards wide, between Barry and Fontenoy. It was a hazardous attempt, for the pass was intersected by ravines impracticable for cavalry, and was exposed to the fire of the batteries at Fontenoy and Barry. Should it prove successful the French army would be cut in two, and probably the French King made captive. Cumberland, therefore, ordered his English and Hanoverian troops to advance through the pass, and turn the French position at Fontenoy. They moved forward, numbering about 16,000, in three columns, dragging with them twelve field pieces. They were supported at first by the cavalry. But the nature of the ground and the loss of their commander, Lord Campbell, whose leg was carried off by a cannon ball, compelled the cavalry to fall back. The three columns of infantry merging into one, continued to advance. At first they moved in the direction of Barry, but the presence of the Irish Brigade and the fire of the forts compelled them to keep more towards Fontenoy. Under a galling fire which thinned their ranks, they crossed the ravines, and emerged on the open plain. Here they were met by the French and Swiss Guards. When the hostile forces arrived within about fifty paces of each other, according to most historians, there took place a scene which recalls the conference of Glaucus and Diomedes on the plains of Troy

Lord Charles Hay and the English officers saluted the

French officers by raising their hats. The French, true to the politeness of their nation, returned the salute. For a moment the two lines stood face to face. Then Lord Hay cried out : *Messieurs des Gardes Françaises, tirez—* 'Gentlemen of the French Guards, fire.' Count Aute-roche, on the part of the French, replied : *Tirez vous mêmes Messieurs les Anglais, nous ne tirons jamais les premiers—* 'Fire yourselves, gentlemen, we never fire first.'<sup>1</sup> Whether this was an act of politeness carried to excess, or whether, as the Duc de Broglie thinks more probable, it was a principle which Marshal Saxe had strongly impressed on his troops, to reserve their fire, it cost the French dearly. The English fired, and their first volley swept down more than one half of the first French line. The survivors finding that the second line was too far behind to support them broke and fled.

Onward the oblong English column advanced, despite the galling fire from the redoubts. Troop after troop of foot and horse advanced to stop its progress, but only to be broken and dispersed. The French fought with indomitable courage. Some squadrons returned as many as eight times to the charge. The Duc de Biron had three horses killed under him, and two wounded. The Irish cavalry of FitzJames charged the column, but with no better success than the French. The infantry regiments also charged the terrible column. The regiments of the Royal Vaisseaux and that of Normandy, together with those of Lally, Rothe and Berwick,<sup>2</sup> put forward by Lord Clare, charged three times. Colonel Dillon,<sup>3</sup> too, fell at the head of his men. Still the column continued to advance, keeping up a rolling and continuous fire of cannon and musketry. Already it had passed Fontenoy. Had the Dutch now supported the English and Hanoverians their progress could not have been resisted. At this juncture, Marshal Saxe, fearing for the safety of the King, sent him a mes-

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Hay afterwards gave a different version of the incident. He states that he said : 'Wait for us, Gentlemen. Don't be in a hurry to swim the Scheldt, you will not find it so easy as the Main.'

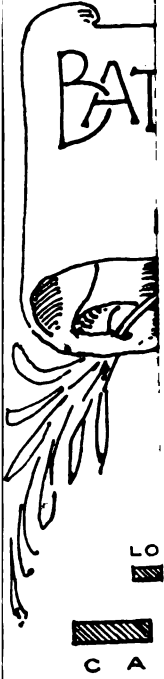
<sup>2</sup> *Fonds de Suede*, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Dillon was succeeded in the command by his brother who was killed at Lawfeld in 1747 at the head of the same regiment.

sage advising him to retire across the Scheldt.<sup>1</sup> Louis replied : ' Tell him I know that he will do his duty. I will stay here.' At this moment the Duc de Richelieu, one of the royal aides-de-camp, rode up, breathless. ' What news ? ' asked the Duc de Noailles. ' My news,' replied Richelieu, ' is, that the battle is won if we like. My advice is to bring forward cannon to play upon the front of the column, and while the cannon throws it into confusion, let the Household troops and the rest of the army make a combined attack upon it.' Then he went on to describe how he had found the Irish Brigade on the extreme left, rallied in face of the enemy by Lally Tollendal ; and by its example carrying off with it the regiment of the Royal Vaisseaux. A council of war was hastily held. Saxe arrived upon the scene ; and it was resolved to make a last and a combined charge upon the column. Four pieces of cannon, which had been placed in reserve for the security of the royal person, were ordered forward. Richelieu rode off and bade the Household troops advance. Marshal Saxe galloped off to the left where the Irish Brigade was posted near the wood of Barry, under the command of Lord Clare, and ordered them to charge. Then, hurrying with all possible speed to the right he rallied the troops in that quarter. At the same moment the English column was assailed vigorously in front and on both flanks. The Irish Brigade, with fixed bayonets, led the charge on the right flank of the column, with the utmost intrepidity. For a moment they were in extreme danger. The French Carbineers, misled by the style of the Irish uniform, mistook them for English, and fired upon them. But the Irish Brigade cried, '*Vive France*,' and dashed forward to attack their common foe. In a few minutes the terrible column, hitherto firm as a rock, was pierced through, broken and driven from the field. The English cavalry moved forward to cover the retreat of the infantry. The

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<sup>1</sup> The account given by the valet of Marshal Saxe has the following : ' Le roi suant à grosses gouttes et tout consterné dit. *Q'on avance ma Maison.*' Words which Davis seems to have had before him in ' Push on my Household cavalry.'







Dutch also were driven from the field. The French continued the pursuit as far as the hedges of Vezon. About half-past two in the afternoon, after a battle of nine hours' duration, the victory of the French was complete. The enemy left upon the field 9,000 men in killed and wounded, 2,000 prisoners, and forty pieces of cannon. The French loss amounted to 6,000, including 400 officers of all grades.

When the battle was ended, Louis XV came down from his position at Notre Dame-aux-Bois, and rode over the field, accompanied by the Dauphin. Wherever he appeared he was hailed by the cheers of the soldiers, who waved their caps on the points of their bayonets in the enthusiasm of triumph. The officers whose bravery had been most remarkable, Richelieu, Lowendal, Biron, and Lally Tollendal, were presented to the King, to receive the expression of his gratitude, and all formed a scene which Horace Vernet has endeavoured to immortalise in his famous painting of Fontenoy, which adorns the galleries of Versailles. In the joy of victory sentiments of humanity were not forgotten. The King gave orders that the English wounded should be treated with equal care as the French; and none was more active in the work than the impetuous Lally of the Irish Brigade.

The victory at Fontenoy filled all France with rejoicing. It was the first time since Poitiers that a French king had met the English on the field, and this time victory had crowned his efforts. But the victory had results yet more important. On 23rd May, Tournay surrendered, and soon after Ghent, Bruges, Oudenarde, Dindermonde, Ostend, Nieuport, and Ath were occupied by the French. The victory at Fontenoy raised the hopes of the Jacobites; and the Scotch rising, which ended so disastrously at Culloden, was the consequence.

It belongs to military critics to pronounce upon the talent displayed by the rival generals. They may question whether it was wise on the part of Marshal Saxe to risk a battle with a river in his rear, endangering his retreat in case of defeat; or whether it was as prudent as it was daring on the part of Cumberland to attempt the passage between

Barry and Fontenoy, exposing his troops to the fire of the batteries on either side. Statesmen may question the value of conquests which were abandoned a few years later at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. But what concerns us most is the share which the Irish Brigade had in turning the tide of victory at Fontenoy in favour of France.

## II.

What was the part taken by the Irish troops in the battle of Fontenoy? This is a question which may be determined by the testimony of those who took part in the battle, and by the accounts which historians have handed down to us. It is true all the witnesses do not express themselves in the same terms. But this is true of the history of every battle. For, as Thucydides remarked centuries ago, 'Such as were present at every action spoke not all after the same manner, but as they were affected to the parts, or as they could remember.' Yet the variety of details serves but to bring out the main facts with greater clearness.

At Fontenoy the Irish regiments of infantry, six in number, and numbering at least 4,000 men—viz., Clare's, Bulkeley's, Berwick's, Dillon's, Rothe's, and Lally's, with Lord Clare as Lieutenant-General and Rothe as General of Brigade—were posted at the distance of about a gun-shot in front of the wood of Barry. In front of them were two redoubts and quantities of felled trees. To their right stood the Swiss Guards; their left extended beyond the redoubts towards the village of Ramecroix. Cumberland, early in the day, had ordered Colonel Ingoldsby to march through the wood of Barry, and attack the enemy in that quarter. But Ingoldsby, finding the wood occupied by a body of light troops, fell back. In consequence, during the greater part of the day the troops on the French left, and amongst them the Irish Brigade, took but little part in the battle. If we except the onset in which Colonel Dillon was killed, their action was chiefly confined to the final charge which broke and dispersed the English column, and turned a

defeat into a victory. Let us examine the various testimonies regarding the part taken by the Irish in that final charge. In the month following the battle, Voltaire published his poem on Fontenoy; and in it he makes honourable mention of the Irish :—

Clare avec l'Irlandais, qu'animent nos exemples.  
Venge ses rois trahis, sa patrie ; et ses temples.

' Clare and the Irish fired by our example,  
Averages his King, his Country, and his Altars.'

In his history of Louis XV he also testifies to their valour. But we possess testimony more valuable than that of Voltaire. The Duke of Richelieu was present at the battle; and in his Memoirs is found a report of it which he prepared at a later period for the information of Louis XVI. Richelieu writes :—

At that critical moment [when the day seemed lost] Marshal Saxe rallied once more that infantry ever beaten but never conquered, and joined it to the Irish Brigade which had formed in face of the enemy under the orders of Clare. He brought forward also the Normandy Regiment and that of the Vaisseaux Berenger. Lord Clare was ordered to attack the right flank of the enemy. Then the King's Household troops, the gens-d'armes, the carbineers, led by the Duke of Richelieu, fell upon the centre, until then unbroken. Four pieces of cannon, well pointed, assail them like so many thunderbolts. Our troops on the right and in the direction of Fontenoy advance and attack that portion of the English army. The invincible column wavered, was pierced through, broken, and thrown into confusion. It fled from the field of battle, abandoning its cannon. Several regiments were annihilated. Our troops pursued the fugitives as far as the hedges of Vezon. At last, at half-past two, the battle was won. . . . The Irish captured a flag.

Another witness, no less valuable, is Count Lowendal, one of Marshal Saxe's staff, who was also present on the field. On the day of the battle, Lowendal wrote to announce the victory to his wife :—

The battle [he says] was lost. All were flying. God inspired me to put myself at the head of the Irish Brigade, and of the French Guards, whom I had rallied. We took the enemy on the flank. I defeated and drove them off the field of battle.

Count Lowendal's secretary added a postscript to the letter, in the following terms : ' Marshal Saxe has publicly stated that the King owed this victory to Count Lowendal and the Irish Brigade. These are his very words.'<sup>1</sup>

Another testimony, no less weighty, is found in the account of the battle sent to the Queen of France, by the Count d'Argenson, soon after the event. The Count writes in the following terms :—

The Marshal [Saxe] wearied by this uncertainty rallied in person the infantry which had at first given way ; but which returned courageously to the charge. He joined it to the Irish Brigade, which had already formed in face of the enemy, under the command of Lord Clare. M. Lowendal, who had come up from the left where there was no fighting, and M. Berenger, who commanded the Normandy Brigade, joined Lord Clare, and all together charged the enemy on the right flank, while the Household troops, the gens-d'armes, and the carbineers, led by the Duke of Richelieu, fell upon their centre, against which four pieces of artillery hitherto held in reserve had been pointed and had spread dismay. . . . The Irish who captured a flag, the Household troops, the gens-d'armes, and the carbineers merit special praise.<sup>2</sup>

But the most valuable testimony of all is that given by Marshal Saxe himself. Writing from the camp at Antoin on the day after the battle, he describes the varying fortunes of the day, and how defeat seemed certain. Then he adds :—

At last, as a final effort, I took the Irish Brigade, that of Normandy, and the remnants of the French and Swiss Guards. I put M. de Lowendal at their head, and bade them charge the English column, whilst I went to bring up the carbineers who had already been repulsed, but had formed again, and with them I attacked on the other flank. The Household troops, emulous of the carbineers, rushed forward at full speed and charged at the same moment, together with a portion of the cavalry. I saw that body of English and Hanoverians destroyed in a moment.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Count Lowendal to his wife, 11th May, 1745. 'Fontenoy,' par le Duc de Broglie, *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 15th June, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> 'Relation de la bataille de Fontenoy envoyée par le Comte d'Argenson à la Reine,' *Memoires du Duc de Luynes*, vol. vii., pp. 166-167.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of Marshal Saxe, 12th May, 1745, from the camp at Antoin.

In another letter, written on the 13th May, he describes the same events in almost the same terms, and he adds :—  
' We moved forward and the Irish Brigade which led the van attacked with the greatest possible daring.—*Nous nous ébranlâmes, et la brigade irlandaise qui avait la tête, se porta aussi audacieusement qu'il est possible.*'<sup>1</sup>

To testimonies so explicit it seems needless to add more. But there is one which comes down to us from the pen of the son of an Irishman whose valour was conspicuous at Fontenoy, and which appears to express the tradition of the Irish Brigade itself. In the *Biographie Universelle* by Michaud, there is an article on General Lally Tollendal,<sup>2</sup> which is believed to have been contributed by his son the Marquis Lally Tollendal. In that sketch the writer states that on the day before the battle, Lally went over the field, and discovering, between Antoin and Fontenoy, a road which was erroneously supposed to be impracticable, but by which the enemy could easily have turned the French position, he caused three redoubts and six cannon to be posted in that position. The writer continues :—

The famous battle took place. It is well known how much the Irish Brigade contributed to the victory by breaking through in a bayonet charge the terrible English column, while Richelieu assailed it in front. This last decisive attack was decided on at the most critical moment, in a conversation, eager and quick as lightning, exchanged between Richelieu, rushing from rank to rank, and Lally impatient that the valour of the Irish Brigade was not being turned to account. His address to his regiment, as at their head he dashed into the hostile column, was printed in all the papers of the period.

Voltaire<sup>3</sup> also mentions the valour Lally displayed at Fontenoy and his address to his men. 'Forward, he said, against the enemies of France, and your own. Don't fire until your bayonets touch their stomachs.' After the battle Lally Tollendal was singled out for special

<sup>1</sup> Lettre à M. le Contrôleur General, *Memoires du Duc de Luynes*, vol. vii., pp. 183-185.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Arthur O'Mullally of Tollendally.

<sup>3</sup> In *Fragments Historiques sur l'Inde et sur le General Lally*.

honour. Together with Lowendal, Biron, and Richelieu, he was presented to the King, who raised Lally to the rank of Brigadier upon the field of battle. The records of the *Ministère de la Guerre* testify to the valour of men less in rank than Lally. A valiant captain of Bulkeley's regiment named Patrick McMahon (a name borne a century later by the hero of Malakoff and Magenta), with ten volunteers of his company, and as many from the regiment of Clare, charged an English battery and captured two pieces of cannon.<sup>1</sup> Poets and historians have handed on the tradition of the valour of the Irish at Fontenoy. A writer in the *Mercure de France* (July, 1645) celebrates their valour thus :—

L'Irlandais qui sur eux s'élance,  
Ne craint pas d'essuyer leur feu.  
Il venge son pays, et ses rois et son Dieu,  
Et son honneur et celui de la France.

Then, alluding to the motto, *Nisi Dominus frustra*, inscribed on the captured English flag, he continues :—

De ce cruel revers le funeste présage  
Était écrit sur vos drapeaux.  
Pour nous combattre en vain vous traversiez les eaux.  
Le ciel a détruit votre ouvrage.

Michelet, in his vigorous and picturesque prose, is no less laudatory of the Irish :—

There were [writes Michelet] on both sides men burning for the fray. As on our side the Irish Brigade scented English blood, so in the English ranks the sons of the Protestants eager for the fight would have given their lives to capture the grandson of Louis XIV. . . . It [the English column] advanced. For six hours it advanced. . . . What is certain is, that Maurice, who trembled for the King, began to effect a retreat. But many were unwilling to fall back. Our Irish troops were furious.—*Nos Irlandais frémissaient de fureur.*<sup>2</sup>

Summing up, then, all these testimonies it is manifest how great was the share the Irish Brigade had in the victory at Fontenoy. When all seemed lost they stood firm

<sup>1</sup> *Le Marechal de MacMahon*, par Leon Hennet, sous chef aux ordines de la Guerre, p. 8. Paris, 1894. MS. papers of Bulkeley's regiment.

<sup>2</sup> Michelet, *Histoire de France. Louis XV.*

and faced the enemy. There is reason to believe that the idea of the final charge originated with them. It is beyond all doubt that they led the decisive charge on the right flank of the enemy. Of them alone is it recorded that they captured a standard. Davis's thrilling lines are, therefore, no mere legend, but κτήμα ἐς αἰεί,<sup>1</sup> a treasure for ever. We cannot but admire the courage of Marshal Saxe, moving about in his litter or in the saddle for nine hours, and cheering on his men in spite of his dropsy. The Household troops and the carbineers deserve their meed of praise. But there is good reason to believe that

Fontenoy, famed Fontenoy, had been a Waterloo  
Were not those exiles ready there, fresh, vehement and true.

### III.

The valour of the Irish troops earned for them great glory, but at the cost of heavy loss. According to a report presented to the National Assembly by Count Arthur Dillon, in 1792, but which seems in excess of the official returns, the Irish lost in the battle of Fontenoy, one-third of their soldiers and one-fourth of their officers, and amongst the latter Chevalier Dillon, colonel of his regiment.

The names of those brave officers have long lain buried in the archives of the Ministère de la Guerre, or War Office, in Paris.<sup>2</sup> Recent researches have brought them to light, and we proceed to lay them before the reader, feeling assured that they will not be uninteresting.<sup>3</sup>

### INFANTRY

#### BULKELEY'S REGIMENT

M. Swiney (Sweeney)	. captain	. arm fractured
„ Flood	. do.	. leg fractured
„ Bourke	. lieutenant	. gunshot wound
„ Magennis	. do.	. dangerously wounded

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, *History*, Book i.

<sup>2</sup> Aux archives de la Guerre, 3,084 (pieces 45 et 175bis), and *Fonds de Suede*, 17.

<sup>3</sup> The writer desires to express his thanks to M. Gailly de Taurines for his kind permission to make use of the lists in his brochure. He has, however, carefully compared them with the original lists at the *Ministère de la Guerre*, and has corrected the list of names from other documents, and has added the number of men killed and wounded.



## CLARE'S REGIMENT

M. O'Neil	. lieutenant-col.	killed
„ Maguire	. captain	killed
„ FitzGerald	. lieutenant	killed
„ MacNamara	. do.	killed
„ Schortall	. major	wound in leg
„ M'Elligott	. capt. grenadr.	wrist fractured
„ Grant	. captain	wound in foot
„ Plunkett	. do.	wound in knee
„ Bernard O'Brien	. do.	wound in head
„ Creagh	. do.	pierced through body
„ Prosser	. do.	wound in face
„ Kennedy	. do.	leg fractured
„ MaCarty	. do.	wound in neck
„ Charles O'Brien	. lieutenant	wound in shoulder
„ Davoren	. do.	leg fractured by a cannon ball
„ Falvy	. do.	jaw fractured
„ Bernard O'Brien	. do.	wound in abdomen
„ O'Neil	. do.	wound in leg

## BERWICK'S REGIMENT

M. Barnewall	. capt. grenadr.	slight contusion on shoulder
„ John Nagle	. half-pay capt.	killed
„ Bart. Andrew Aylmer	. captain	gunshot in thigh
„ Colclough	. do.	gunshot in thigh
„ Nugent	. do.	gunshot in face
„ Anthony	. half-pay capt.	shot through body
„ Cooke	. do.	gunshot in thigh
„ Hickey	. do.	gunshot in thigh
„ Christopher Plunkett	. lieutenant	shot through leg
„ Dease	. do.	gunshot in heel
„ Denis MaCarty	. do.	wounded
„ Michael Carol	. do.	wounded

## ROTHE'S REGIMENT

M. St. Leger	. captain	killed
„ Grace	. lieutenant	killed
„ James Windham	. captain	leg fractured
„ Christy	. do.	shot through body
„ Timothy Sullivan	. lieutenant	contused leg
„ Richard Hally	. do.	gunshot in arm
„ Florence O'Donoghue	. ensign	gunshot in knee
„ Florence Sullivan	. lieutenant	gunshot in leg
„ O'Brien	. captain	contused arm
„ John O'Connor	. do.	contused thigh

## DILLON'S REGIMENT

Chevalier Dillon	. colonel	. killed
M. Barry	. captain	. killed
„ Charles Mannery	. do.	. killed
„ Mannery	. lieutenant-col.	wound in leg ; arm fractured
„ Nihell	. captain	. arm fractured
„ Heguerty	. do.	. arm fractured
„ Wogan	. do.	. loss of leg
„ Cusack	. do.	. shot through body
„ Bourke	. do.	. arm fractured
„ Barry	. lieutenant	. leg fractured
„ Flanagan	. do.	. stabbed through body
„ Michael Bourke	. do.	. fracture of thigh
„ Glascoë	. do.	. fracture of leg
„ Moriarty	. do.	. loss of hand
„ Francis Dillon	. do.	. shot through body

## LALLY'S REGIMENT

M. Ennys	. half-pay capt.	killed
„ Kelly	. lieutenant	. killed
„ Trootty (Crotty ?)	. do.	. killed
„ Butler	. captain on foot	arm fractured
„ Warren	. half-pay capt.	gunshot in arm
„ FitzGerald	. do.	gunshot in groin
„ Byrn (Byrne)	. half-pay lieut.	three gunshot wounds, of which two through body
„ Stack	. do.	. arm fractured
„ O'Heguerty	. lieut.-colonel	. contused leg
„ Glascoë	. major	. contused back
„ Wogan	. lieut. on foot	wound in leg
„ Creagh	. do.	. wound in leg
„ Hennessy	. do.	. contused back

## CAVALRY

## FITZ-JAMES'S REGIMENT

M. Taaf	. major	. wounded
„ Carew	. assist. major	. do.
„ Betagh	. captain	. do.
„ Bellage (Bellings ?)	. do.	. do.
„ Patrick Nuzean or Lugan (Nugent ?)	. do.	. do.
„ Mullady	. do.	. do.
„ Butler	. do.	. do.

FITZJAMES' REGIMENT—*continued*.

M. Taaf	. captain	. killed
„ Charles Cook	. do.	. do.
„ Coulahan	. do.	. do.
„ Sackville	. do.	. wounded
„ Falvy	. lieutenant	. do.
„ Day	. do.	. do.
„ Brima (Brien ?)	. do.	. do.
„ Soly (Foley ?)	. cornet	. do.
„ Fergus O'Ffarel	. do.	. do.
„ Stapleton	. do.	. do.

Summary of killed and wounded taken from MS. above referred to at the *Ministère de la Guerre*.

REGIMENT.	KILLED.		WOUNDED.	
	Officers.	Sergeants & Soldiers.	Officers.	Sergeants & Soldiers.
Bulkeley's ..	0	20	4	34
Clare's ..	4	56	14	72
Dillon's ..	3	51	11	70
Rothe's ..	2	47	8	46
Berwick's ..	1	52	11	60
Lally's ..	3	35	10	42
FitzJames' <sup>1</sup> ..	3	—	14	—
	16	261	72	324
Total killed—Officers	16		Wounded—Officers	72
Men	261		Men	324
	277			396

Total loss = 673.

The foregoing list is a true roll of honour. It testifies to the fearless bravery of the Irish Brigade. Yet Fontenoy was but one of the many fields on which they signalised themselves. According to the learned Abbé MacGeoghegan, from 1691 to the battle of Fontenoy, 450,000 Irishmen died in the service of France. Add to these the 40,000 who took service in the armies of France and Spain after the wars of Cromwell, and the number who imitated their example between 1652 and 1691, as well as those who formed the Brigade from 1745 to 1791, and it will be found that more than half a million of Irishmen died in the

<sup>1</sup> The number of sergeants and soldiers of FitzJames' regiment killed and wounded is not given in the MS.

French service. France nobly acknowledged the services rendered by the Brigade. She gave to those who served under her flag the rights of French citizens ; and to several of the Irish regiments higher pay than to her own native soldiers. The Irish officers ranked with the other officers of France.

Nor was this the only benefit which France conferred on Ireland. At a period when no civil or military career was open to Irish Catholics in their own land, and when the great colonies beyond the seas were still unknown, France offered to Irishmen a field where they might rise to honour. To Irishmen, too, in search of profane or sacred learning she opened her colleges and universities. As by the Crusades the arts and civilisation of the East were communicated to the West, so a communication was established between France and Ireland. Even in the darkest days of persecution the noble ambition of honour was not permitted to decay, nor the lamp of learning to be extinguished. The civilisation of the Continent extended its influence, even to the remotest glens of Ireland. Irishmen, on their side, gave their services to France without regret.

About 1730, not many years before the battle of Fontenoy, the Superiors of the Irish College in Paris resolved to rebuild the chapel of their College. In their appeal for alms for that purpose they mention the bonds which bound France to Ireland, and in particular the services of the Irish Brigade :—

The remembrance [they said] which France has been pleased to preserve of the battles of Marseilles, Luzata, Almanza, of the sieges of Namur, Charleroi, Barcelona, etc., and, last of all, of the battle of Cremona, and of some other occasions on which the Irish did their duty, is so flattering that they do not regret the blood that has been shed in her service ; they are ready to give all they have left. The laymen will fight, the ecclesiastics will pray.

So spoke the superiors of the College in 1730. Laity and clergy both were exiles for the cause of Faith. The Irish Colleges in France and the Irish Brigade mutually aided each other. In the officers of the Brigade the

Colleges found protectors. The Colleges in their turn furnished to the Brigade priests who acted as their chaplains and give spiritual instruction in their native tongue.<sup>1</sup> The names O'Neil, and O'Brien, and Magennis, and M'Carthy, and Stapleton, are found repeatedly on the list of pupils and benefactors of our College in Paris; and, doubtless, many of them were relatives of the brave men who fought at Fontenoy. In the early years of the nineteenth century, the Duke of FitzJames and the Marquis Lally Tollendal, descendants of FitzJames and Lally of Fontenoy, were members of the Board of Administration of the College. The writer of this paper, therefore, feels that in recording the valour of those brave men he is but discharging a debt of gratitude.

The Irish Brigade is now but a historic memory. Yet Ireland recalls with pride the valour of her sons. But how sad that, for more than a century and a half, the flower of the Catholic youth of Ireland were compelled to devote their talents and their energy to the service of a foreign land!

What changes have taken place since Fontenoy! England and France are united in amity. The army of France is valiant as of old. But the religion for which so many Irishmen were in exile is not less free in Holland and in England, than in the land of St. Louis. Irishmen have now no other wish but to be permitted to live in their own land, and to devote their energies to the promotion of its welfare. Yet the memory of Fontenoy merits to be preserved. In that great battle the steady intrepidity of the English, and the dauntless impetuosity of the Irish won the admiration of all. If, instead of being opposed, as at Fontenoy, they were united together by the bonds of just legislation and constitutional freedom, what power could resist them?

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

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<sup>1</sup> Each regiment had a chaplain. In 1782 Father Corbally was chaplain to Dillon's regiment, and Abbé Canvan to Berwick's.—Archives de la Guerre.

# Notes and Queries

## THEOLOGY

### TRANSPERENCE OF MASSES

REV. DEAR SIR,—Since the publication of the Decree *Ut Debita* is a priest free to transfer to another priest 'intentions' which he can personally discharge within the time specified in the Decree? In many places priests get more 'intentions' than they are able to discharge. Formerly those priests had no difficulty in making up their consciences regarding the lawfulness of giving the surplus to other priests not so favourably situated as themselves. It seemed to be generally admitted, in practice at least, that donors consented to have 'intentions' discharged by another unless the opposite was in some way indicated. Is it lawful for a priest, who knows that he will receive more 'intentions' than he can discharge, to transfer them to others so as to have himself always free according to the terms of the Decree *Ut Debita*, to undertake new obligations?

In the I. E. RECORD for November it is stated that a priest cannot accept more Masses than he can personally celebrate in a specified time, unless he has the consent *explicit* or *implicit* of the donor. Am I right in taking the word *implicit* to mean the same thing as *tacit*?

An answer in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD will much oblige.

SACERDOS.

A priest can lawfully accept Masses for the purpose of transferring them to other priests whenever he can reasonably say to himself that he is acting in conformity with the will of the donors. When a priest can find out from the express statement of the donors, or from the circumstances of the case what the will of the donors is, no difficulty exists. But if a priest cannot find out either from the statement of the donors, or from the circumstances of the case then some difficulty arises about the lawfulness of accepting Masses for the purpose of trans-

ferring them to other priests. We believe that it is safe in that case to presume on the will of the donors to transfer the Masses to others. Seeing that no indication of his will has been given by the donor, and remembering that the efficacy of the Mass does not depend on the individual priest who celebrates it, we consider that we are justified in holding this view. As we indicated clearly in the article of the I. E. RECORD, to which our correspondent refers, we included under the implicit will of the donors all cases where there is a reasonable presumption of the donors' consent to transfer Masses.

This leads us to a question of practical importance. Suppose a priest has already lawfully accepted Masses, and now wishes to transfer these Masses to another priest for the purpose, say, of leaving himself free for the acceptance of more honoraria. Can he lawfully do so? It depends altogether on the nature of the acceptance already given, the will of the donor, and the degree of necessity for transference which exists. When the donors, from the beginning, did not wish to bind the priest to a personal satisfaction of the obligations imposed he is free to transfer the Masses, even though at the time of acceptance he did not advert to this freedom. The priest can judge of this consent of the donors in the way indicated in the previous paragraph.

When the donors, however, in giving the honoraria demanded a personal satisfaction the priest accepting the honoraria is bound to a personal satisfaction. *Per se*, he cannot lawfully, in this case, transfer the honoraria to others. *Per accidens*, however, occasions arise when he can lawfully make the transfer. This is true whenever such exceptional necessity exists as justifies him in presuming on the consent of the donors to make the transfer. This necessity must be exceptional in the sense that it must be something not foreseen at the time of accepting the honoraria, as certain to happen, because the priest could not lawfully accept the honoraria for himself unless, having considered the future, he thought that he could probably celebrate the Masses. Though exceptional the

necessity need not be very grave, because the personal obligation, as a rule, does not seem to be a grave obligation. The mere desire to make room for the acceptance of other Masses is not of itself a sufficient cause to warrant the transfer of these previously accepted honoraria. Something more is required such as inconvenience in refusing honoraria subsequently offered, which was not foreseen with certainty when the obligation was undertaken. Apart from some such exceptional cause there is no excuse for not fulfilling the obligations already undertaken.

#### INTERRUPTION OF FORM OF BAPTISM

REV. DEAR SIR,—I wish to know whether Baptism in the following case was valid. A priest, after pronouncing the words *Ego te baptizo*, noticed that the sponsors were holding the child's head over the baptismal font instead of the sacarium, and told them to move back the child a little. He then continued the form, and pronounced the remaining words, *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*. Was there here an interruption of the words such as to necessitate the re-Baptism of the child conditionally?

SACERDOS.

The interruption of the form of Baptism mentioned by our correspondent is certainly not substantial. Hence no repetition of the Baptism is necessary. There seems to be a perfect parity between this case and that mentioned by Lehmkuhl, vol. ii., p. 12 :—‘*Valere baptismum, si parochus dicat : Ego te baptizo (convertens se ad garrientes pueros inter ponit : silete pueri) in nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*’ In both cases the interruption is of such a nature as not to make the meaning of the form, in the estimation of men, even doubtful.

#### REFUSAL TO ‘CHURCH’ A WOMAN. CASE OF ‘SIGILLUM’

REV. DEAR SIR,—You would oblige me and a few others of your readers by answering the following questions in the next number of the I. E. RECORD :—

I. Would it be lawful for a Parish Priest to refuse to ‘church’ a woman for the simple reason that her husband did not pay a sufficient honorarium on the occasion of the Baptism?



2. Is it a *violatio sigilli* in a confessor who informs the president of a college that there are certain irregularities going on amongst the students (v.g. smoking), which information the confessor acquired *in tribunali*?

JUNIOR PRIEST.

I. A parish priest is not justified in refusing to 'church' a woman for the reason mentioned by our correspondent. A parish priest is bound by his office to administer the Sacraments and the sacramentals to the members of his flock who reasonably ask for these spiritual graces. It is altogether against the policy of the Church to admit such a reason as that mentioned by our correspondent as sufficient to prevent a person from reasonably demanding these favours. This policy is specially manifested in the legislation of the Church in connection with the Sacraments. But the same policy holds in connection with the sacramentals, amongst which the ceremony of 'churching' holds an important place. This is specially true when no crime has been committed by the person immediately concerned.

II. There would be a direct violation of the *sigillum* if the confessor were to mention the students who confessed the irregularities of which 'Junior Priest' speaks. There would be an indirect violation of the *sigillum* if the confessor spoke in such a way as to create a danger of discovering those students. There would also be an indirect violation of the *sigillum* if the confessor's action were of such a nature as to cause, directly or indirectly, an *incommodum* to the penitent. When there is question of rules of a community which are often violated no such *incommodum* exists in the statement of a confessor that they are broken, unless the penitent is mentioned, or danger of discovering him arises. When there is question of rules which are not often violated there would be some defamation of the community in the disclosure of the fact, and consequently there would be an *incommodum* caused to the penitent at least indirectly. 'Junior Priest' knows as well as we do to which class of rules the example mentioned by him belongs.

**PAPAL DISPENSATION FROM ABSTINENCE. OBLIGATION OF  
GIVING ABSOLUTION. ROYAL ANTEDILUVIAN ORDER OF  
BUFFALOES**

REV. DEAR SIR,—An answer to the following questions in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD will oblige :—

I. (a) Was it necessary that the dispensation from the abstinence on the Feast of the Epiphany should be known through one's own Ordinary in order to be lawfully used? Would a person, having no intimation of the dispensation from his own Ordinary, though aware of it from another source (*e.g.* another Bishop's official declaration), be obliged to abstain?

(b) The first intimation of the dispensation that we received from our Ordinary was on the Wednesday preceding the Feast. Were those priests justified in publishing the dispensation on the previous Sunday if they were certain of it from other sources?

II. A person forgets a mortal sin in confession, but, remembering it, returns immediately and confesses. Is there any obligation in justice or charity to give absolution? If so, would the confessor in any circumstances sin gravely by not absolving? (*Cf.* Lehmkuhl, vol. ii., 238-239.)

III. Is the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes a secret society? Has it been condemned? Have the American Bishops issued any decree on it?—Yours truly, C. P. L.

I. (a) It was not necessary that the dispensation from the abstinence on the Feast of the Epiphany should be known through one's own Ordinary to be lawfully used. It was promulgated in Rome for the whole world so that any person knowing of its existence from any reliable source could lawfully use it.

(b) We see no reason why a priest should not tell his people that he had learned on good authority that the Holy Father had dispensed from the abstinence, even though the Bishop did not give him express intimation of the dispensation. No Bishop was unwilling that the faithful should enjoy the dispensation. The church was the most convenient place to make the announcement.

II. There is an obligation both in justice and charity

to give absolution in the case mentioned by our correspondent. The obligation of justice arises from a quasi-contract by which the priest binds himself to give absolution when he hears the confession of a penitent. The obligation of charity arises from the position which a priest holds as the dispenser of Christ's sacraments. These obligations are not so absolute as to admit of no exceptions. In the present case the usual exceptions which exist in all confessions exist. Want of due dispositions, utility of deferring absolution for the purpose of avoiding scandal, or necessity of making sure of the fulfilment of obligations such as restitution will permit the priest to defer absolution when the sin has been confessed. Moreover, as Lehmkuhl in the place referred to by our correspondent holds, it would not be absolutely outside the power of a priest to defer absolution in the case if he be certain that the penitent will make his next confession to him. It would, however, be inadvisable to adopt this course, because it would interfere to some extent with the freedom of confession, since it would place some obstacle in the way of a change of intention on the part of the penitent with reference to the selection of a confessor.

III. We are not sure that our correspondent is quite serious in asking about the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes. We have, however, glanced through the book of rules of the society which he kindly sent us. We have seen nothing in this little book which would prove that the Order is a secret society in the sense in which secret societies are condemned by the Church. It is not, however, from the printed rules of a society a person can usually find out whether it is a secret society or not. As far as we know the American Bishops have not taken the trouble of condemning this Antediluvian Order. Our correspondent need have very little fear that a society of this kind will spread very widely. It is a society which is more prolific in rules than in wisdom. Its rules cover seventy-six pages of closely-printed matter. A sample will best show the wisdom of the laborious framers of these rules. Under Rule 108 we find a schedule

of fineable offences of which the following is worth noting :—

Speaking of cigars, tobacco, snuff, pipes, and matches otherwise than as stick-weed, soft-weed, pulverised-weed, weed-consumer, stick-lights ; or wine, spirits, and malt liquors, otherwise than as juniper or gatter. All mineral waters shall be classed as gatter. 'Penalty, one D.'

J. M. HARTY.

## LITURGY

### COM PRO DEF. IN 'MISSIS PRO VIVIS'

REV. DEAR SIR,—From what is laid down in *Rubricae Generales* of the Roman Missal (t. vii. n. 6, and t. ix. n. 12) may a priest say more than one Collect for the Dead in a Mass for the living ? In tit. vii. n. 6, the words are : 'Si facienda sit *commemoratio*' (in the singular) 'pro Defunctis,' etc. In tit. ix. n. 12, three, five, or seven prayers are allowed on certain days.—Yours, etc.,

SACERDOS.

The *commemoratio pro defunctis* referred to by the Rubrics of the Missal, tit. vii. n. 6, is a substitute for the *Requiem Mass* which is prescribed by the preceding Rubric, tit. vi. n. 1, and which is impeded by the character of the Office for the day. Mindful of the claims of her deceased children the Church, with thoughtful solicitude, orders, in certain cases, the Sacrifice of the Mass to be offered up for them on some suitable day at the beginning of each month and week of the year. The occasions, however, when this Mass is *de praecepto* are very rare ; but sometimes the commemoration is ordered, and it is to this that the Rubric, tit. vii. n. 6, refers. A priest, then, may not say more than one such Collect for the Dead. The *Orationes ad libitum* mentioned in Rubric, tit. ix. n. 12, are of a different character. These may be taken from the *Orationes ad diversa* at the end of the Missal, and also from any of the approved Votive Masses. The context of the Rubric, tit. vii. n. 6, makes it sufficiently clear that only one commemoration (*Fidelium*) may be made here :—'Si

facienda sit commemoratio pro defunctis semper *ponitur in penultimo loco*.'.

#### OFFICE OF TITULAR

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly state in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD :—

1°. How far in conscience *adscripti Ecclesiae* are bound to celebrate the *festum Titularis* as a double of the first class with an octave ?

2°. If the octave day of the Feast always displaces an ordinary double, is the latter to be transferred to the first free day. If a Feast (*dup.*) which is had *in aliquibus locis* is transferred, and it is transferred before the Feast displaced by the Octave day, which gets the preference on the first free day ?

The reason of my first request is that I have met no Priest who celebrates the Titular of his Church as a double of the first class with an octave. They excuse themselves on account of the trouble involved in changing the *Ordo*.

A. L. D.

1. A kindred question to this was asked and answered in the I. E. RECORD of 1893.<sup>1</sup> The Office of the Titular of a Church—which has been merely blessed—is to be celebrated as a double of the first class with an octave by all the clergy attached to that church. A decree of the Sac. Cong. of Rites, dated June, 1880, states that this Office is to be celebrated in the manner described by the clergy under pain of not satisfying the obligation of the Office. In July, 1895, the same Congregation enjoined the celebration of the three principal local Feasts. The words used in regard to the Titular of a Church run thus :—‘*Eodem ritu Duplici primae classis cum octava celebrari debet Festum solemnius Titularis Ecclesiae ab omnibus e clero, quibus eadem Ecclesia propria est, aut ratione beneficii aut ratione subjectionis.*’

This obligation is *grave per se*, as is evident from the first of the decrees mentioned. In most places provision is made in local calendars for the due celebration of

<sup>1</sup> Pages 940-4.

Feasts such as the Titular, the Patron of the place, and the Dedication of a Church. Then, where the Patron and the Titular are identical one celebration does ample honour to the saint in his two-fold capacity. Also when the Titular happens to be a saint, or a mystery that is solemnly celebrated throughout the whole Church, no difficulty about it arises. We may remark here that, as the name of the Titular is to be inserted in the prayer *A Cunctis*, care should be taken to have it inscribed on a tablet in a prominent place in the sacristy, so that all Priests may know before going to the altar what name they have to mention in this Collect.

2. The Feast of double rite that is perpetually impeded by the octave of Titular, should be transferred to the first vacant day, that is, one not having a feast of nine lessons. This day becomes for the transferred Feast its *dies fixa*, and enjoys all the privileges, as regards permanence, that are enjoyed by the *dies propria*. When two feasts are to be transferred about the same time the order of precedence, or, in other words, the right to the first vacant day is determined by (a) rite ; (b) class ; (c) quality—*primary* being preferred to *secondary* ; (d) dignity. A Feast having an octave—if it is to be transferred has prior claims on a vacant day *inf. oct.*, while for some of the greater Feasts that have to be translated from time to time, special days are kept in reserve. This rule will be sufficient to help our correspondent to arrange the order of priority between the two Feasts he mentions. If a feast is merely *accidentally* disturbed it cannot be transferred unless it be of a rite greater than a Double Major, or, unless it is a Doctor of the Church of simple double rite. When it cannot be transferred it is generally *simplified* and commemorated.

#### CONSECRATION OF 'ALTARE FIXUM'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you be kind enough to give me an answer to the following questions in as early as issue as possible :—

1°. Is it allowable to consecrate a stone altar in a temporary wooden church ? 2°. Is there any incongruity in doing so ?

3°. When the future church is built (in an adjoining plot of ground) and the altar removed to it, will the altar have to be reconsecrated? 4°. If the gradine rests upon the slab of the *mensa*, should the necessary crosses be incised on that part of the slab which is unoccupied by the gradine; and may a slab of this nature receive consecration, notwithstanding the position of the gradine?

Thanking you in anticipation, I am,

B. W.

1 and 2. We have not seen any formal prohibition against consecrating a stone altar in a temporary wooden church, but we consider that there is, at least, a certain amount of incongruity in doing so. The temporary character of the building is rather incompatible with the stability and permanence usually associated with the idea of a consecrated altar.

3. In its essence the *altare fixum* consists of a slab or table (*mensa*) of a rectangular shape, and a base or support, (*stipes*) both being so united as to form a single structure. As a rule the table is made of one piece of stone, and completely covers the base on all sides. The base may be composed of a solid mass of masonry, or may be hollow in the centre, or may be formed of three small walls—the posterior and two lateral—or, as now for the most part obtains, it may be so arranged that the rere half of the *mensa* rests on a solid wall, while the anterior half is supported by two or more small columns. The junction of the *mensa* and *stipes*—which is secured with cement or some such substance—is all-important, and its enduring character is typified in the ceremony of consecration by anointing with chrism the points of contact at the four angles. The *retabulum*, or reredos, or gradine forms no part, therefore, of the *altare fixum* strictly so called. If, then, the removal of the altar necessitates the separation of the table from its base the consecration is certainly lost. But if the transfer can be effected so that the whole *altare fixum* is removed without disturbing the unity between the *mensa* and its *stipes*, then it is not so clear that the consecration is not retained.

Gardellini<sup>1</sup> maintains that a complete removal of this kind does not invalidate the consecration, and explains that a *fixed* altar is so called not because it is firmly attached to the ground on which it is erected and, therefore, in a manner, immovable, but rather on account of the permanent union of the table with its base. This case is scarcely of any practical moment, because it rarely happens that an altar of this description can be removed in its entirety from one place to another. It may be noted, however, that in this view the incongruity we spoke of above would be very seriously diminished.

4. The gradine, we have said, does not belong to the *altare fixum* strictly so called. It ought not, therefore, project over the table. But a slight projection would not seem to unfit the slab for consecration, provided it does not interfere with the integrity and independence of the table and its base.<sup>2</sup> The crosses in this case should be incised on the front portion of the slab.

**TRANSFER OF SOME OFFICES. DATE OF EASTER THIS  
YEAR**

REV. DEAR SIR,—On January 22nd of this year the Office and Mass were *De ea*. Why was not either the Office and Mass of St. Munchin (January 2nd), St. Albert (January 8th), or St. Paul, the First Hermit, celebrated on that day, seeing that on Sunday, February 12th, we had St. Titus, whose Feast day occurred on February 6th?

Why is it that Easter Sunday this year does not fall on March 26th, since it is the 'first Sunday after the full moon, which happens upon, or next after the 21st March'?

JUNIOR PRIEST.

1. The 22nd January being occupied by an Office of semidouble rite is not available for the reception of transferred Feasts. This year the Third Sunday after Pentecost supplants the Martyrs SS. Vincent and Anastasius, but as the Office of the Martyrs is also a semidouble it is evident

<sup>1</sup> *Apud* Bucceroni, *Enchiridion Morale*, p. 357 (ed. 1904).

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Van Der Stappen, *Del Col. Min.*, p. 27.



that even on ordinary occasions this day is not a *dies libera* in the sense of the Rubrics. Moreover, the Feasts of St. Munchin, St. Albert, and St. Titus, being perpetually impeded on their *dies propriae* have been assigned *dies fixae* on the dates on which they are now celebrated generally throughout Ireland, and formally established. It is another question why St. Titus got preference over St. Munchin and St. Albert, to the 12th February. Possibly he had to be provided for before them, and having got his *d.f.* he enjoys a certain immunity from disturbance.

2. We had not been able to insert an answer to this query in the April issue owing to want of space; but, seeing the question put in another journal, and surmising it originated from our present correspondent, we gave in substance the reply we are now about to give. The rule advanced is indeed the common one. It is not, however, quite accurate. For, instead of the 'full moon,' we must read 'the fourteenth day of the moon,' which is a different thing. The latter phase takes place exactly midway between two new moons, and as each lunation is twenty-nine and a-half days, new moon occurs not on the fourteenth day but after fourteen days and three-fourths, which point—reckoning the day of the new moon as the first—will happen on the fifteenth day. This year the fourteenth day of the March calendar year falls on the 20th March. This is before the Vernal Equinox, which occurs on the 21st. Accordingly, the next moon will be the Pascal moon. Its fourteenth day falls on 18th April, and the Sunday following, that is, 23rd April, is Easter Sunday. It should be borne in mind that the phases of the Ecclesiastical or Calendar moon do not always coincide with those of the Astronomical moon, and that the Vernal Equinox for the purposes of the Calendar is fixed for 21st March, although it does not always fall on this date.

In the Winter Quarter of the Roman Breviary the rule is given as follows:—'*Quoniam ex decreto sacri Concilii Nicaeni Pascha, ex quo reliqua Festa mobilia pendent, celebrari debet die Domenica qui proxime succedit xiv lunae primi mensis, i.e., luna cujus xiv dies eadit die 21*

mensis Martii (Verni Aequinoctii) vel proprius ipsum sequitur, etc.' Here the rule is accurately given. A careful study of the chapter in the Breviary entitled *De anno et ejus partibus* will well repay the trouble of perusal, and give a very good idea of the *Computum Ecclesiasticum*. To this source, and also to some papers on the Calendar contributed in these pages in the years 1891 and 1892, we are indebted for most of the information contained in the foregoing observations.<sup>1</sup>

P. MORRISROE.

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<sup>1</sup> We have seen it stated that this year, as a matter of fact, the phenomenon of full moon as observed at Greenwich *preceded* by three hours the sun's entry into Aries, or the Vernal Equinox, and that, therefore, the fixing of Easter 1905 is quite in accordance with the old rule as enunciated by our correspondent. The emendation of the Old Rule, however, into its present prevailing form indicates that if followed it would not always give accurate results.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## THE REPRINTING OF IRISH BOOKS

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE I. E. RECORD

REV. DEAR SIR,—Among old letters I recently happened to turn up the two which I send to you ; they were written to me by the late Rev. Bartholomew MacCarthy, D.D., who died in March, 1904, then Parish Priest of Inniscarra, in the diocese of Cloyne. These letters exhibit a carefully thought out plan of reprinting the extremely rare books treating of the lives of the Irish saints, which our learned countrymen had published on the Continent during the seventeenth century. Dr. MacCarthy was induced to communicate with me by John O'Daly, of Anglesea-street, Dublin, whom I had almost persuaded to undertake a page for page republication of one of those books, making a mere mechanical copy of it, without the correction of a single misprint. Dr. MacCarthy's project was of a more scholarly character, but much more expensive. Many great literary undertakings, such as editing the *Annals of Ulster*, the Todd Lectures before the Academy on the *Codex Palatino Vaticanus* ; his monograph on the *Stowe Missal* ; and the *Textual Studies on the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, used up, however, all of his time that remained over his duties as a priest, and consequently the reprinting project fell through.

Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, folio, 906 pages, printed in 1645, gives the lives of the Irish saints whose festivals occur in the months of January, February, and March, with many valuable notes and indices. His *Triadis Thaumaturgae . . . Acta*, printed A.D. 1647, folio, 742 pages, contains Fiech's Hymn and Six Lives of St. Patrick, with Appendices ; five Lives of St. Columba, with Appendices ; and six Lives of St. Brigid, with Appendices and six Indices. Both these volumes abound with typographical inaccuracies, which the author attributes to the *crassa negligentia* of the printer. Not thirty copies of these books are to be found in Ireland, England, and Scotland, and it is almost certain that there are not fifty copies in existence ; they are, consequently, very high priced. Stewart, of King William-street, Strand, London, catalogued these books in 1869 at £34,

though the 'first volume is rebound and somewhat cut.' Colgan published at Antwerp, in 1658, the *Life of John Duns Scotus*, in octavo, which is a work of still greater rarity.

Father Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra*, published at Louvain, in 1667, treats principally of the life and writings of St. Columbanus, and of several of his contemporaries—St. Comgall of Bangor, and others. The *Life of Columbanus* is by Jonas, who was a monk in Bobbio under the Abbot who immediately succeeded St. Columbanus. It was copied from a manuscript at present preserved in the Archiepiscopal Seminary of Treves. This manuscript has been lately recognised by Bruno Krusch, who published, in 1902, a critical edition of the *Life*, presenting it in the form in which it was originally written. (See Paper by Dr. Lawlor, *Transactions Royal Irish Academy*.) The *Collectanea Sacra* is a quarto volume of 480 pages, which has varied in price from £30 to £40. Dr. Todd's copy was sold, in 1869, for £75.

To these rare volumes we must add the *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum* of Messingham, published at Paris, in 1624, which though badly edited contains many tracts of great value. These writers well deserve the gratitude of the nation for having preserved under such difficulties the actions and the names of its greatest children. Yet their writings are totally outside the reach of our countrymen, and that they are such is a disgrace to the Irish priesthood. Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee, writing on the subject thirty years ago, said:—

'The Irish Catholic clergy owe it to themselves to see that the merit of making them known in this generation be not grasped by others. It is not probable that laymen would undertake the task of editing martyrologies and lives of the saints; but there is an increasing class in Ireland who begin to regard these sealed books as sacred national property, which indeed they are. It were much better, however, that hands consecrated to the altar should unclasp those memoirs of the canonized and the martyred. Let not the Catholic Irish clergy in the dawn of their prosperity, cast from them the companions of their way through the long bleak night, the lamps that lighted their feet and the staffs that stayed their hands.'

We would all wish to see these books brought out in the scholarly manner in which Dr. Kelly produced *Cambrensis Eversus* for the Celtic Society, but it is to be feared that we are far from being able for such an enterprise. The most

practical way of reprinting any of these books, in my opinion, would be to intrust the book to one operative printer, directing him to place it in a glass covered case, and to print off an exact copy that would have in each column and in each page what is in the corresponding column and page of the original book. This plan would save the enormous trouble of altering the elaborate and valuable indices. Printers who had no knowledge of Latin printed most accurately, for my *History of Down and Connor*, long extracts from the Bollandists, Theiner, *Spicil. Ossor.*, etc.; while a printer, who was a good Latin scholar, sent down to me a proof sheet of the *Antiphonary of Bangor*, with the words corrected up to the orthography of Arnold, and he seemed rather surprised when he was directed to restore the quaint spelling of the old Bangor monks.

I have placed these matters before your readers in the hope that some one may be induced to bring out any one of these rare works at a price such as would render it no longer a sealed book.

JAMES O'LAVERTY, P.P., M.R.I.A.  
*Dom. Apostol. Praesul.*

Holywood.

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MACROOM, CO. CORK,  
*April 29th, 1885.*

MY DEAR FATHER O'LAVERTY,—I have to thank you very much for your valuable assistance in the projected series of reprints. You are probably the only Irish priest in Ireland who has a copy of the *Acta S. S.*; and the calculation to be made by your printer will be of the utmost advantage. I have received the following estimate from Duffy & Sons, Dublin. They will print 500 copies of each sheet of 16 pages (same size as Migne's *Patrology*, i.e., 2 columns, 60 lines in each) for £6 15s.; stitching covering in paper extra. They recommend issue in parts of 10 sheets = 160 pages, the binding of which would cost £2 5s. Total for 500 copies of each part of 10 sheets, £69 15s. Again, they say that adding one-fourth to the actual pages of the book, gives approximately the quantity of the reprint, i.e., *Acta S. S.* 902 pages, *Trias Thaum.* 742 = 1,644, plus 412 = 2,056, or about thirteen parts of 160 pages each.

Say the cost of each part is £70; that means that with the postage, advertisements, etc., each part could be given for 3s. 6d. I may add their charge for printing 1000 copies

would be £8. This price does not include corrections, which would be numerous—if all the blunders of the original were to be rectified. The reason I hit upon Migne's *Patrology* was for uniformity, as the works of Fleming and Messingham are not the same size as Colgan's. But of course the old pagination should be inserted at the proper places.

Now I should be glad to learn your opinion on the foregoing scale of charges. They (Duffy) say they can turn out a part in five weeks; all we want, therefore, is the sinews of war. Surely we ought to get 496 subscribers amongst the Irish priests. Our committee is strong enough to issue the parts as fast as they could be printed. Our numbers and names are as follows, alphabetically:—

COMERFORD, REV. M., Monasterevan.

HILL, REV. R. A., O.S.F., Dublin.

KELLY, REV. J. J., Tusk.

MACCARTHY, REV. B., Macroom.

MORRIS, REV. W. B., The Oratory.

MURPHY, REV. J., Queenstown.

O'LAVERTY, REV. J., Holywood.

Probably the best plan to adopt would be to bring the project formally under the notice of the Bishops assembled at Maynooth or Dublin. But, doubtless, Dr. Walsh, *Vic. Cap.*, will best advise as to what course is best to adopt to make it known.

With many thanks for your offer of help,

Yours very faithfully,

B. MACCARTHY.

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MACROOM,

May 11th, 1885.

DEAR FATHER O'LAVERTY,—Yours, with the estimate, to hand this morning. I have to thank you very much for all your trouble; in particular for the thoughtfulness of enclosing the printed page. It shows how crass (as Colgan says) was the negligence of the original printers.

Your project is too large, I regret to say, for my expectations. Keeping copies in stock, and leaving half the subscription outstanding presupposes a fund, which, of course, is not to be thought of. The plan which alone, to my mind, can be successful is, not to go to press till all the money is on hands.

If Maynooth and Paris took up, say, 200 subscriptions between them, we might increase the number ; but, as I have no reason to calculate upon this, we must abide by the 500 copies for subscribers. Could that number be issued, I have no doubt but that any bookseller investing in fifty, would make cent. per cent. on the speculation.

However, to return. Beginning with the *Trias. Thaum.* It contains 742 pages ; plus one-fourth (for the pages of the reprint) = 928. Divide by 160 (pages in each sheet) and we have, say, six sheets. Cost of printing each sheet £69 10s.  $\times 6 =$  £405. Add stitching and covering in paper 500 copies, £15 —total £420. As five copies must be given to public libraries, this leaves £495 for subscribers, which leaves a good margin for advertising, press corrections, and a balance to carry to the *Acta Sanctorum*. In regard to correcting the original errors, I suggest to forward the sheets (the books are to be got from the Franciscans) *before printing* to the various correctors, who would make the corrigenda on slips, giving the page and number of line, thus:—Page 828, column 1, line 2, 'Withbrodo' for 'withbrodo ;' line 8, 'fana' for 'sana'—underlining the letter or words to be changed, and then the sheet, with the slips of corrections, could be put before the printer, and all extras for errors of the press saved. This, I think, is quite feasible, but I should like to hear your opinion upon it.

I come now to the *Acta Sanctorum*, 906 pages in the original, 1,132 in the reprint = say, 7 sheets. Cost of printing, £472 10s. + £15 = £487 10s. This shows we should have to raise the subscription to about 21s. or 22s. But as the subscribers to the *Triad. Thaum.* would object to have their subscriptions devoted to bringing out another work, we could add a short annotated text to the work, or lessen the cost of the *Acta*, *pro rata*. But this, on the other hand, would necessitate keeping accounts, so that I think the best thing would be to issue a brief text, such as the *Confessio* of St. Patrick, or some such document.

Upon all the foregoing, I shall feel much obliged for your judgment. It may be of interest to learn that application was made to Gill, and Browne & Nolan : the former did not think fit to reply, and the latter said their hands were full.

Yours very sincerely,

B. MACCARTHY.

We are very glad that Mgr. O'Laverty has raised this

question. It is one that affects the honour of the whole Irish Church. We ourselves have more than once thought of suggesting a national collection of works such as those mentioned by Mgr. O'Laverty and Dr. MacCarthy, which might be entitled *Hibernia Sancta*, or *Monumenta Hiberniae Sacra*. Into such a collection might be gathered not only the works of supreme importance, such as those of Colgan, Fleming, and Messingham, but various and almost innumerable other works and fragments of works which are to be found scattered up and down through the collections of Surius, Canisius, Mabillon, the Bollandists, Serrarius, Rader, etc. The great collection of Pertz entitled *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* is full of documents relating to Ireland, and to the religious history of our early missionaries. Of this great work there is not a single copy, as far as we are aware, in any library in Ireland, certainly not in any ecclesiastical library. How, then, is it possible for any Irish scholar to pursue his investigations into the history of that most interesting period in the life of the Church, or for any one interested in the subject, to find reliable information in this country at first hand? The thing is impossible. In the collections of the Academies of Vienna, Zurich, and other Continental cities, there are a great many documents of importance to our religious history that should not be abandoned. Then there are such works as the *De Patria Sancti Rumoldi*, of Father Hugh Ward of Louvain; the *Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae*, of Father Fitzsimon; and the *Vindiciae Scotorum Veterum*, of Father White. All these, in our opinion, should be gathered together in one great collection which would be a monument at least as worthy of the Irish clergy as any Cathedral in the land, and one, we think, which would enlist the sympathy and support of the Irish clergy the world over.

It is only when one comes to consider the magnitude and importance of such a project that the loss to the Irish Church, particularly to Irish historical scholarship, of the late Dr. Bartholomew MacCarthy can be fully realized. A committee, however, could do all that would be required; for with sufficient funds at their disposal they could get the assistance of



the best experts available at home and abroad. The subtitle of *Collectio Manutiana* might be given to the collection thus associating it with an institution which will survive all committees and collaborators, and take an interest in the work when both shall have passed away that will be the surest guarantee of its success. To what nobler work could the College put its hand? To what undertaking more worthy of Catholic Ireland could the Maynooth Union extend its aid? In any case it is well to ventilate these views, and we sincerely hope something practical will result from their discussion. Possibly Mgr. O'Laverty, or somebody interested in the subject, may get it brought under the notice of the clergy at the Maynooth meeting in June. We should then know what chance there would be of sufficient support. Nobody would like to commit himself to such an undertaking without carefully computing the cost and considering the prospects of success. But neither, we imagine, would anybody be satisfied to see Ireland covered with great religious monuments of stone and marble while the equally religious and far more intellectual and inspiring monuments of our faith, handed down to us by our forefathers with such jealous care, should be allowed to fall into oblivion and decay. If the collection we suggest is impossible just now, could we not at least do something to make it possible in the future?

ED. I. E. RECORD.

#### WHERE WAS SAMUEL'S RAMAH?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you allow me to thank 'R. W.' for his generous review of *The Tabernacle* volume in your March number? And also to say a few words as to *Ramet*, near Hebron, and *Rentis* near Lydda? As to these places, the only difference between us is as to the birth-place of Samuel. Your reviewer is of opinion that *Rentis* was Samuel's birth-place, and was one of the six Ramahs which are enumerated in *Hastings' Dictionary*. He is willing to allow that Abraham, Solomon, Absalom, as well as Samuel, sacrificed at *Ramet*. This more than concedes my main contention, as it brings evidence to show that *Ramet* was a place of historical importance before

and after the time of Samuel. So far we are agreed, and I am under obligation to 'R. W.' for strengthening my main position.

A minor point, however, remains. It is that as to the Ramah at which Samuel first saw the light. It is not a matter of much historical importance, except so far as it bears upon the relative weight of authority which is to be given to the historians. On the one hand we have the Fathers Eusebius and Jerome agreeing in the statement that Samuel was born at *Rentis* near Lydda. I need not say that the date of these witnesses is A.D. 264-340 and 340-420. On the other side we have the statements that Samuel's ancestors were settled at Ramathaim Zophim, where he was presumably born (1 Sam. i. 1), that his house or home was at Ramah (1 Sam. vii. 17), and that he was buried in his house at Ramah (1 Sam. xxv. 1). These facts are testified to by some unnamed writer, whose date of contemporary evidence is at least B.C. 1000. The laws of evidence require us to give credence to the earlier document, in cases where there is a conflict of evidence. It has not yet, however, been shewn that there is any conflict of evidence, as Ramathaim may mean one place, and Ramah another. To this point I shall now address myself. Against the fact of the difference in name, is to be put the presumption that Samuel's attachment to Ramah as his life-long home, and place of sepulture, was based upon the fact that it had been the home of his family for five generations. If this was not so, why was he not buried at or near the tomb of the great ancestors of his race, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, which lay within three miles of *Ramet*? In place of this he was buried 'in his house at Ramah,' David, then in hiding near, being probably one of the mourners.

As to the change of name from Ramathaim to Ramah. This is in complete accordance with what I imagine to have been the topographical conditions of the country. During the time of the Judges the two bare and stony peaks to the immediate North of Hebron were unoccupied. It is probable that it was to the ridge of which they form the highest points that Celeb referred when he said 'Now therefore give me this mountain' (Joshua xiv. 12). It was not given to him, but a richer portion of valley-ground was measured off to him, in which were the upper and the nether springs (Joshua xv. 19, Judges i. 8-15). The 'mountain' was thus unoccupied by dwellings and became the Hills-of-the-Watchers (or Ramathaim

Zophim), from which outlooks were kept for those marauders from the East, from which Palestine had never been free. For this purpose these two heights, lying east and west of one another, with a roadway between them, were eminently suitable. This was their name when Zuph or Zophai removed there. As, in course of time, a settlement was made and cottages began to spring up on the one of them on which was a spring of water, it received, necessarily, a singular, and not a plural or dual name, and was known as Ramah.

This is the course of historical argument by which I arrive at my belief that Samuel was born, lived and died near the place the Arabic name of which is *Rāmet el-Khūllīl*.

The article on Ramah in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* is written in two parts by Sir Charles Warren and Dr. Driver. The former of these, with some geographical confusion as to the division in which Ramah was situate, writes, 'Ramah, a city of Benjamin, which is possibly also identical with Ramathaim Zophim, the birth-place and home of Samuel.' The latter, confirming the last part of this sentence, says, 'Ramathaim-Zophim . . . the birth-place, residence and burial-place of Samuel.'

I have not traversed the ground previously taken up by me in *The Tabernacle*, which I may suppose is known to your readers as well as by my reviewer. But I cannot conclude without expressing my sense of satisfaction at finding that so small a thing as this separates us on so important a matter as the whole question under discussion.

W. SHAW CALDECOTT.

Silver How, Bournemouth.

#### THE ITALIAN PRONUNCIATION OF 'MIHI'

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have no wish to enter into any possible controversy regarding Dr. Donnelly's directions for the pronunciation of Latin in the Italian manner; though, speaking for myself, I have so pronounced it for the past thirty-nine years. It is M. R.'s amazing assertion in the *I. E. RECORD* for April which almost forces me to say a word on the matter.

I spent eight years in Rome (1866-1874), finishing my classics in the first two, and doing my Philosophy and Theology in the remaining six. During the first four of these years I attended classics in the Roman College; for the others I

followed the Jesuit Fathers to the German College, where my professors were Franzelin, Palmieri, Ballerini, etc. These facts I mention merely to prove that I should have some slight authority in speaking of 'the Italian pronunciation.'

Now, in contradiction to M. R.'s words, I assert most positively that those who 'wish to adopt the Italian pronunciation' may *not* pronounce *mihi* 'meehee,' but *must* pronounce it 'meekee,' and that this is 'the pronunciation of cultured Italians (the Jesuit Fathers, for example) who make a point of *enunciating accurately*.' Yours faithfully,

M. B.

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the last number of the I. E. RECORD I read with great interest a brief correspondence relating to the Italian pronunciation of *mihi*. As I do not share the opinion put forward by the writer of the letter, and, moreover, consider his statement somewhat misleading at the present juncture, when the country is making an honest effort to secure and adopt the correct Italian pronunciation of Latin; I take the liberty of interfering only to express my notion about the question at issue. Your correspondent quotes first a passage from the *American Ecclesiastical Review* of January, where the Editor of that periodical, in reproducing the set of directions for the Roman pronunciation of Latin, compiled by Dr. Donnelly and published in the December number of the I. E. RECORD, suggests that the letter *h* in the middle of the words given in the above-mentioned rules as somewhat like *ch* or *k*, is thus pronounced only by a common habit, and that this is not the pronunciation of cultured Italians, who make a point of enunciating accurately. Then he proceeds to state that 'some who wish to adopt the Italian pronunciation will be glad to find that they may pronounce *mihi* "meehee," and not "micky."'

Indeed, it would afford me genuine pleasure to find that I may adopt the suggested pronunciation, and I, for one, would promptly adopt it were I convinced of its accuracy by any conclusive proof. But, unhappily, this statement is not corroborated by any positive argument, and left, as it is, in the condition of a mere assertion it may be denied just as gratuitously as it is made.

Nor does the suggestion made in the letter follow from the

passage of the *American Ecclesiastical Review* quoted by the writer. It was only stated there what, according to the Editor's view, the pronunciation of *h* in the middle of words should not be, and I fail to perceive how from that can be logically inferred that '*meehee*' is the correct pronunciation of *mih*i—especially taking into account that in the mouth of an Italian *mih*i cannot be possibly sounded as '*meehee*.' Even those who have only a smattering of the Italian language can bear testimony to the fact that the letter *h*, whether in the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of words, does not exist in Italian as an aspirate ; thus, Italians never pronounce it as an aspirate in Latin words.

Rejecting, therefore, the pronunciation suggested by your correspondent I venture to show by my own long experience that '*michee*' is the only and correct one adopted by all Italians, even by those who make a point of enunciating as accurately as possible.

I have special claim to a fair knowledge of the Italian tongue, and of the pronunciation of Latin in the Italian manner. I have spent almost all my life in Italy, and was educated there from the elementary up to the theological schools. In Rome for the lapse of ten years I had ample opportunity in the philosophical and theological schools of listening to all sorts of Italians speaking in Latin. My school companions belonged to different parts of Italy, my professors in the Roman Universities were all men of world-wide reputation, men of profound and varied knowledge. Above all, I had the privilege of hearing on several occasions the celebrated Latinist of the last century, who answers to the name of Leo XIII, speaking the best of his classical Latin ; and after all that I may assure your correspondent that none of them, whether cultured or otherwise, ever pronounced '*meehee*.' Their only pronunciation on all occasions was '*mihee*,' flavoured, of course, with the distinctive brogue peculiar to people of different parts of Italy.—Yours faithfully,

S. L.

## DOCUMENTS

PREROGATIVES OF THE CHAPTER OF THE PATRIARCHATE  
OF VENICE

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIVM

PIUS IX PRAEROGATIVAS CONCEDIT CAPITULO PATRIARCHALI  
VENETIARUM

PIUS EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI

*Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*

Romana Ecclesia aliarum omnium mater et magistra concessum sibi a coelesti Sponso Iesu Christo supremum auctoritatis et dignitatis Principatum ita semper in cunctas Ecclesias obtinuit, ut sacris Ministris earum servitio mancipatis, pro locorum temporum et personarum conditionibus, ampliores eximiasque honoris praerogativas indulserit prout ad Dei gloriam promovendam, ad Catholicae Religionis maiestatem tutandam, et ad Ecclesiasticam servandam Hierarchiam, Romanis Pontificibus, eiusdem Iesu Christi Vicariis ac Petri Apostolorum Principis successoribus, visum est in Domino salubriter expedire.

Idcirco Nos ad ipsius Romanae Ecclesiae regimen meritis quantumvis imparibus constituti, et Praedecessorum Nostrorum vestigia sectantes, pronas aures intendimus precibus dilectorum Filiorum hodiernorum Capituli et Canonicorum Patriarchalis et Metropolitanae Ecclesiae Venetiarum, exponentium, quod eorum Capitulum, cuius origo ad quatuor et ultra saecula assurger fertur, ob specialia quae sibi de utraque republica comparavit merita, ob perennem erga Apostolicam Sedem observantiam, pluribus honoribus et privilegiis a Summis Pontificibus, praesertim a fel. rec. Pio Papa Septimo et Gregorio Papa Decimosexto, Praedecessoribus Nostris, cohonestari obtinuit. Verumtamen ad exteriora insignia quod pertinet, Canonici praefati Cappam Magnam violaceam cum pellibus armellinis supra Rocchettum hyemali, aestivo autem tempore Cottam supra ipsum Rocchettum induunt, et Crucem ante pectus funiculo serico viridi abligatam deferunt; dum e contra haud pauca ex suffraganeis Ecclesiis Collegia valde potioribus insigniis augentur. Cum

autem, sicuti Exponentes praefati subiungebant, ut debitus effato Patriarchali Capitulo honos accedat, quo, cum in caeteris, ita in exterioribus ipsis insigniis, inferioribus aliis et subiectis Ecclesiis antecellat, praecique vero ut ad Divinum cultum et Domus Dei decorem promovendum alacrius excitentur qui Ecclesiae servitio mancipantur, memorati Exponentes plurimum cupiant maioribus honoris praerogativis per Nos et Sedem Apostolicam praefatam benigne, ut infra, condecorari; quare pro parte eorumdem Capituli et Canonicorum Nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, quatenus hisce eorum votis favorabiliter annuere de benignitate Apostolica dignemur.

Nos igitur praefatis Capitulo et Canonicis Pontificiam Nostram considerationem declarare volentes, ipsosque et eorum quemlibet a quibusvis excommunicationis suspensionis et interdicti aliisque Ecclesiasticis sententiis censuris et poenis, si quibus quomodo-libet innodati existunt, ad effectum praesentium tantum consequendum, harum serie absolventes et absolutos fore censentes, supplicationibus praemissis Inclinati, Exponentibus praedictis ut ii, eorumque Successores effatae Patriarchalis et Metropolitanae Ecclesiae Canonici, tam Residentiales, quam Honorarii, Protonotarii Apostolici nuncupari, et in Choro et Ecclesiasticis functionibus, quovis anni tempore, ac alias, quandocumque, ubicumque, et quotiescumque opus fuerit, habitum ipsorum Protonotariorum gestare, ac pileum ornatum purpureo torculo, honoraria scilicet rubri coloris fasciola, deferre, et in insigniis eorum familiae galерum imponere, ac dum Sacrosanctae Missae Sacrificium celebrant, illius Canonem et Lichneolum adhibere, caeterisque quibus Protonotarii Apostolici de numero Participantium nuncupati insigniis et praerogativis rite perfruuntur, absque ulla tamen participatione, aliove horum Collegii praeiudicio, ac sine ulla Praebendarum affectione, et salva Praesulis Patriarchae Venetiarum iurisdictione, guadere: itemque viridem funiculum dictae Crucis innexum in violaceum sericum auroque immixtum commutare: nec non in memorata tantum Patriarchali et Metropolitana Ecclesia, ac dum effatus Praesul Patriarcha Pontificalia exercet, Mitram deferre etiam in praesentia Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium, etiam de latere Legatorum, Vice-Legatorum, dictaeque Sedis Nunciorum, Episcoporum et Archiepiscoporum, necnon Ordinarii etiam proprii, et aliorum quorumcumque, libere et licite possint et valeant, Apostolica auctoritate tenore praesentium concedimus et indulgemus.

Decernentes, Exponentes nec non pro tempore existentes Canonicos praefatos super praemissis a quocumque quavis auctoritate, praetextu, colore vel ingenio, molestari inquietari perturbari et impediri nullatenus posse. Ac easdem praesentes ex qualibet causa, quantumvis iuridica et legitima, de subreptionis vel obreptionis seu nullitatis vitio aut intentionis Nostrae seu quopiam alio defectu, notari vel impuguari aut invalidari, seu per Nos et Successores Nostros Romanos Pontifices pro tempore existentes, ac Sedam Apostolicam praefatam, seu, eiusdem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinales, etiam de latere Legatos, Vice-Legatos, dictaeque Sedis Nuncios praefatos, vel quosvis alios quavis auctoritate honore et praerogativa fulgentes, revocari, suspendi, limitari, ad viam et terminos iuris reduci, seu adversus illas restitutionis in integrum aut aliud quodcumque iuris vel facti aut gratiae seu iustitiae remedium impetrari, seu etiam Motu Proprio et ex certa scientia concedi, aut illis in aliquo derogari, sive quidquam in contrarium disponi nullo unquam tempore posse.

Nec illas sub quibusvis similibus vel dissimilibus gratiarum revocationibus suspensionibus limitationibus derogationibus aut aliis contrariis dispositionibus, etiam ut praefertur, aut alias quomodolibet, etiam per Cancellariae Apostolicae regulas, aut Constitutiones Apostolicas, pro tempore factis et faciendis, comprehendere vel confundi; sed semper ab illis excipi: et quoties illae emanabunt, toties in pristinum et validissimum statum restitutas, repositas et plenarie reintegratas, ac de novo, etiam sub quacumque posteriori Data per Exponentes et pro tempore existentes Capitulum et Canonicos praefatos quandocumque eligenda, concessas esse et fore, suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, ac ab omnibus ad quos nunc spectat, et pro tempore quomodolibet spectabit, ac spectare et pertinere poterit quomodolibet in futurum firmiter et inviolabiliter observari: eisdemque Exponentibus ac Capitulo et Canonicis praedictis pro tempore existentibus semper et perpetuo plenissime suffragari.

Sicque et non alias per quoscumque Iudices Ordinarios vel Delegatos, quavis auctoritate fungentes, etiam Causarum Palatii Apostolici Auditores, ac praefatae Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinales, etiam de latere Legatos, Vice-Legatos, dictaeque Sedis Nuncios, iudicari et definiri debere ac irritum quoque et inane, si secus super his, a quocumque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari.



Non obstantibus quibusvis, etiam in Synodalibus Provincialibus Generalibus et Universalibus Conciliis editis vel edendis specialibus vel generalibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis : dictaeque Patriarchalis et Metropolitanae Ecclesiae, etiam iuramento confirmatione Apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, Statutis et Consueudinibus : Privilegiis quoque indultis et Litteris Apostolicis quibusvis Superioribus et personis, in genere vel in specie aut alias, in contrarium praemissorum quomodolibet forsitan concessis approbatis, confirmatis et innovatis. Quibus omnibus et singulis, etiam si pro illorum sufficienti abrogatione de illis eorumque totis tenoribus specialis specifica expressa et individua, non autem per clausulas generales idem importantes, mentio seu quaevis alia expressio habenda, aut aliqua alia exquisita forma ad hoc servanda foret (tenores huiusmodi, ac si de verbo ad verbum nil penitus omisso et forma in illis tradita observata inserti forent, eisdem praesentibus, pro plene et sufficienter expressis habentes), illis alias in suo robore permansuris, latissime et amplissime ac specialiter et expresse, ad praemissorum omnium validissimum effectum, pro hac vice dumtaxat, harum quoque serie, derogamus caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae absolutionis, concessionis, indulti, decreti et derogationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se noverit incursum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis Dominicae Millesimo octingentesimo sexagesimo quinto, Nonas Iulias, Pontificatus Nostri anno quintodecimo.

PIUS PP. IX.

**INDULGENCES FOR THE PIOUS WORK OF MARY  
IMMACULATE**

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM  
INDULG. CONCEDUNTUR SODALIBUS PII OPERIS A MARIA IMMACULATA NUNCUPATI

PIUS PP. X.

*Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*

Cum, sicut ad Nos relatum, Parisiis canonice erectum extet pium Opus a Maria Immaculata nuncupatum, cuius sodales ex

utroque sexu iam per universum fere terrarum orbem diffusi, piis precibus mulierum ethnicarum, haeticarum vel schismaticarum ad veram fidem conversionem procuraræ student; Nos, ut tam frugiferum opus sacro indulgentiarum praesidio potiora capiat, Deo favente, incrementa, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus et singulis fidelibus ex utroque sexu in dictam societatem nunc et in posterum ubique terrarum adlectis, qui vere poenitentes ac confessi ac S. Communione refecti, festivitate Immaculae Conceptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis aut uno quo cuique eorum libeat e septem diebus continuis immediate sequentibus, unoque alio per annum die similiter pro uniuscuiusque sodalis arbitrio eligendo, singulis annis devote ecclesiam quamlibet sive publicum oratorium visitaverint, ibique pro christianorum principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione ac S. Matris Ecclesiae pias ad Deum preces effuderint, quo praefatorum die id egerint, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Insuper dictis memorati pii Operis sodalibus nunc et in posterum pariter ubique terrarum existentibus, quoties lingua latina, vel alio quocumque idiomate, dummodo versio sit fidelis, corde saltem contrito recitent antiphonam quae incipit *Salve Regina*, toties trecentos dies de iniunctis eis, seu alias quomodolibet debitis poenitentiis in forma Ecclesiae consueta relaxamus. Quas omnes et singulas indulgentias, peccatorum remissiones et poenitentiarum relaxationem etiam animabus fidelium in purgatorio detentis per modum suffragii applicari posse indulgemus.

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris. Volumus autem ut, praesentium litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae praemunitis, eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae; utque derogatae sint aliae quaevis indulgentiae dicto pio Operi alias forte concessae, prout per praesentes apostolica auctoritate derogamus.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XXI Iunii MCMIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

Pro Dno. Card. MACCHI,  
N. MARINI.

## PIUS X AND THE 'ARCADIA'

## EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

PIUS X ARCADICUM COETUM DE URBE BENEVOLENTI ANIMO  
PROSEQUITUR

*Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.*

Litterarum studia, quae valde humanitati conferunt, excoli atque provehi Nobis pergratum est. Quamobrem Academicorum coetum cui praees, quem Decessores Nostri benigne semper habuerunt, Nos quoque benevolenti animo prosequimur. Tibi autem laudi vertimus, quod, temporum utilitati prospiciens, ad litterarum exercitationes tractationes publicas accedere volueris, quibus et religio et civile bonum promoveretur. Perge igitur, qua datur via, de religione et litteris mereri bene. Nostrae vero charitatis testem Apostolicam Benedictionem habeto, quam tibi et collegis tuis universis amanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die XIII Februarii Anno MDCCCXCV, Pontificatus Nostri secundo.

PIUS PP. X.

PIUS X AND THE CONGRESS OF STRASBURG ON  
GREGORIAN CHANT

## EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

PIUS X GRATULATUR DE MOX COGENDO CONVENTU, ARGENTINAE,  
CIRCA CANTUM GREGORIANUM

*Dilecto Filio Petro Wagner, Doctori Decuriali in Lyceo Magno  
Friburgensi et generalis conventus studiosorum cantus Gre-  
goriani moderatori.*

PIUS PP. X.

*Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.*

Quemadmodum servari praecepta gaudemus quae fidelium utilitati subinde damus, ita nunciato a te conventu delectamur, in quem studiosi Gregoriani concentus viri ex omni populo confluent, hac una vehementer permoti re, ut quae Nos de Musica Sacra monuimus, ad usum fideliter adducantur. Coetum autem et frequentem coniici futurum et e viris coalitum censi, qui non modo musicae peritiam artis, sed etiam, id quod magni

in re sacra interest, pietatem sensumque alte teneant christianae fidei, valde profecto laetamur, capimusque inde argumentum explorati faustique exitus certum. At illud uberiores Nobis fructum e laboribus vestris portendit, deliberatum vobis esse non modo voluntatem erga avitum Ecclesiae Romanae cantum admoveere atque excitare verbis, sed exempla etiam, adiuvandae praxi perutilia, ob oculos ponere, unde probe ac rite possint studiosi perspicere, quantum et artis et elegantiae et religionis in servandis musicae sacrae praeceptis insit. Animatis egregie vobis multam sese ac facilem impertiat gratia divina illudque ex alacritate vestra eliciat optatissimum commodum, ut ea demum existat in catholico orbe voluntas, praeceptis de sacro concentu Nostris parere diligenter. Tibi interea praecipuam benevolentiam testamur, auspicemque munerum coelestium tibi atque universis, qui in memoratum coetum se conferent, Benedictionem Apostolicam peramanter in Domino impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXIII Ianuarii, anno MDCCCV, Pontificatus Nostri secundo.

Pius PP. X.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE HISTORICAL METHOD AND THE OLD TESTAMENT. By  
Père Lagrange, O.P. Translated by Rev. E. Myers.  
London : Catholic Truth Society.

At the present day works on Biblical subjects possess special utility, provided they come from the hand of a master. Père Lagrange is one of the best scholars, equally at home in theology and in Oriental languages, customs, history, topography, etc. He knows what is being said by critics and commentators, inside and outside the Church. To many readers, unless we are mistaken, one of the chief advantages accruing from the perusal of his *Historical Criticism* will be a clearer knowledge of the assertions that recommend themselves to some scholars, and of the answers that are being given to them by others. The book is, in fact, an object-lesson in modern methods. With parts of it we agree, with parts of it we are dissatisfied, and with parts of it we disagree. In our opinion Père Delattre, S.J., has taken a true view of it in his pamphlet, *Autour de la Question Biblique*. With regard to the translation, it is admirable and it reads as freely and naturally as the original with which we have carefully compared it. Readers will bear in mind that the book is the permanent record of lectures delivered to a highly educated audience, and therefore many topics are but slightly touched on without being explained, a thorough knowledge of them being taken for granted. With the above reservations the book may be recommended; it is learned and suggestive, and deserves to be widely read.

R. W.

VERFASSUNG UND GEGENWÄRTIGER BESTAND SÄMTLICHER  
KIRCHEN DES ORIENTS. Silbernagl-Schnitzer. Mans :  
Regensburg, 1904. 6s.

ONLY a German professor could write this book. It is a veritable mine of erudition in canon law and history. It deals with nothing less than the constitution and condition past and present of all the Eastern Churches; the heretical ones as well as

those united to the Holy See. Many persons in this part of the world use the term 'Eastern Churches,' but how few persons realize what it stands for. Races differing in rites and practices, almost as much as they do in territory and language, parts of whom have fallen into heresy, while parts have remained faithful to the successor of St. Peter. The subject is a most interesting one, and no one work contains so much information on it as this one by the lamented D. Silbernagl. For instance, the so-called orthodox Greeks have four Patriarchs, several Metropolitans and Bishops, and a numerous clergy. In the kingdom of Greece alone, there are 169 monasteries and nine convents. These sectarians form a powerful body in Russia, Roumania, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro; while the 'orthodox' Oriental church is paramount in Bulgaria and Servia. But by far the more interesting part of the volume is that which treats of the ecclesiastical organization and present condition of the various Eastern Churches in communion with the Holy See. Anyone that desires a reliable history brought down to the present day of the Uniat Greeks, Abyssinians, Copts, Maronites, Chaldeans, etc., will find it here in a compendious form, together with a succinct account of their canon law, etc.

The lamented author was about forty years Professor of Canon Law in Munich University, and when Döllinger fell away he was selected to take up the lectures on ecclesiastical history, which he delivered for nearly fifteen years. The present work is worthy of his great reputation as a canonist and historian. In 1865 the first edition appeared; the one now before us which is greatly enlarged has been brought out by Dr. Schnitzer, one of his former pupils, now Professor of Theology in Munich.

G. N.

MARIA, DIE UNBEFLECKT EMPFANGENE. L. Kisters, S.J.  
Mans: Regensburg 1905. Price 3s. 6d.

DURING the year of Jubilee many works on the Immaculate Conception appeared, but none like this has come into our hands. It is a careful study of doctrinal development as exemplified in what led to the definition of the dogma. The arguments from Scripture and Tradition are clearly set forth, and we are then shown how their force was gradually brought

home to theologians. The learned author has taken pains to gather a vast amount of useful information, and his work should be read by those who desire to know the course of events that culminated in the definition of 1854.

P. L. L.

**EVANGELION DA-MEPHARESHE.** Vol. I., Text and Translation; Vol. II., Introduction and Notes. By F. C. Burkitt, M.A. Cambridge University Press, 1905.

THE Cambridge University Press has published so many erudite works that a lifetime would hardly suffice to master their contents, but among them all the present one will ever hold a conspicuous place. There is no need to enlarge on the importance of this Syriac version of the Gospels. Though not so old as Tatian's Diatessaron, it is of great antiquity. It dates approximately from A.D. 200, and it reproduces the Greek text current in Antioch about that time, though the translator's use of the Diatessaron has occasioned the introduction of some Western readings. The extant MSS. containing this version are the Curetonian and the Sinai Palimpsest, both of them famous, so that a word about them will not be out of place. The Curetonian (C.) is so called from its editor, Dr. Cureton (Chaplain to Queen Victoria, and Canon of Westminster; called in his day, 'The great Syrologue'). The MS. itself came from the Convent of St. Maria Deipara, near Cario. The Sinai Palimpsest (S.) was, so to speak, discovered by Mrs. Lewis and her sister Mrs. Gibson in 1892. It is preserved in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. In Mr. Burkitt's learned introduction, both of these ancient MSS. of a version more ancient than the Peshitta are fully described, their grammatical peculiarities, etc., noted, and their critical value discussed. One part of this admirable piece of work is especially noteworthy, viz., Chapter III., 'The Peshitta New Testament and its rivals.' The investigation of the quotations found in Syrian writers, St. Ephraim particularly, could be accomplished only by one who like Mr. Burkitt has made the subject his own. (Mr. Burkitt's well known treatise, *St. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*, appeared in 1891.) The Syriac text in vol. i. is mainly taken from C. In St. Mark's Gospel (of which only

a few verses remain in C.) and in some other parts the text is from S. All the variants that Mr. Burkitt collected in his extensive reading are given in the footnotes. As regards his translation, the remark he himself makes must be quoted : ' To sum up, my aim in the translation has been to give the reader who knows little or no Syriac such help as will enable him, by the exercise of reasonable care and intelligence, to understand the meaning of the Syriac on the opposite page, and also to compare the renderings of this Version in any given passage with its renderings elsewhere.' This is just what was wanted.

R. W.

**IN THE MORNING OF LIFE.** Considerations and Meditations for Boys. By Rev. Herbert Lucas, S.J. London and Edinburgh : Sands & Co., 1904. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THE author tells us in a prefatory note that the discourses contained in this volume were addressed to the boys at Stonyhurst, and that he has published them in the hope that they may be found helpful to others besides school-boys. We thank him for having done so, because the thirty-one discourses which the volume contains are replete with food for thought, and are striking in their freshness and originality, as also in the clear-cut, characteristic style, which not unfrequently rises to a level of subdued eloquence. We confess we have been very highly pleased with this volume.

P. B.

**ST. COLUMBA'S.** Issued by the League of St. Columba, Maynooth College. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd. Price 1s. net.

WE congratulate the League of St. Columba, both on the early appearance of their *Annual* and on the value of its contents. We congratulate them not only on the literary achievement of their contributors, but still more on the promise of greater achievement which almost all their articles hold out to us.

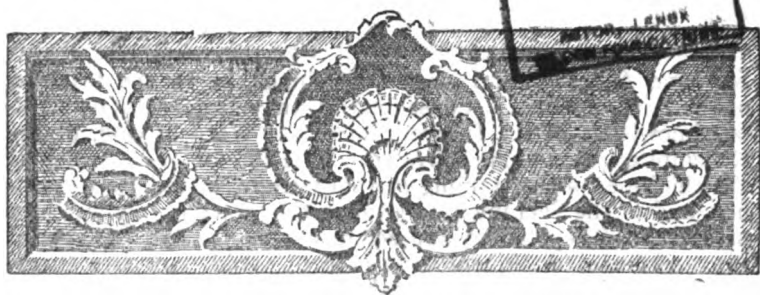
In the introductory article on 'The Need of a Religious Literature in the Irish Language,' the Rev. William O'Kennedy deals with a question of the greatest importance to the religious interests of the country as well as to the language movement.



The programme which he sketches there has our entire sympathy. The 'Lament for Daniel O'Connell,' extracted by *An Mairéad Ruadh* from the O'Renehan MSS., is well worth reproduction. The poem 'Sunset,' and the story 'Eileen Aroon' show traces of inexperience, but also of no common gifts. 'Eileen Aroon' is too patently modelled on the style of a popular author to be regarded as entirely original. There are other defects of judgment in the story which increasing years and wisdom will probably cure. '*Dúnmairéad*' by *Chiorcór na h-Ealaithe*, and '*Cóimhearsa Gaibéal le Gallaid*,' by *Seán na Loinne*, are both contributions which ought to be popular; for they are interesting and easily read. 'The People on the Hill' is excellent in diction and true enough to nature, but perhaps a trifle quaint. Mr. O'Connell's paper on Oliver Plunkett is a useful contribution; but it would be still more useful if the didactic part were as attractive in style as the introduction would lead us to expect. 'The Island Sanctuary of Lough Derg,' 'The Poetry of Ethna Carbery,' and 'Pelagianism in Ancient Ireland,' are all excellent. On the whole we believe the Columban League is doing excellent work, and we hope that its *Annual* will receive from the clergy and laity the attention and patronage that it deserves.

*Cunntar Gaibéal ar n-eitib atá iní An Scribinn Dúda. Leir an dtair mairéad Ó héilíge. Part I. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. Price 1/6d.*

THESE lessons in Bible History are a very valuable addition to popular religious literature in Irish. Father Healy comes to the assistance of his readers by giving at the head of each chapter the English equivalent of the more difficult words. This is a great help not alone to the religious reader, but to the student of the language. We hope that this reader will be adopted in the schools in Irish-speaking districts, and that it will be availed of by beginners to help them in acquiring a religious vocabulary.



## ENCYCLICAL OF POPE PIUS X

**T**HE recent Encyclical of His Holiness Pope Pius X is intended chiefly for the clergy. On that account it has not been ordered by the Bishops to be read in the churches. Its aim and object are clear enough from the text which we publish elsewhere. It has been thought well, however, that besides publishing the text we should call attention here to the salient features of this important instruction of His Holiness to the clergy of the whole world.

The Encyclical opens with a description of the prevailing ignorance of the essential truths of Christianity, and shows how this unfortunate darkness of the mind affects the life and conduct of men and their consequent chances of salvation:—

That there are among Christians in our day large numbers who live in ignorance of the truths essential to salvation is a subject of common lament amongst us, and one that is unhappily only too well founded. And when We say *among Christians* We mean not only the poor and those in the lower walks of life who are not always to blame, owing to the harshness of masters who leave them little time to think either of themselves or their interests, but also and more especially to those who are endowed with a certain amount of talent and culture, and possess abundant knowledge of matters of the world, but have no care or thought for religion. It is hard to find words to describe the dense darkness in which the latter are enveloped, and more painful still to consider the indifference with which they regard it. Rarely do they give any thought to the

Supreme Author and Ruler of all things, or to the teaching of the faith of Christ. Consequently, they are absolutely without knowledge of the Incarnation of the Word of God, of the Redemption of mankind wrought by Him, of grace which is the chief means to attaining eternal welfare, of the Holy Sacrifice, and of the Sacraments by which this grace is acquired and preserved. They fail to appreciate the malice and foulness of sin, and have consequently no care to avoid it or free themselves from it. Thus they reach their last day in such a state that the minister of God, anxious to take advantage of the slightest hope of their salvation, is obliged to employ those last moments which should be consecrated entirely to awakening in them the love of God, in imparting the rudiments of instruction on things indispensable for salvation. And even then it often happens that the invalid has become so far the slave of culpable ignorance as to consider superfluous the intervention of the priest, and to face calmly the terrible passage to eternity without reconciling himself with God.

This is, indeed, a terrible picture of modern society ; but fortunately for us it applies to the conditions of life on the Continent much more directly than it does to Ireland. We must not think, however, that it has no application at our own doors. In any case His Holiness takes good care to point out the means by which it can be averted where it does not exist as well as uprooted where it does. It is to this blinding ignorance that His Holiness attributes most of the corruption, depravity and perverse opposition to the Church that is so characteristic of modern times. It is on account of it that divine faith decays and dies. And without faith the doctrine of Jesus Christ no longer illuminates the soul with its divine light. The human intellect when left to its own powers is helpless in spiritual matters, and can make no progress in the way of salvation.

Hence the necessity of instruction so that all the children of the Church may drink in, as it were, from their earliest years the refreshing draughts which are the pledge of life eternal. His Holiness dwells on the sublime character of this instruction and the merit of those who devote themselves to it. It is in a special manner the work of the priest ; for ' the lips of the priest shall keep knowledge ' (Mal. ii. 7), and the Bishop in addressing the

candidate for Orders says to them, 'Let your spiritual doctrine be as medicine to the people.'

If this is true of all priests [writes His Holiness], what is to be thought with regard to those who possess the title and the authority of parish priests, and in virtue of their rank and in a sense by contract, have the office of ruling souls? These, in a certain measure, are to be numbered among the pastors and doctors designated by Christ in order that the faithful may be no longer as children tossed about by every wind of doctrine by the wickedness of men, but that 'doing the truth in charity they may in all things grow up in Him who is the head, even Christ' (Eph. iv. 14, 15).

Hence the sacred Council of Trent, treating of the pastors of souls lays down as their first and second chief duty that of instructing the faithful. It prescribes that they must speak to the people on the truths of religion on Sundays and the more solemn feasts, and do the same either daily, or at least three times a week during the holy seasons of Advent and Lent. Nor is it content with this, for it adds that parish priests are bound, either by themselves or through others, to instruct the young, at least on Sundays and feast days, in the principles of faith, and in obedience to God and their parents. And when the Sacraments are to be administered it enjoins upon them the duty of explaining their efficacy, in the vulgar tongue, to those who are about to receive them.

On these and similar grounds His Holiness lays down certain rules to be observed in the universal Church. The rules are:—

I.—All parish priests, and, in general, all those who have the care of souls, on every Sunday and feast day throughout the year without exception shall, with the text of the catechism, instruct for the space of one whole hour the young of both sexes in what everyone must believe and do to be saved.

II.—They shall, at stated times during the year, prepare boys and girls, by continued instruction, lasting several days, to receive the Sacraments of Penance and Confirmation.

III.—They shall likewise, and with special care, on all ferial days of Lent, and if necessary on other days after the feast of Easter, by suitable instructions and reflections, prepare boys and girls to make their first Communion with becoming holiness.

IV.—In each and every parish the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine is to be canonically erected. Through this the parish priests, especially in places where there is a scarcity of priests, will find valuable helpers for catechetical instruction in pious lay persons, who will lend their aid in this holy and

salutary work, both through zeal for the glory of God, and as a means of gaining the numerous indulgences granted by the Sovereign Pontiff.

V.—In large towns, and especially in those which contain universities, colleges, and grammar schools, religious classes shall be founded to instruct in the truths of faith and in the practice of Christian life, the young people who frequent these schools from which all religious teaching is banned.

VI.—Considering that in those days, adults, not less than the young, stand in need of religious instruction, all parish priests and others having the care of souls shall, in addition to the usual homily on the Gospel delivered at the parochial Mass on all days of obligation, explain the catechism for the faithful in an easy style suited to the intelligence of their hearers, at such time of the day as they may deem most convenient for the people, but not during the hour in which the children are taught. In this instruction they are to make use of the Catechism of the Council of Trent; and they are to divide the matter in such a way as within the space of four or five years to treat of the Apostles' Creed, the Sacraments, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the Precepts of the Church.

These regulations, it will be observed, are not mere recommendations or counsels of perfection; for His Holiness says:—

This, Venerable Brethren, We do prescribe and command by virtue of Our Apostolic authority. It now rests with you to put it into prompt and complete execution in your dioceses by all the force at your command, and to see to it that these prescriptions of Ours be not neglected, or, what comes to the same thing, carried out superficially. And that this may be avoided, you must not cease to recommend and to require that your parish priests do not impart this instruction carelessly; but that they diligently prepare themselves for it.

These are the chief prescriptions of the recent Encyclical.

ED. I. E. RECORD.

## PHILOSOPHY AND THE SCIENCES AT LOUVAIN

### II

THE Philosophical Institute at Louvain University is known alike as the *Institut Supérieur de Philosophie* and as the *École St. Thomas d'Aquin*. It is a special school or department of teaching within the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. But it is autonomous within its own sphere : has its own president and secretary, its own programme of studies, its own courses and examinations, and confers its own degrees. In this it is like the many other special schools that have sprung up and developed within the other Faculties of the University, and whose existence forms a striking feature of the organization and methods of teaching at Louvain. We may instance the *École de Sciences Politiques et Sociales* and the *École de Sciences Commerciales et Consulaires* in the Faculty of Law, and the *Institut Agronomique* in the Faculty of Sciences. The professors of these various schools belong mainly but not exclusively to the corresponding Faculties ; hence the professors of the various Faculties lecture freely outside their own Faculties as well as within the latter.

Although the Philosophical Institute had small beginnings its progress in every respect has been steady since its foundation.<sup>1</sup> We have heard people take objection to its claim to the title of 'higher' or 'superior,' on the ground that it begins at the beginning, presupposes not even an elementary knowledge of Philosophy, and adapts its teaching to the body of its students who are mainly youths commencing Philosophy for the first time. But even granting all this we believe that it is nevertheless perfectly justified in its title. This we hope to make sufficiently evident in the course of the present article. Meantime it must be borne in mind that if the students

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<sup>1</sup> From 1900 to 1903 the numbers of its students each year were 46, 56, 67, and 71, respectively.

of the Institute are *mainly* beginners in Philosophy, *these* are a small number of the most talented students selected by competition from the six Belgian diocesan seminaries, and sent to the Louvain Institute for a special training in Philosophy. Then, besides these native ecclesiastics, a small number of *lay* students also,—chiefly from the Faculties of Law and of Philosophy and Letters,—attend the courses of the Institute with the object of getting a special grounding in that Philosophy which is at the basis of all true religion, of all sound ethics, of all social and economic progress, and of all individual, domestic and social rights and duties. Moreover, a goodly number of the students at the Institute, from the beginning, have been foreign ecclesiastics,—many of them priests already versed in Philosophy,—sent there from all parts both to pursue their studies as far as opportunities allowed, and to familiarize themselves with all that is characteristic not only of the contents, but of the methods of the Neo-Scholastic teaching. Not only the Continental countries, France, Holland, Germany, Poland, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, but the English-speaking countries, England, Ireland, Canada, the United States, have been sending and are still sending their present and future professors of Scholastic Philosophy to the University of Louvain: knowing that there they will find Scholasticism not merely in the class-halls as a discipline, but in living contact with modern science and in actual conflict with opposing systems in modern philosophic thought.

At present there are about a dozen priests—secular and regular—from various countries, about the same number of foreign ecclesiastics, upwards of thirty Belgian ecclesiastics, and a small number of lay students, following the courses of the Institute.<sup>1</sup> Very many of those who have

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<sup>1</sup> Adjoining the Institute there is a residential College for ecclesiastical students in Philosophy—the *Seminaire Leon XIII*—consisting of two separate buildings, one for priests and one for unordained students. The former is in charge of M. le Chanoine Nys, Faculty of Sciences, professor of Cosmology and Chemistry. The latter is in charge of M. l'Abbé Simons (Rue Vésale, 6-10). The Right Rev. President of the Institute,—Mgr. Mercier,—the Rev. S. Deploige, Faculty of Law, Secretary of the Insti-

already passed through its halls are now professors in their various countries, and a large percentage of its present students are intended for the same work. Let us see what sort of a philosophical training they receive during their three years' sojourn at the Institute.

A glance at the following programme will show us how the three years' course is divided, and will help us to realize the nature and extent of the teaching imparted :—

### FIRST YEAR—BACCALAUREATE.

#### *General Courses.*

*Logic* (D. Mercier, and M. de Wulf of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters), four classes of an hour and half, or six hours per week, during first half-year.

*Ontology* (M. de Wulf), four classes, or six hours per week during second half-year.

*History of Mediæval Philosophy* (M. de Wulf), two years' course, first part, one class per week during first half-year.

*Physics* (M. Thiéry of the Faculty of Medicine), four classes per week during first half-year.

*Psychophysiology* (M. Thiéry), three years' course, two classes per week during second half-year.

*Chemistry* (M. Nys of the Faculty of Sciences), three hours per week during first half-year.

#### *Special Courses.*

##### (FIRST SECTION.)

*Trigonometry, Analytical Geometry, and Differential Calculus* (M. Sibenaler of the Faculty of Sciences), two classes per week during whole year.

*General Biology, Botany, and Zoology, with Practical Exercises* (A. Meunier of the Faculty of Sciences), two classes per week during second half-year.

*General Anatomy and Physiology* (M. Ide of the Faculty of Medicine), two classes per week during second half-year.

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tute, professor of Natural and Social Law,<sup>3</sup> and the Rev. A. Thiéry, Faculty of Medicine, professor of Physics, Psychophysiology and Psychology, also dwell on the premises. There is a chapel attached. Every convenience is offered to ecclesiastics; and with its many obvious advantages for strangers, the terms are very moderate. The pension is 800 francs (£32) for the academic year, payable in three parts; extras about £2 additional. Opening with the modest number of seven students in 1892, its inmates numbered fifty-eight last year.



## (SECOND SECTION.)

*Political Economy* (M. Defourny, *chargé de cours*), two classes per week during first half-year.

*Method of Historical Criticism* (A. Cauchie of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters), two classes per week during first half-year.

## SECOND YEAR—LICENTATE.

*General Courses.*

*Cosmology* (M. Nys), three classes per week during first ; four during second half-year.

*Psychology* (D. Mercier and M. Thiéry), two years' course ; two hours per week during whole year.

*Psychophysiology* (M. Thiéry), three years' course. *See* Baccalaureate.

*Moral Philosophy* (J. Forget of the Faculty of Theology), four classes (six hours) per week during whole year.

*History of Mediæval Philosophy* (M. de Wulf), two years' course, second part.

*History of Ancient and of Modern Philosophy* (M. de Wulf), two years' course, two classes per week during second half-year.

*Anatomy and Physiology* (M. Ide), two classes per week during first half-year.

*Special Courses.*

## (FIRST SECTION.)

*Integral Calculus* (M. Sibenaler), two classes per week during first half-year.

*Analytical Mechanics* (E. L. J. Pasquier of Faculty of Sciences), two classes per week during first half-year.

*Embryology, Histology, and Physiology of the Nervous System* (M. Ide), two hours per week during first half-year.

*Mineralogy and Crystallography* (F. Kaisin, of Faculty of Sciences), two classes per week, second half-year.

## (SECOND SECTION.)

*History of Social Theories* (M. Defourny) two classes per week, second half-year.

*Method of Historical Criticism* (A. Cauchie), two classes per week, first half-year.

## THIRD YEAR—DOCTORATE.

*Psychology* (D. Mercier and A. Thiéry), *see* Licentiate.

*Psychophysiology* (A. Thiéry), *see* Baccalaureate.

*Natural and Social Law* (S. Deploige of the Faculty of Law), four classes (six hours) per week during first half-year.

*Theodicy* (D. Mercier), one class per week during year.

*Theodicy* (L. Becker of the Faculty of Theology), two classes per week during year.

*History of Ancient and of Modern Philosophy* (M. de Wulf), *see* Licentiate.

Apart from the *Practical Courses* and *Laboratory work*, of which we shall speak later on, the above programme represents in faithful outline the amount of work done by professors and students alike. Each student standing for degrees gets a detailed oral examination in each subject from the professor of that subject. In addition, written and original dissertations on philosophical theses are required both for the Licentiate and for the Doctorate. Students who have got their Doctorate with the highest distinction may return afterwards to the Institute to pursue their studies, to write and publish a book on some philosophical question, and to sustain a public defence of a number of philosophical theses. In this way they qualify for the further degree of *Docteur agrégé* of the school of St. Thomas: the *agrégation* corresponding more or less to Junior Fellowship in the Royal University with us.

As will be seen from the programme, the teaching is extended over three years,<sup>1</sup> and during the first two the courses are divided into general and special. The general courses are *obligatory* on all. They comprise all Philosophy proper including the History of Philosophy, and, in addition, the natural sciences in direct connection with Philosophy: Physics, Chemistry, Anatomy, Physiology and Psychophysiology. The matter of *all* the general courses of the *three* years, without exception, must be presented at the examination for the Doctorate. The special courses fall

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<sup>1</sup> The ordinary course at Maynooth is a two years' course, at the end of which about 10 per cent., or less, of the students receive the degree of Licentiate. The Doctorate is given after a third year devoted to Philosophy, when the ordinary four years' course of Theology is finished. This arrangement secures greater maturity in the candidate for Doctorate than the Louvain system. At Maynooth also the Natural Sciences and Mathematics belong to the Faculty of Philosophy, and these branches are taught simultaneously with Philosophy. This is the proper basis for Neo-Scholasticism.

into two sections of very different kinds: the first comprising mathematics and the natural sciences, the second comprising economic, social and political sciences. Now those special courses are described as optional, but they are optional only in this sense that the student may choose either the first or the second section according to his taste, but *must choose either section*. If he choose the first section he has yet further choice between mathematics and the other courses of that section.

One cannot help being struck by the close alliance thus secured between the sciences and Philosophy. Cosmology—the Philosophy of Matter—can be studied, as it ought to be, in connection with Chemistry, Physics, Mineralogy, Mathematics, etc. Psychology—the Philosophy of Life—in connexion with Biology, Anatomy, Physiology and Psychophysiology. Ethics—the Philosophy of Conduct—in connexion with the Social and Economic Sciences. And this union is not merely apparent but real. It is not a mere juxtaposition but a living, actual intercourse between Philosophy and the sciences. This will be better appreciated when it is understood that Chemistry and Cosmology are taught by one and the same professor who is specially qualified in each, and that Psychophysiology and Psychology are likewise taught by one and the same professor similarly qualified. The former, M. le Chanoine Nys is Doctor in Sciences as well as in Philosophy, having studied Chemistry under Professor Ostwald in Leipsig; the latter is Doctor in Medicine as well as in Philosophy and studied Psychophysiology under Professor Wundt at the same University. And it is hoped that the same principle will be gradually extended as far as may be feasible to the other departments also.

Another feature of the teaching of the Institute is that it is in French throughout. Occasional debating exercises are held in Latin. The works of St. Thomas and some other Latin text-books are in the hands of the students. But that is all. Both the text-books and the teaching of the Institute are in the vernacular. In view of the prolonged controversies that have been carried on in the Continental

Catholic reviews relative to this whole question of the advisability of teaching Philosophy and even Theology to ecclesiastical students in the vernacular, it was not to be expected that the innovation at Louvain would escape opposition. As a matter of fact Leo XIII was for a time so much influenced as to order the adoption of Latin in the philosophical courses there. But when it was represented to him that, as a consequence of this order, the Institute was rapidly losing its lay students, he at once withdrew the order and allowed the use of French to be continued throughout. Speaking to the Belgian Catholics in December, 1900, he remarked that the studies of the Institute were intended for laics as well as for clerics. 'And that,' he added, 'is why I have decided that while the Philosophy of St. Thomas must be studied in Latin the courses there should be given in French.' Mgr. Mercier has recently pointed to the brilliant successes of a few past students of the Institute, in their Theological studies at the Gregorian University in Rome, as a proof that the study of Philosophy in the vernacular does not necessarily handicap the student who has to study his Theology in Latin.<sup>1</sup>

He would have a very narrow and inadequate conception of the professor's duty, who would see nothing further in it than the mere oral and passive transmission to his students of the legacy of learning bequeathed to him from the past ; and he would have a no less imperfect conception of the student's duty, who would limit it to the mere passive reception and rehearsal of such a lifeless load of 'learned lumber.' Personal, original, scientific work or research in some department, under the direction of his professor, ought to be expected from at least the student who aspires to honours. *A fortiori*, the professor himself is expected

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<sup>1</sup> That is obviously true of the better class of student in question. The adoption of the Royal University programme and examinations in Maynooth will involve some such change in the teaching of Philosophy. Honours students will experience no special difficulty in Theology from having partially dropped Latin for a year or two. Pass students will be obliged to keep up the study of Latin throughout, and to present it with Mental Philosophy for the B.A. Examination.

to undertake and carry on such work, to study and to write if he wishes successfully to teach. In order to give him a fair opportunity for doing so, care is always taken that he be not obliged to expend his energies over too wide a field nor be unduly overburdened with class work.<sup>1</sup> A glance at the programme of the Institute will show how they are aiming at such a division of labour amongst the numerous members of an already large and efficient staff at Louvain. We find the teaching of Philosophy proper divided amongst *seven* distinct professors,—one of whom also teaches Chemistry, and another Physics and Psychophysiology. We find a distinct professor for Higher Mathematics,—a course that is frequented only by a small number of students; and we find four distinct courses in the Biological sciences given by two additional professors.<sup>2</sup> These will suffice as examples: a further perusal of the programme will reveal additional indications of the same tendency towards the most liberal staffing of the professorial body, and towards the consequent specialization of energy.

The results of this enlightened educational policy in Louvain have been of the happiest. There is no rush or hurry over long programmes in short periods, none of that superficial scampering and cramming without any time to think. The work is done well. The professor can master thoroughly the special branch he has a taste for, has time to write about it if necessary, and to make it interesting to his students,—in whom also, owing to their comparatively small numbers, he can often take a personal interest.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to strike an average where there is so much variety. We should say that about six or seven hours' class-work per week would represent the average at the Institute and University.

<sup>2</sup> A comparison of those and similar facts with the facts that obtain at Maynooth are not wanting in interest and instructiveness. For example, as against ten professors for about seventy students in Philosophy, Physics, Chemistry, and Physiology at Louvain, there are three permanent professors and four extern lecturers (who give about twelve courses per week altogether) for above 200 students in the same subjects in Maynooth. Of course some of the ten above mentioned have other classes to attend to in the University,—just as our extern lecturers have—but, even so, the former are always on the scene and give more courses, so that the contrast in point of equipment is very obvious.

<sup>3</sup> This is especially true of those students who have special tastes for the *practical* or *Seminaire* courses, or *Laboratory* work in any department

He discusses any points they submit to him, helps to clear up their difficulties, aids them with his advice and suggestions in preparing their dissertations, and by his own personal example of unflagging industry and loyal devotedness to his work, sets them an example which, perhaps, proves more precious to them in after life than anything else he may have taught them.

A printed programme is often a misleading index to the quantity and quality of the work done at an educational establishment. It is not so in the present case: and perhaps we can best show that, if we supplement its meagre outline by a few candid comments drawn from personal experience.

The course of Formal Logic taught is that comprised in Mgr. Mercier's *Logique*, which forms the first volume of the *Cours de Philosophie* that is being published by the co-operation of a number of the professors at the Institute. The notable features of the volume on Logic are to be found in the author's treatment of analytic and synthetic propositions, of the nature of reasoning and especially of induction, hypothesis and method. The science heretofore known as Material Logic, or *Logica Critica*, is dealt with by Mercier in his well-known volume on *Crétiologie Générale*. This subject is still taught immediately after Logic proper at the Institute, although Mercier claims that the proper place for it is immediately after Psychology, with which it has undoubtedly an inseparable connexion. He has accordingly made it the *fourth* volume of the *Cours*, his *Ontologie* froming the second, and his *Psychologie* the third volume.

There is no doubt about the difficulty of initiating beginners, who are as yet strangers to Psychology, into the various theories of truth and certainty, of scepticism and dogmatism, of idealism and realism, of the subjectivity or objectivity of Human Knowledge. It is perhaps even more difficult to deal with those questions in an intelligent way at that early stage than with any of the metaphysical abstractions of General Ontology. At all events, while the latter are tackled during the student's

first year at Louvain they are postponed to the second year, after Cosmology and Psychology are done, with us in Maynooth,—and that, too, in defiance of the order followed by Zigliara, the author of the text-book at present in use.

In the department of Criteriology the publication of Mercier's *Critériologie Générale* has undoubtedly marked an epoch in the study of those questions in the Catholic schools. Mercier had made a special study of Psychology and of the Theory of Knowledge, and the appearance of his book on General Criteriology, now going into its fifth edition, excited very widespread attention in Kantian as well as in Catholic circles.<sup>1</sup> It was only natural that it should, for it was about the first serious and sustained attempt on the part of a representative of Scholasticism to examine the numerous questions raised by the Critical Philosophy of Kant, *from the point of view of that system, and independently of any of the Scholastic presuppositions questioned or called into doubt by Kantism.* The very first principles of Scholastic Philosophy had been rejected by Kantism, as indeed by most if not all modern philosophic systems outside Scholasticism. If these are to be discussed effectively by the Scholastic he must cease to entrench himself behind such dogmatic principles, and come out to meet his adversaries upon their own ground. That is what Mercier has done in discussing the nature of truth, certitude, knowledge, etc., with the champions of Scepticism on the one hand and of exaggerated Dogmatism on the other; with French Traditionalists on the one side and with the Psychological Subjectivism of Scotch and German schools, and especially of Kant's *Critique of Practical Reason*, on the other. He vindicates the *necessary character*

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<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Père de Munnynck, O.P., whose authority is of the highest value, spoke thus of the book on its appearance in 1899: 'Son importance est exceptionnelle dans toute la force du terme. Des publications antérieures ont montré que les questions critériologiques avaient pour l'auteur un attrait spécial et que ses secondes études lui donnaient autorité pour introduire l'épistémologie dans le cadre toujours ouvert de la philosophie traditionnelle . . . L'ouvrage constitue peut-être le premier traité spécial et complet d'épistémologie qui s'inspire des idées scolastiques, et tout porte à croire que dans ses parties essentielles le travail sera définitif' —(*Revue Thomiste*, vii., 1889, pp. 364-7).

of ideal judgments against the Positivism of Taine and Mill and Spencer. But it is especially for its searching and vigorous analysis of the Transcendental Criticism of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* that Mercier's book is most noted. He maintains against Kant the *objective character* of the mental act of *judgment*, and the *reality* or extra-mental validity of the universal *concept*.<sup>1</sup> At first his point of view seemed to have been misunderstood by various Catholic philosophers, and perhaps the most enjoyable pages of his thoroughly interesting volume are those devoted to answering the various critics of his definition of truth, and of his teaching as regards the problem of the validity of human knowledge.

Far more significant, however, are the criticisms and controversies to which his attack on Kantism gave rise in the Kantian schools in Germany. A professor in Halle took up Mercier's book as a basis for a *privatissimum* course with his students. Another professor of the same University devoted an article to it in the *Kantstudien*,<sup>2</sup> in which he pronounced it quite a remarkable production that must be taken account of by all Kantists. The concluding words of the article show that Kantists at least regarded the work as something quite different from the ordinary handling of Kant by the Scholastics:—

The Kantist is quite accustomed to see the Critical Philosophy insulted over and over again in Thomist works. . . very rarely does he meet with a serious discussion of its problems. But here we have a book which carries on throughout a searching and really scientific discussion of Kantism. A book of this kind is useful, even to the reader who cannot adopt the solutions proposed, for he will be likely to find in it some light thrown on the problems that are engaging his attention.

These are only a few of the many notices taken of Mercier's work in Germany. Needless to say his critics are no less divided as to the justice or injustice of his appreciation of Kant's Philosophy than they are in interpreting the Kantian system themselves.

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<sup>1</sup> He thus rightly treats the question of *the Universals* as primarily a *Criterionological*, not a *Ontological* question, as some Scholastic philosophers assert that it is.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., 1901.



The domain of *Ontology* is, of its very nature, abstruse and uninviting to the beginner; yet even here the clearness of exposition and wealth of illustration so characteristic of all the books of the Institute, succeed very largely in making even these rarified regions attractive to the young explorer. There is a very pleasing contrast between these books and the dry, didactic and dogmatic conciseness of the ordinary text-book on Metaphysics. And it is not that Mercier's *Ontology* shirks any of the numerous and profound difficulties with which Ontology is so abundantly strewn. On the contrary, he faces and discusses them loyally and candidly; he adopts the views that recommend themselves to him, on their merits; and even when he fails to bring us with him he never fails to make us think deeply and seriously and *understand* the questions better,—even though we may not be able to settle them to our own satisfaction. For example, his remarkable view that, in the analytical order, an adequate ultimate foundation for *possibles* and their properties, is to be had in the abstract concepts derived from actual experience, and that, accordingly, the Augustinian argument for the existence of God, the Infinite Exemplar, based on the properties of possible essences, the '*incommutabilia vera*,' is a worthless argument,—that view is controverted by very able philosophers. Although we believe that the issue here involved is one of the most fundamental in Philosophy, we can at present do no more than note the fact that such a difference of opinion prevails. Throughout the whole volume Mercier is an earnest supporter of Thomistic views regarding the relations of essence to existence, of nature to personality, of the individual to the universal, and of substance to accidents. Particularly worthy of study are the sections on the existence of substances, on final causes, on the order of nature, on the beautiful, on æsthetics and notions of art. The study of quantity, space and time are very properly left to their rightful places in Cosmology; and the study of 'being, finite and infinite' to Theodicy.

*The History of Philosophy* at the Institute is in the hands of one of the best authorities at the present day on the

heretofore much neglected Mediæval Period. M. de Wulf's *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale*<sup>1</sup> is unquestionably the best book of its kind on the subject. It is widely known and highly appreciated. It brings together and utilizes in a masterly way the results of the all-important researches of Ehrle, Denifle, Chatelain, Baemuker, Picavet, Rubczinsky, Clerval, Vacant, Mandonnet, etc., into the sources of the Middle-Age Philosophy within the past twenty years; and it is no exaggeration to say that these researches have brought about some revolutions in traditional views about the Scholastic and anti-Scholastic systems of the Middle Ages. A second edition of M. de Wulf's history, revised and largely recast, has just appeared. A companion volume published by him last year under the title of *Introduction à la Philosophie Néo-Scolastique*<sup>2</sup> gives a very luminous presentation of what Scholastic Philosophy really was and is and is likely to be, of its genesis, growth and development in the Middle Ages, of its relations to Catholic Theology and to opposing philosophic systems, of its method and essential content, of the causes of its decay and the conditions of its successful revival.

Scholasticism thus placed in its proper historical setting has simply a new meaning and a real attraction for the student. The studies of M. de Wulf have certainly thrown around it for his students an interest it could not otherwise possess. While the Mediæval Period naturally comes in for most attention, both ancient and modern systems get ample and adequate treatment as well.<sup>3</sup>

*Physics* is a compulsory subject for the Baccalaureate at the Institute. It is studied there mainly from the theoretic or speculative point of view, as leading up to philosophical theories. Though it is an elementary course,

<sup>1</sup> 1900, in 8vo, viii. + 480 pp.

<sup>2</sup> In 8vo, 350 pp.

<sup>3</sup> As may be seen from the programme, Mediæval Philosophy gets one course per week during two terms; Ancient Philosophy and Modern Philosophy get, each, two courses per week during one term. In Maynooth, while Logic and Ontology receive *nearly* as much time as at Louvain, the history of Philosophy is dismissed with an insignificant number of courses at the end of the second year. No special time is allotted to it, nor any special provision made for it.

—treating of the properties of matter, heat, light, sound, magnetism and electricity, in one term with four classes per week,—it is a sufficient if necessary preparation for Cosmology, and is insisted on as such.<sup>1</sup>

A very good elementary course of *Chemistry* is likewise insisted on at Louvain. Three classes per week for half a year are devoted to it. Specimens are shown and experiments made as far as possible. Special attention is paid to Chemical Theory and its relations to the Scholastic Theory of Matter and Form in Cosmology. The field covered embraces Organic as well as Inorganic Chemistry : it is supplemented by the essential notions of Biological Chemistry in the special courses of Biology, Anatomy and Physiology.<sup>2</sup>

The prominence given to the course of *Cosmology* at the Institute is significative of the close bond of union which exists between the Philosophy of Matter and the Natural Sciences in the Neo-Scholastic system. Cosmology monopolizes three hours per week during the first term and five during the second.<sup>3</sup> As taught at the Institute this course does not comprise the questions of the origin and destiny—the efficient and the final causes—of the Universe. It leaves those questions to Natural Theology and confines itself to a thorough investigation of the ultimate

<sup>1</sup> In Maynooth about three hours a week are devoted to this subject during two years. For obtaining the Licentiate in Philosophy acquaintance with a synopsis of questions on Physics is insisted on. This requirement will be strictly attended to because it is, so far, a direct expression of the spirit and tendency of the Neo-Scholastic Philosophy. The preparation of our students for the Royal University examinations in Physics will necessitate a more extensive and detailed knowledge of the subject, and corresponding increase in the number of classes devoted to it.

<sup>2</sup> A chemical laboratory has been recently established at Maynooth. One hour per week is devoted to an optional elementary course with a small number of students ; and one hour to optional laboratory work with another small-section. We understand that one year of the Science course in the Intermediate schools is to be devoted henceforth mainly or exclusively to Chemistry. The elementary course at Maynooth should be amplified and made compulsory at least on all who may not have already done an elementary course. Without at least an elementary knowledge of the theory of Chemistry an intelligent knowledge of Cosmology is simply impossible. The teaching of Chemistry for the Royal University examinations, being an advanced course, would necessitate a very considerable number of classes.

<sup>3</sup> In Maynooth it claims six hours a week for about six weeks.

nature—the constitutive material and formal causes,—together with the properties and activities, of the Inorganic Universe. The treatise written by Professor Nys on *Cosmologie*—forming the seventh volume of the *Cours de Philosophie*—is a work of an exceptionally high standard of excellence. Out of 575 pages no less than 150 are consecrated to a direct examination—the most searching and powerful we have yet seen—of the modern Atomic or Mechanical Philosophy of the Universe. He subjects its claims to the successive tests of all the Physical Sciences—especially of Chemistry; and, with his full and intimate knowledge of the latter, he shows by irrefragable reasoning that whatever may be the ultimate philosophical explanation of the Universe, Atomism certainly is not. No idol was ever more thoroughly demolished than that of a ‘Cosmos built up by inert matter and kinetic energy’ is in those masterly pages. To the Scholastic conception of the nature and properties of the material universe; to the doctrine of the double constitutive principle, material and formal, of all corporal being; to the essence formed by their union; to a full and exhaustive study of quantity, mass, volume, impenetrability, etc.; to the natural *forces* of material things; to the *qualitative* difference of these forces, and the current theory of their mutual convertibility; to motion, kinetic and potential energy; to the harmony of the Scholastic conception with the established facts of the various natural sciences;—to a full treatment of all those questions he devotes nearly 400 pages. The remaining 40 pages are given to an examination of the pure dynamic and the atomico-dynamic theories. This excellent text-book is supplemented by two additional monographs or special studies, the one on *Space* and the other on *Time*, from the pen of the same author. Both of these abstruse subjects are dealt with in a very masterly and attractive manner. The various theories are marshalled and criticized, and the author’s bold and incisive reasoning throughout cannot fail to recommend the moderate realism embodied in his views.

‘*Psychophysiology*,’—called by many other names,

amongst which 'Experimental Psychology,'—is a comparatively new science. It is simply the study of conscious states in their relations to their physiological and physical concomitants. Its method is objective and experimental (physiological), as well as subjective or introspective (psychological). It analyses our ordinary complex conscious activities into ultimate constituent elements which it calls *impressions*. The study of those from the quantitative and qualitative points of view forms the first part of the course. It next passes to the study of these same impressions combined and co-ordinated in time and space so as to form conscious *representations*. Finally, in a third part it examines the *associations* of these representations and the laws that govern such associations. It covers that exceedingly wide and unexplored borderland between Physiology and Psychology, and seeks by inductive methods to arrive at the discovery of natural laws in that domain. For some time this new science was looked upon askance by Catholic philosophers—partly because they feared that it rested upon materialist presuppositions, and partly because its own early advocates were unduly enthusiastic about its significance and too sanguine in making promises which it could never hope to fulfil. It is now more justly appreciated by both parties, and is recognised by all as a useful auxiliary to Psychology proper, and a department of research that may bring to light valuable information about the nature and conditions of conscious organic activities. As a distinct science with a definite field of investigation it had its origin in Germany,—its first great exponent being Professor Wundt of Leipsig,—and it has been followed up with the greatest attention in many of the North-American Universities.<sup>1</sup> Professor Thiéry, who gives this course<sup>2</sup> at the Institute, studied under Wundt at Leipsig, and is the author of an important and original

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<sup>1</sup> See Mercier's *Origines de la Psychologie Contemporaine*, pp. 284 sqq., and Appendix B. There are many recent works in English on Physiological Psychology, and Professor Wundt's classical work is being at present translated into English.

<sup>2</sup> It receives two and a half hours per week for three terms. The subject is not taught at Maynooth.

study on the Sense of Vision: *Optische Geometrische Täuschungen*.

Passing next to the teaching of *Psychology* proper, we find very ample provision made for two distinct courses of a year each. They are given alternately and are frequented both by the students for Licentiate and by those for Doctorate. The first is a general course on the nature of living things and the principle of life—*Psychologie Naturelle*. It follows closely the text of St. Thomas' Commentary on Aristotle's treatise *De Anima*. The Latin text has been specially edited at the Institute; and a free, modernised exposition and interpretation of the text, translated into French, has been also published by Professor Thiéry under the above title—*Psychologie Naturelle*. The second course of Psychology is a very full and exhaustive study of the whole subject based upon Mercier's well known work, *La Psychologie*, which forms the third volume of the *Cours de Philosophie*.

Mercier's *Psychologie* is unquestionably one of the ablest and most remarkable books that has been published on this subject from the Scholastic point of view in recent years. The appearance of its first edition, in 1892, attracted very considerable attention from Catholics and non-Catholics alike, and was called, not without reason, 'an event in the teaching of Scholastic Philosophy.'<sup>1</sup> It has now reached its sixth edition in two octave volumes of nearly 400 pages each, with four excellent lithograph plates in the first volume. The first volume is devoted to vegetative and animal life, and contains the most copious and up-to-date information on the anatomy and physiology, as well as the psychology proper, of living organisms, both vegetative and sentient. The second volume deals with the higher activities of man, his nature, origin and destiny. The whole is a very masterly production, and clearly shows the substantial harmony of the traditional Scholastic Psychology with the results of modern research.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Etudes*, 31 Dec., 1892.

<sup>2</sup> Psychology receives a treatment of two hours a week for two years at Louvain; six hours a week for somewhat less than half a year at Maynooth.

The importance attached to the study of the *Biological Sciences*, subsidiary to Psychology, calls next for a brief word of comment. A philosophical knowledge of Psychology is simply impossible without at least a general acquaintance with the group of natural sciences that deal with living organisms. Hence a general course in *Anatomy and Physiology* is regarded as the minimum to be required for all. Three hours per week during a whole term are thus devoted to studying the structure and functions of the various animal tissues, organs, members and systems,—skin, bone, blood, circulation, respiration, digestion, internal organs, muscle, nervous system, brain, external senses, sensation, spontaneous and reflex movements, emotions, passions, nervous diseases. It is rightly contended that the student who approaches Psychology without the knowledge of those things as a groundwork, and who studies it out of a Mediæval Latin text-book whose terminology and illustrations are based on the schoolmen's—or Aristotle's—notions and theories of Physics and Physiology, is practically wasting precious time trying to comprehend, as the elements of a real and *actual* psychological synthesis, much that is *unreal* and without value except to the student of history. If the greatest of the Scholastics,—St. Thomas of Aquin,—were teaching Philosophy at the present day, he would introduce his students to Psychology through contemporary—not mediæval—Physiology, merely showing himself thereby as enlightened and progressive in the twentieth century as he actually showed himself amongst his contemporaries in the thirteenth. At Louvain they think they are loyal to the Angelic Doctor's spirit, and they are not deceived. . . . Besides the minimum contained in the compulsory course just referred to, they give their students ample opportunities in three distinct special courses to pursue further this same line of studies. In a special course of *Anatomy and Physiology* the professor of the general course,—M. Ide of the Faculty of Medicine,—goes more deeply into the histology or microscopic structure and functions, as well as into the composition, physical and chemical, of the various organic

tissues. In a second and still more important special course on the *Embryology, Histology, and Physiology of the Nervous System* he follows step by step, from the fertilization of the *ovum* to the full maturity of middle life, the gradual growth and development of the nervous system which is the immediate organic basis of consciousness, and which is therefore of such primary importance to the psychologist. A third special course on *General Biology* is devoted by M. Meunier of the Faculty of Sciences to an elaborate study of the basis of all organic life,—that marvellously complex unit, the living cell. Its structure, its chemical composition, its functions, its manner of division, its differentiation in plant and animal, its most striking characteristics in the two domains of Botany and Zoology,—such are the main headings of the programme covered by this most interesting course. With such admirable opportunities as those there is absolutely nothing to prevent a student whose tastes lie in the direction of Psychology from equipping himself thoroughly for a complete mastery of his subject.<sup>1</sup>

Students whose tastes lie rather in the direction of the Moral and Social Sciences can choose the second section of optional courses during their first two years at the Institute. They will thus enjoy, firstly, a series of lectures on the *Method of Historical Criticism* from Professor Cauchie, a distinguished editor of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*; and secondly, a course on Political Economy; and another on the History of Social Theories, both by M. Defourny, the author of a remarkable study, *La Sociologie Positiviste: Auguste Comte*. The course on Political Economy, though elementary, is extremely useful and instructive and very much appreciated. It gives a

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<sup>1</sup> The only special provision yet made in Maynooth for any Biological science is that of an optional course, consisting of twenty or thirty lectures on the Physiology of the Nervous System, frequented by a small number of students. These lectures are given by Dr. Coffey, M.A., M.B., F.R.U.I., professor at the Catholic University School of Medicine. Needless to say, the course is excellent and most instructive so far as it goes, the lectures being illustrated by lantern slides throughout. But the teaching in this department needs further extension and development, and should be made, to a certain extent, compulsory for all students of Philosophy.



clear grasp of the principles of Economics, and deals especially with their application to the actual conditions of Belgium. In a word, it gives the student a fund of knowledge about social and economic principles and problems which will enable him to understand and to deal effectively with those problems when he goes amongst the people afterwards, whether as priest or layman.<sup>1</sup>

The course of *Ethics* at the Institute extends over two years. During the first year three hours per week are devoted (by Professor Forget of the Faculty of Theology) to Moral Philosophy ; during the second, six hours per week of the first term are devoted (by Professor Deploige of the Faculty of Law) to Natural and Social Law. M. Deploige is the author of a study on *St. Thomas and the Jewish Question*, and of an original work of considerable value on

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<sup>1</sup> The present writer has often heard it regretted that the Maynooth students get no such elementary training in Economics. He could not at first understand that sentiment,—not seeing any connexion between economics, even elementary, and the priesthood,—but he understands it now that he realizes all that the Irish priest *could* do for the poorer peasant and small farming classes of his people, and all that the Belgian priest is *actually doing* for his people in similar circumstances. Not that the Irish priests are unwilling to interest themselves in social work, or entirely inactive in that domain ; but they are so, comparatively to their Belgian brethren,—and that for want of a little early training and a little concentration of their attention on the enduring fruitfulness of effort in that department. Some of the Belgian priests, not content with a general grounding in economics, take certain courses in the *Institut Agronomique* as students at Louvain. . . . The leading part taken by the Belgian priests in the agricultural organization of the peasantry is well known. No wonder they have been so prominent in the movement, for large numbers of them go out as priests well instructed in the social work before them, and able—not merely to discourse eloquently on the idle generalities of organization, which is easy enough and attracts almost as many as politics—but to take the lead in the active work of founding and managing agricultural and co-operative societies amongst the people. In some, perhaps all, of the Belgian dioceses there is a priest specially entrusted with social work of that sort,—just as the catechist is with religious instruction. . . . Then we need to guard our Catholic flocks against the Materialist Economics—the latest ‘new gospel’—that would undermine religion by masquerading amongst our people as a sort of new Millenium promised us by the philanthropy of an English Government Department ! It seems very elementary to say that a good economist may be a bad moralist, and that material prosperity is not everything. Yet, it is very rarely we see such ideas developed in the Catholic Press of Ireland. In fact the appearance of articles like those of Dr. O’Riordan in the *Leader* are quite an event, they are of such rare occurrence. That should not be so, and it *would* not be so if our ecclesiastical students got some little training in the principles of social economy and their application to existing conditions in Ireland.

the *Referendum in Switzerland*. The latter has been translated into English in the *Studies in Economics and Political Science* (London School of Economics and Political Science).

There are, likewise, two distinct courses of *Natural Theology* during the student's third year at the Institute. Mgr. Mercier devotes one class per week during the year to a full and complete examination of all Philosophical systems, directly or indirectly Atheistical, and to the establishment of the Existence of God. A second course of three hours per week during the year is devoted by Professor Becker of the Faculty of Theology to the nature, attributes, knowledge, providence, etc., of the Deity.<sup>1</sup>

We have now completed our general analysis of the class work proper. That represents the theoretic side of the Louvain training: though many of the lectures in the scientific department are largely interspersed by experiments and concrete illustrations of various kinds. But there is, in addition to the class-hall teaching proper, a distinct supplementary department of what are called *Cours Pratiques*, namely:—

Laboratory work in Psychophysiology, under the direction of Professor Thiéry—a few hours per week for one term each year.

Laboratory work in Chemistry, under the direction of Professor Nys—a few hours per week for one term each year.

Social Philosophy Conference, under the direction of MM. Deploige and Defourny—once a week during the year.

Seminary of the History of Mediæval Philosophy, under the direction of M. de Wulf—once a week during the year.

Professor Thiéry's laboratory was one of the first of its kind established outside Germany. It is well equipped with all the necessary instruments and appliances for Psychophysiological research, and a number of students are initiated every year into the methods of investigating and experimenting in this domain. In the chemical laboratory a number of students are trained each year in the elementary practical work of chemical tests and

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<sup>1</sup> In Maynooth six hours per week for about half a year are devoted to Natural Theology and Ethics together.

analyses. In addition to these laboratories, the Biological class-hall is furnished with a large number of models and specimens to illustrate the various courses. Microscopes are provided, and preparations made and examined by the students under the direction of the various lecturers.

The seminaries of Social Science and of History are worked with a view to training a small number of students, who evince special tastes for those studies, in the methods of original research and original work in those departments. The students combine their efforts in a certain line of study under the guidance of the director of the seminary, and while they often thus render valuable assistance to him they are being admirably trained themselves to follow up the same sort of work. It is by means of this *Seminar* system,—carried to such a high degree of organization in the German Universities,—that the individual student, under the personal guidance of his professor, gets that specialized training which enables him to do sound and useful original work in his chosen branch afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

Besides this official teaching, theoretical and practical, the students of the Institute have two distinct voluntary societies, each with its weekly meeting, under the direction

<sup>1</sup> So far as we are aware, no such system has ever been attempted at Maynooth. In what Maynooth has always aimed at it has succeeded substantially well,—in turning out a very large body of young priests with a good average general education, and an adequate equipment for missionary work. A *superior* education in any branch of learning, even of sacred learning—perhaps with the exception of Dogmatic Theology—it has very rarely if ever succeeded in communicating to even a small number of students. Nor could it be blamed, if, with its actual staff and resources for such immense numbers, its system did not foster higher specialization in any branch or branches for the comparative few. Two classes of students need special attention. Firstly, the student of under-average ability, at least, needs special tuition,—some such coaching as *all* the students of our Universities are supposed to receive from their University tutors. In the Maynooth programme certain provisions are indeed made for the performance of that sort of work, by the appointment of post-graduate students as lecturers to help the professors. But for some reason or other,—want of resources, or scarcity of graduates, or failure to realize the necessity or utility of carrying out such provisions,—the latter have been allowed to remain for the greater part dead-letters. Both the need and the opportunity to avail of them will rapidly arise from our adoption at Maynooth of the Royal University programme in Arts and Philosophy. The appointments of such additional teachers would, perhaps, render it possible to pay special attention, *secondly*, to honour students of exceptional ability who might desire to get a special training in some particular branch of their own choice.

of two of the professors. At these meetings papers are read and discussions carried on by the students themselves and by strangers. The subjects,—usually philosophical questions of present-day interest,—are invariably dealt with in an attractive and pleasing manner. The meetings are very instructive and have an educational value that it would be difficult to exaggerate.

What contributes, perhaps, most largely to the success of those bi-weekly reunions is the existence of a splendidly-furnished philosophical reading-room at the Institute. The *Salle des Periodiques* deserves more than a passing mention, for it is a prominent feature of the Louvain philosophical training. The teaching of Neo-Scholastic Philosophy purports to bring the student face to face with all the philosophical systems of the present day as well as with modernized Scholasticism. And so it does. In this reading-room the student finds himself in presence of *nearly one hundred and fifty* of the leading Philosophical reviews of the world,—of every shade of opinion from all directions, and in many languages. The students have free access to them, are sometimes referred to current articles on the topics discussed in class, often make use of them for their philosophical societies, and oftener still in preparing their yearly dissertations for degrees. When we reflect on the important part played nowadays by the periodical in the advancement of learning we can appreciate the immense educational value of such a reading-room.

Since the year 1895, they have been forming in this same department a very full Philosophical Bibliography, —both according to authors and to subjects,—by means of which a person can find out at once all the philosophical literature that has appeared on any subject during those years. The idea is, if we mistake not, to form at the Institute a sort of International *Bureau* of Bibliography for the use of students and professors of Philosophy over the world. The system of cataloguing adopted is the decimal system of Dewey, in use at the Brussels International Office of Bibliography. A '*Sommaire Ideologique*' of works and reviews on Philosophy is published quarterly

as a supplement to the *Revue Néo-Scholastique*,—which thus puts its subscribers in possession of a continuous and up-to-date bibliography.

The *Revue Néo-Scholastique* is the principal periodical published by the Institute, and is recognised as one of the leading Philosophical reviews of the Continent. It was founded in 1894, and is conducted, under the direction of Mgr. Mercier and the editorship of M. de Wulf, with the co-operation of the professors and past students who form the *Société Philosophique de Louvain*. It appears quarterly in numbers of about 200 pages, the subscription being ten francs a year for Belgium, twelve francs outside Belgium. Each number contains : (1) articles proper on philosophical subjects ; (2) *Mélanges et Documents*, shorter studies on current questions, reviews and movements ; (3) a chronicle of events at the Institute ; (4) reviews of books ; (5) the *Sommaire Ideologique* already referred to ; (6) a supplement of forty or fifty pages called the *Mouvement Sociologique*, conducted by the Belgian Society of Sociology. The *Revue Néo-Scholastique* enjoys a wide circulation and is self-supporting. Practically all the reviews and periodicals that stock the reading-room of the Institute are received as exchanges for this review. The *Revue Sociale Catholique*, founded in 1896 by Professor Deploige, and M. Legrand of the Agricultural School of Gembloux, is devoted chiefly to labour legislation and to social and economic questions amongst the masses. The *Revue Catholique de Droit*—founded in 1898 by Professor Crahay of Liège University, a past student of the Institute—also concerns itself chiefly with the labouring masses. Both of those reviews are published monthly at the Institute.

These various publications will convey some idea of the constant output of intellectual work which the foundation of the Philosophical Institute has been mainly instrumental in fostering and developing. Yet they really represent only a fraction of the total amount of published matter already to be found in the *Bibliothèque de l'Institut supérieur de Philosophie* which has been in existence for the past decade, and is growing in dimensions and im-

portance every year. A few years ago the Institute set up a printing-press of its own, and it now prints and publishes all its own literature.<sup>1</sup> We have already mentioned the various volumes of the *Cours de Philosophie* that have been published up to the present. The fifth volume, by Mgr. Mercier, will deal with special questions, problems and theories regarding the validity of knowledge, under the title *Criteriologie Spéciale*. Volumes are promised on Ethics and Natural Theology, as well as a compendium of the whole course in three octave volumes of about 500 pages each. The various volumes of the larger courses are being translated into many languages. All have been done into Polish; all are being translated into Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. A German translation of Mercier's *Psychologie* and an English translation of Nys's *Cosmologie* are in preparation. Besides the periodical literature and the volumes of the *Cours de Philosophie*, we must mention two historical collections that are being edited under the direction of M. de Wulf and M. Pelzer, entitled, *Les Philosophes du moyen age*. It will comprise, firstly, a series of folio volumes containing the original texts of works hitherto unpublished or little known on Mediæval Philosophy; and, secondly, a series of studies (in 8vo volumes) on various mediæval philosophers. The first volume of the first series contains the text of the famous treatise, *De unitate formæ*, by Gilles of Lessines, preceded by an introduction of 120 pages from the pen of

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<sup>1</sup> Yet, the Institute is only a fractional part of the University, and its publications only a fractional part of the total literary output of the University. In point of staff and numbers the University has about 100 professors and 2,000 students; Maynooth about 25 professors and 550 students, the Philosophical Institute at the rate of about 4 or 5 professors to 70 students (*see* note, p. 492). And yet there is no printing press at Maynooth, notwithstanding all the printing and publishing work that could be found for it; there is no periodical published at Maynooth in any branch of academic studies; there is no reading-room at Maynooth in which students might learn what is going on all over the educational world in theological, biblical, historical, philosophical, scientific, and literary studies, and be thus attracted to take a livelier interest in these studies, and to form for them tastes that would last through life, and that would help to remove the reproach of intellectual stagnation and literary inactivity so often levelled against the Irish Priesthood.

M. de Wulf. The three succeeding volumes—the first of which has already appeared—will contain the *Quodlibeta of Godfrey of Fontaines*. This is an excellent collection from every point of view, and no philosophical library should be without it.

The number of isolated publications that have helped to swell the dimensions of the *Bibliothèque* is very large, and some of them of great importance. Glancing at the catalogue—which may be had on application at the Institute—we would fain bring many of them under the notice of our readers, but we must be content with mentioning two.

M. de Wulf's *Histoire de la Philosophie Scolastique dans les Pays-Bas* is a valuable work written in reply to a question proposed by the Royal Academy of Belgium, and crowned by that body for exceptional merit.

Mgr. Mercier's *Origines de la Psychologie Contemporaine*, published in 1898, 'has contributed very much towards concentrating the attention of the educated world on what is going on at Louvain.'<sup>1</sup> German, English, French, Italian reviews of divers tendencies have greeted this work with words of praise. It is a masterly study,—critical, historical and doctrinal,—on the rise and growth and various offshoots of Cartesian Psychology, and on all the different forces and tendencies observable in the Psychology of the present day. It is a work full of light and inspiration for the student of Philosophy, and its concluding chapter on 'Neo-Thomisme' strikes the keynote to that true scientific method which has won such well-merited renown for the Louvain pioneers of Neo-Scholasticism.

A writer in the *Critical Review*,<sup>2</sup> dealing with Mercier's *Origines*, pointed out to English readers that the Neo-Scholastic doctrines form the principal intellectual force actually at work in Belgium, and have a considerable influence in France, Germany and Italy. He noted as 'full of light and progress' those words of the author

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Dörholt, in the *Theologische Revue*, 1903, p. 292.

<sup>2</sup> 1899, ix., 17-18.

which are simply a summing up of the programme of the Institute :—

We avail ourselves of Plato, and Descartes, and Leibnitz, and Kant, and Fichte, and Hegel, and Wundt, just as fully perhaps, and certainly just as sincerely as those who count us in the number of their enemies. . . . There is no Catholic philosopher who is not ready to sacrifice 'an idea many centuries old' the moment it manifestly contradicts an observed fact. For we also are accustomed to take observation as our starting-point, as the origin of all research, the source of truth, and the sovereign mistress of science.

And those words are an unmistakable echo of what we read in the *Aeterni Patris* of Leo XIII : 'libente gratoque animo excipiendum esse quidquid utiliter fuerit a quopiam inventum atque excogitatum.'

And as to the influence of Louvain teaching, in Philosophy as in other departments, upon religious and social and scientific progress throughout Belgium, it is difficult for us here in Ireland—utter strangers, as we are, to the benefits that accrue to a nation from the higher education of its people—to appreciate properly the depth and extent of that influence. Louvain is to Catholic Belgium what the throbbing heart is to the whole body sending out its rich warm currents of life blood to stimulate and nourish the entire system. If there are to be found amongst the Belgian Catholic clergy and laity numbers of the best and ablest Catholic writers who uphold and defend Catholic and Christian principles, and who attack the Godless tenets of liberalism and socialism in the press and in the pulpit and on the platform, by pen and by voice, without a moment's abatement of zeal, it is to the progressive and militant spirit of thought and action communicated to them at Louvain, that such activity is due. If Catholic Belgium has numbers of cultured scholars ready and willing to defend social order, and to point to the true and just solution of complex social problems, and that with all the influence and authority requisite to make their voices heard, Catholic Belgium may thank the training that its youth receives in the various Faculties of Louvain University. The progress of Belgium in science and industry and agriculture



is too well known to need more than a mention : to the scientific achievements and prestige of Louvain that progress is largely due. And that material progress has not been accompanied in Belgium, as it often has been elsewhere, by a decadence in religion or morality, or in attention to the higher and ideal side, the mental and spiritual side of life. Belgium's progress is not abnormal or onesided but wholesome and universal : and that is due above all to the fact that in her Philosophy she has rejected the *outré* spiritualism of Decartes,—the system that vainly tries to suppress or ignore the material, and thereby allows the senses to run riot and usurp the place of reason ;—and has espoused the moderate realism of the schoolmen ;—the Philosophy that holds the golden mean between the spiritual and the material, that lays down the true relations between faith, grace and religion on the one hand, and reason, nature and the conduct of life on the other, and thus, as it were, fulfils the words of a great teacher, to 'render unto Cesar the things that are Cesar's and to God the things that are God's.'

We now conclude what is a necessarily inadequate and imperfect review of the current Philosophical teaching at Louvain, both in its spirit and in its letter. We commenced by an enquiry into the traditional Catholic conception of the scope of Philosophy and its relation to the other sciences.<sup>1</sup> We then saw that this conception, clearly formulated in the golden ages of Scholasticism, was afterwards partially lost sight of until it was once more forced on the attention of at least the Catholic world by the teaching and action of Leo XIII.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently our attention was confined to one small Catholic country, and we saw how its far-famed University, that had been for five long centuries the venerable seat of the highest Catholic culture, has now become, so very appropriately, the nursery,—the *Seminarium*,—and the home and headquarters of the new Scholasticism.<sup>3</sup> Finally, in the present article, we have

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<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, January.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, February.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, May.

examined the internal working of the new Philosophical Institute somewhat in detail. It has been a pleasure to us to do so because we are convinced that it deserves to be known amongst Irish and English-speaking Catholics, and because we believe that in speaking well of it we are only giving praise where praise is due.

It will be a still greater pleasure to us if what we have written may be found to be in any small way helpful towards developing our own teaching system in Maynooth along similar lines. We believe that,—without having recourse to any servile imitation,—just as Ireland has much that is profitable to learn from Belgium so has Maynooth or any Irish University much to learn from Louvain. Louvain is no State-aided University. It is supported by the donations of the Catholic clergy and laity of Belgium, and yet it can command the services of the best professors in the country. It was founded, too, at a time when Belgium was a poor country; and it had to show by its work, while still in a struggling condition, that it deserved a charter from the State, before it got one. And yet, in this freely-supported University, just think of the proportions of the Philosophical Institute alone,—its staff, its buildings, its equipment and whole organisation,—and all that, to give a sound Philosophical training to quite a small percentage of ecclesiastics and a handful of lay students! Truly the Catholics of Ireland might learn from their Belgian friends a lesson of liberality in the endowment of education! The Irish people have unquestionably a natural love for learning that yields in its depth and intensity only to their love for religion. But centuries of foreign domination and enforced ignorance have starved that strong passion into a vague, indefinable sort of craving, which they feel indeed but hardly understand. If those amongst them who are more happily circumstanced in culture and enlightenment,—particularly the Catholic clergy,—would only keep constantly before the people in general the need of higher education in the country, and the claims that *educational institutions* have upon their charity, the people would soon begin to extend to the cause

of higher education a more generous measure of support. We have unbounded faith in the generosity of our people towards education as towards religion. None have better means of knowing it, or better reason to know it, than the clergy themselves. They would do well, accordingly, both to remember themselves and to inform the people, that financial difficulties are the great obstacles to Irish educational development in every department.<sup>1</sup>

This is no less true in Maynooth than elsewhere, and it will remain true, unfortunately, until our priests and people become more keenly alive than they are at present to the enormous losses and risks involved in educational backwardness. The proper education of a country's future clergy is one of the most sacred charges imposed on that country's present clergy: and if that education is to be efficient it must suit the circumstances of the age. Now, whatever may be true of the past century it is pretty generally admitted that there is urgent need to give the future priests of Ireland such facilities of education as will secure that, while all be well educated, a certain proportion of them—the more the better—be *specially* well educated, if we may so express it; so well as to be recognised leaders and authorities in some one particular branch of

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<sup>1</sup> When the Catholic University was started they subscribed munificently. Would they subscribe less munificently to-day? We at least would not wrong them by saying so. If the burden were intolerable, as some think, it would be cruel and unfair to try to impose it on them. But we are of the number of those who think that it would not be intolerable. We have more respect for the manliness and nobility of our people's character than to write them down as an essentially and irretrievably intemperate people; and we are sanguine enough to hope that within the next few decades a vigorous temperance campaign, sustained by a zealous and largely total-abstaining clergy, will have reared up a *temperate generation* of Irish men and Irish women for God and their country; and we hold that if the consequent decrease in the Drink bill were taken into account and taken advantage of, a Catholic University could be founded and endowed without any intolerable burden on our people. A nation is never the worse of self-sacrifice in a noble cause: and no cause worth winning was ever won without it. The attitude of those who advocate the policy of 'waiting' till the English Government gives us a University, and who scoff at the 'absurdity' of undertaking and carrying on simultaneously two great works, and of helping the one by the other—of making Ireland temperate and setting up a Catholic University,—that attitude appears to us at least somewhat too diffident if not even cynical to be wholesome or praiseworthy.

learning or other. And so our educational methods and standards of the nineteenth century will not do in the twentieth. That is true all round : in philosophical, theological, biblical and historical, no less than in scientific and merely profane studies ; yet that is just what not many of the Catholic body in Ireland fully realize. On the Continent they have been made to realize it. The Belgian Catholics are keenly alive to the necessity of looking to their educational weapons, and of straining every sinew to cope with the powerful forces, educated, drilled and disciplined, that are being arrayed against the Catholic Church under the ægis of 'science' and 'progress' and 'solidarité' and other like shibboleths. Their watchword is to *educate, better and better*, so as to keep abreast of the progress—if it be progress—that goes on outside the Catholic Church and her schools. We, too, need to concentrate our attention on enlarging, improving, developing the education of those who will have to carry on the battle of the faith in Ireland in the rapidly changing circumstances of the age. The inroads of cheap, infidel literature amongst the masses of the people, the growth of a taste for promiscuous reading, the spread of a sort of semi-education amongst many,—that amount of learning which is enough to be dangerous,—these are a few of the many forces that the priest of the future must be armed to meet. We shall find it wise to be prompt and liberal in equipping the student with arms well up-to-date, and to regard the providing of proper educational facilities for him as of the very first importance.

The improvements that have been made in the Maynooth system during the past ten years, and those that are still contemplated or in progress, show clearly enough that the Irish Bishops are awake to the urgent necessity of keeping the education of the Irish clergy abreast with the rapid advances of knowledge amongst other classes and in other countries. They have obtained for the National College, from the late Holy Father, the power of conferring degrees in Philosophy, Theology, Sacred Scripture and Canon Law. They have established and made appoint-

ments to three new chairs. They have established two further new chairs to which they have not appointed permanent professors *from want of funds*. For the same reason they have refrained from establishing still further new professorships, the need of which they quite recognise. For the same reason they must be content with the appointment of temporary lecturers, and with making provision which they know to be inadequate in many departments, regretting that it is the most that the limited finances of the College will allow them to do.

These are facts which give food for reflection to all who are desirous that the Irish clergy should receive an education suitable to the needs of the age. And after all where is the Irish Catholic, be he priest or layman, who can afford to say that this is a matter that has no interest for him? It is a matter that interests all. All Irish Catholics will be undoubtedly pleased to learn that Maynooth has entered on her second century endeavouring, in the face of difficulties, to prepare and equip herself for the work that will be rightly expected of her in the future; higher and better work than she has been doing in the past. And if they find light and leading, and inspiration to aid her, from what Belgian Catholics have done for Louvain, they will not, we feel assured, be slow to pursue towards the *Alma Mater* of their own clergy an equally enlightened policy.

P. COFFEY.

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND HUMAN LIBERTY—III

**I**N this article I propose to treat of the question of toleration; is the Catholic Church tolerant, and are Catholics individually free to be tolerant, or does the Catholic Church oblige her children to be intolerant of other Christian churches and sects, and beliefs and unbeliefs? Is toleration a characteristic and exclusive attribute of the reformed churches, of the modern mind and modern thought, and intolerance a distinctive feature or consequence of the Catholic system of religion? The apologist of Catholic toleration can scarcely escape feeling, if addressing the Protestant world, a deep sense of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of obtaining a fair hearing for his cause; like the advocate who is addressing a jury which he knows to be strongly prejudiced against his client, and determined, perhaps, to return an unfavourable verdict; for the Protestant world is prejudiced against Catholicity, and has been taught to regard the spirit of Protestantism and modern thought as the spirit of toleration, and the Catholic Church as the embodiment and essence of intolerance. The task of the apologist is rendered more difficult because, when we deal with an organic system of religious truths, such as the Catholic system is, where the several doctrines and traditions and laws are connected and correlated like the members and functions of a living organism, we cannot expect to be able to justify the existence of each doctrine and law, or explain their functions and utility, without considering them in relation to one another, and to the whole system of which they are a part; but non-Catholic controversialists examine the Catholic position on religious toleration considered apart from the general organism of Catholic doctrine and the general Catholic claims, of which the Church's teaching and discipline in relation to tolerance and intolerance are but the natural and necessary corollaries. I hope, nevertheless, to show that Catholics

are not unreasonably intolerant in the domain of doctrine and worship, and that the Catholic position in relation to religious toleration compares very favourably with the theory and practice of toleration advocated and exhibited in the non-Catholic world, philosophical, political, and ecclesiastical.

What is toleration and what is intolerance ? Theologians distinguish doctrinal, ecclesiastical, and civil or political toleration. Doctrinal toleration, when taken in its most extended sense, is the mental conviction and the confession that unbelief and all creeds and forms of religion, natural and supernatural, are equally true and equally false ; and the corresponding doctrinal intolerance is the mental belief and confession that all doctrines and creeds are not equally true and equally false. In a less extended sense doctrinal intolerance can admit an indefinite number of degrees ; thus many Protestants, while mentally intolerant of unbelief and of Catholicism, feel themselves free to confess that the various confessions of Protestantism, though differing on most fundamental questions, are equally true and equally false ; some are intolerant of the doctrines and ceremonials of Ritualists, but can tolerate all forms of non-sacerdotal Protestantism ; while others are tolerant enough, mentally, of Catholicism and Ritualism, but cannot admit the truth of non-dogmatic or Presbyterian Protestantism. Churches and States, no less than private members of society, can make profession of doctrinal tolerance or intolerance, that is, can profess that they regard unbelief and all forms of religion as equally true and equally false, or that they believe one particular religion to be true and all others false ; but whether associated with the private members of society, or with the Church and the State, doctrinal intolerance is not understood to imply the imposition of civil or ecclesiastical disabilities on those who may profess a different creed, it is only the belief and confession that a particular religion is true and all other religions false. But Churches and States, besides accepting and professing one religion as true may be conceived to forbid all other forms of religions under pain

of legal penalties and disabilities, or to permit freedom of public worship to those who may profess a different creed ; and hence we distinguish ecclesiastical and civil tolerance and intolerance. In a severe and narrow sense ecclesiastical and civil toleration can imply that the profession of a particular creed and the public exercise of its worship, though nominally opposed to law, are connived at by the Church and State, but in a broader sense it conveys the idea of legal non-interference, that no obstacles are placed by the Church or State to the acceptance or rejection of particular dogmas, and no disabilities imposed by law on account of one's religious opinions ; and, on the other hand, ecclesiastical and civil intolerance imply the inhibition of creeds and public worship differing from the creed and religion of the Church and State under pain of ecclesiastical and civil penalties.

When dealing with private members of society there can be question of doctrinal tolerance and intolerance alone, but, as I have observed, the Church and State may be conceived not merely to profess a particular creed but also to prohibit the profession and public worship of a different creed. I shall endeavour in this article to present a statement of non-Catholic and Catholic views on religious toleration, as it should be observed by private members of society, as it should be practised by the Church, and as it should be exercised by the State. Is the private individual free to tolerate before the tribunal of his own conscience all forms of religion and irreligion ; to believe, for example, that Catholicity, which he may profess himself, and all the forms of Protestantism and infidelity, which may be professed by his neighbours, are equally true and equally in conformity with divine law, that a man is free to join whatever religious society he pleases, or to work out his salvation apart altogether from religious organisations ? Ought the Church confine her mission and her zeal to preaching the true religion of Christ, and abstain from inflicting punishment and disabilities for erroneous religious opinions and unbelief ? And ought the State be neutral in the domain of religion, and tolerate and assure freedom



of public worship and protection in their ministry to the professors and preachers of all forms of religion without distinction ?

I.

What should Mechanical and Idealist Determinists, who include philosophers and scientists of the agnostic-evolution movement and different churches of Protestants, teach about doctrinal toleration and doctrinal intolerance, as they are found among private members of society ? Evidently they should teach that we have no power of choosing between mental toleration and intolerance, that we are necessarily determined by the physical laws of nature, or the totality of our own dispositions, principles and antecedent impressions, to be tolerant or intolerant of a particular creed or particular beliefs. Do you, for example, determine to accept theism and reject atheism, or to profess atheism and reject theism, or do you think that both may be true for different persons, or at different times and in different places ? Do you resolve to accept supernatural religion and abandon rationalism, or to adopt rationalism and reject supernatural religion ? Do you decide to make your submission to Rome and to renounce Protestantism as intellectually intolerable, or to remain in Protestantism and pronounce the creed and worship of Rome mentally unacceptable ? Determinists should hold, consistently with their general philosophical principles, that in all these cases your approval and acceptance of a particular creed, and your rejection and mental intolerance of others, or your indifference to all religious creeds, are determined necessarily and mechanically, like the movements of the inanimate universe, by the physical laws of nature, or necessarily but spontaneously by the character of your own mind, disposition, antecedent beliefs and prejudices and the arguments presented for your consideration.

But we may continue our examination of non-Catholic toleration and intolerance beyond what is demanded by

the exigencies of a philosophical theory, and ask: Are Determinists really tolerant, as a matter of fact, or are they intolerant? Are Agnostics and the representatives generally of the modern mind and modern thought and the various denominations of Protestantism really tolerant of all philosophical and religious doctrines, or are they intolerant of doctrines and systems different from their own?

I would observe again that *doctrinal*, as distinguished from ecclesiastical and civil intolerance, implies no persecution of those who may profess a different creed, no punishment and no disabilities, but signifies the mental rejection and condemnation and possibly the refutation of theories that are believed to be false; and is, therefore, opposed to the belief that all systems of religion may be equally true, to indifference to and mental toleration of all propositions on religion, even the most contradictory. Now, everyone who has firm and fixed mental convictions must be *doctrinally* intolerant, though he may have the kindest feelings for and the closest and warmest social relations with those who may hold different opinions; if we believe, for example, that  $2 + 2 = 4$  for all persons, at all times and in all places, we must reject and be mentally intolerant of the proposition, that  $2 + 2 = 5$ . Agnostic evolutionists and the admirers of the modern mind and modern thought are intolerant of the absolute affirmation of metaphysical truths, of the existence of God, the existence of an immaterial soul, a future life of rewards and punishments, ethical right and wrong, freewill, the manifestation of a divine purpose and design in the world and the government of the world by divine providence, the divinity of Christ and the existence of a supernatural church and a supernatural religion. The reformers were intolerant, on the one hand, of errors against the great mysteries of religion, the existence of God, the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation; and on the other, of the Roman teaching on the constitution and prerogatives of the Church, on justification, on the rule of faith, and the worship of God by the holy sacrifice of the Mass. Anglicans generally

are intolerant of doctrines opposed to the Thirty-nine Articles, or at least of the public profession of such doctrines.<sup>1</sup> Anti-dogmatic Anglicans are intolerant of the imposition of dogmas as unconnected with moral goodness, and advocate the union of Church and non-Conformity in a moral but non-dogmatic Christianity; while the defenders of dogmatic religion are equally intolerant of anti-dogmatic latitudinarianism, believing that dogmatic truths, a church, a priesthood, apostolical succession and sacraments are of the essence of the Christian religion. Erastian Anglicans contend that the Church is the creation of the State, while Ritualists maintain that the Church is of divine origin, and should be independent of the State. Low Churchmen make private judgment the rule of faith; but to the Ritualist the theory of private judgment and Protestantism itself are impossible of belief, intellectually intolerable, inasmuch as they deny the duty of submission, for belief, to legitimate church authority. To all the primacy and infallibility of the Roman Pontiff are mentally unacceptable and intolerable.

## II.

The philosophers, therefore, and scientists of the modern evolutionary movement are tolerant of the fullest measure of doctrinal negation and of intellectual revolt against spiritual authority, but are intellectually intolerant of religious belief; rationalist theists are tolerant of the denial of supernatural religion, but intellectually intolerant

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<sup>1</sup> According to Anglican commentators on the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Articles are intended, in the case of the laity, to be articles of peace and union and church communion; subscription does not imply assent to them, but at most that they be not publicly disputed and contradicted; and members of the Church are bound to remain in the Anglican communion, though they disbelieve the Articles, unless they consider the Articles so erroneous that they cannot hold communion with those who profess them. But according to the more strict Anglican interpretation, clergymen of the Anglican Church when subscribing the Articles are bound to give them internal assent. However, many interpret them in a non-natural sense; some to harmonise them with Catholic teaching, others to justify their own latitudinarian and rationalist theology.—*Cf.* Burnet on *Thirty-Nine Articles*, pp. 7 *seqq.*; Hardwick, *History of the Articles*, ch. xl.

of its affirmation ; and Protestants and Anglicans are tolerant in varying degrees of doctrinal negations, but intolerant of the distinctive doctrines of Rome. Catholics, however, maintain that they alone have the true conception of doctrinal toleration, uniting as they do the assertion of physical freedom to believe or not to believe or to disbelieve, which is essential for responsibility in faith, with the assertion of a grave moral obligation to reduce the intellect to the obedience of faith. They distinguish between physical and moral freedom of religious toleration ; they claim to be *physically* free to tolerate all forms of belief and to affirm that all creeds are equally true and equally false ; but they hold that we are not *morally* free to tolerate all forms of creed, that we cannot without sin affirm that all creeds are equally true and equally false. They urge, too, with good reason that the words *tolerance* and *intolerance* are not the be-all and end-all of religious controversy, and should not be made the criterion of credibility or incredibility, approval or disapproval of a religion, but that, on the contrary, the absolute truth or falsehood or uncertainty of a religion or propositions on religion should be the rule and measure of our doctrinal toleration or intolerance.

The Catholic position, then, is this : If the certainty of natural religion were unattainable, or if the truth of supernatural religion were undemonstrable, or if among Christian associations the claims of the Church of Rome were not capable of generating intellectual conviction and certainty, then indeed might we be tolerant of agnosticism or rationalism or national churches or non-conformity. Again, if we believed in the relativity of religious truth, that doctrines are true only relatively to time and place and persons, that in the anti-Trinitarian controversies the doctrine of the Trinity was true for Trinitarians and false for anti-Trinitarians, that the *Λόγος* was *ομοούσιος Πατρι* for Athanasius and *ομοιονσιος Πατρι* for Arius, that Christ was a divine person for Cyril and at Alexandria, but only a human person at Constantinople and for Nestorius, that transubstantiation was true in Trent but false

at Augsburg, that papal infallibility is true for Catholics but false for Old Catholics, that Episcopalianism is true in the Church and Presbyterianism in the Kirk, then indeed would intolerance of the religious opinions of others be wholly meaningless and indefensible. But it is not thus that the early Councils understood revealed truths; and if we believe in the absolute character of religious truth we must mentally disapprove and reject the opposite errors. Do I believe, then, for example, in the existence of God as an absolute truth for all time, all places, all persons? if so, I cannot admit the certainty or probability of atheism or agnosticism, I must reprobate them, and in that sense I am intolerant of them. Do I hold as an absolute truth that God has made a supernatural revelation and established a supernatural religion? then must I believe deism and rationalism to be false and condemn them, and be intellectually intolerant of them. Do I believe, as a truth for all time and for all persons and places, that Christ established one true Church in the sense in which it is conceived by the Catholic Church? then must I hold that national separated churches and the minor Christian sects are not the true Church of Christ, nor a part of it, and that their existence is in opposition to the will and in violation of the law of Christ. And as Catholics believe in the existence of God, in supernatural revelation, in the divine origin and exclusive claims and infallible magisterium of the Catholic Church, as absolute truths valid for all persons, at all times, and in all places, though they are taught and understand that they have physical liberty or the physical power of believing or not believing or disbelieving, of leaving the Church or remaining in it, of joining another Christian communion or remaining detached from all religious organizations, yet do they feel themselves under a grave moral obligation to remain in the Catholic Church, to continue to profess the Catholic religion, and to reject not only the extreme errors of atheism and agnosticism, but rationalistic theism and the distinctive negations of Protestantism, to refuse church communion with them, to repudiate their distinctive doctrines, and to refuse to participate in their worship.

The non-Catholic world will continue, no doubt, to call Catholics intolerant. Yes ; Anglicans are more tolerant along the line of negation than Catholics ; non-conformists are more tolerant still ; rationalists are yet more tolerant ; and agnostics and the representatives of the modern mind and modern thought are the most tolerant of all. But, as I have already said, the words tolerance and intolerance cannot decide the merits of the religious controversy. We can imagine a discussion on civil toleration and civil liberty between a citizen of a modern European state and some savage denizen of the desert, and we can imagine the savage to argue in this manner : ' I can recognise and reverence your stately hierarchy of king, governors, judges, magistrates, peace officers, naval and military chiefs ; I am sensible of the wonderful perfection and success of your highly developed political institutions ; I admire the splendour of your religious, charitable, and educational establishments ; I freely admit the unbounded success of your industries and the immensity of your commerce ; I admire your civilisation, your literature, your unprecedented conquests in the field of natural science ; I gladly bear testimony to the kindness and courtesy and hospitality of your people. But we of the desert have the advantage over you in toleration and civil liberty. We cannot think with you that Christianity marks the last step in civilisation and the religious evolution of the world. We have outgrown that stage in the evolution of humanity when the human race was bound to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, we claim absolute independence of kings and emperors ; we no longer have faith in the old commandment, Thou shalt not kill, we tolerate murder and are not averse to the eating of human flesh ; we find the old precept, Thou shalt not steal, to have been founded on an erroneous principle of private property, and we are no longer intolerant of appropriating when desirable our neighbour's goods ; we permit free love and polygamy ; we are indifferent to parental duties ; we condemn your legal tribunals with their *ex cathedra* decisions which are derogatory to personal independence, and we claim for each

man the privilege and personal duty of exercising his own private personal judgment in the solution of all the difficulties of life, social, legal and religious.' Now who will be bold enough to say that such 'toleration' should be made the criterion of political civilisation and civil liberty? I do not advance this imaginary discussion as a demonstration of the equity of the Catholic position on intolerance of false doctrine and false worship, nor as a refutation of non-Catholic systems of toleration, but as an illustration of the truth that the words 'toleration' and 'intolerance' are not a reliable arbiter of controversy; that the religion that permits the greatest measure of toleration in respect of doctrine and worship is not necessarily the true religion of Christ; that toleration can be the toleration of disbelief of revealed truths, of disloyalty to God, of religious anarchy, of false and superstitious worship, as well as it can be toleration of different and conflicting views when there is question of debatable and doubtful matters; and that the sole legitimate test of a people's religion is not the extent of its doctrinal tolerance or intolerance, but its truth or its falsehood, its conformity with or opposition to reason and divine revelation.

Tolerance, therefore, and intolerance cannot constitute a distinct and independent subject of controversy, but depend on the great fundamental propositions maintained by rival schools in regard to religion. If there were no God or if His existence could not be cognised by us, then should we make profession of atheism or agnosticism, with all their tolerance of religious negation and intolerance of religious affirmation. If the existence of God were demonstrated but the existence of supernatural religion disproved or unknowable, then should we be rationalists. If the existence of supernatural revelation were established with private judgment as the sole rule of faith, then should we adopt some form of Protestantism with its intolerance of the Church of Rome. And if, as we contend, Christ instituted one exclusive Church, the holy Catholic Church, then are we bound to remain members of that Church, whether it be more tolerant or more intolerant than atheism,

agnosticism, rationalism and the various separated Christian churches and religious bodies throughout the world.

### III.

I pass from the consideration of personal tolerance or intolerance of the creeds of others to compare the different churches in their relation to religious toleration; and in the present section I will deal with non-Catholic churches and religious bodies. But first I must premise a brief statement of the origin and claims of the Anglican and reformed churches; as the reasonableness or unreasonableness of imposing a confession of faith on the members of a particular communion and of condemning the distinctive doctrines of rival churches or of permitting it to be believed that all creeds are equally true and equally good, must depend on our conception of the institution, functions and prerogatives of the church.

In the reformed churches—Lutheran, Calvinist and Presbyterian—it is taught that the true Catholic Church of Christ, the heir to the promises made to the church in the New Testament, is not any external visible organisation, Roman or Greek or Anglican or Lutheran or Calvinist, but the general body of the predestined, known to God but unrecognisable by us, in their personal and individual relation to Christ, to whatever country or time or particular church they may belong, or though they be not attached to any religious organisation.

They also admit [writes an able Presbyterian theologian<sup>1</sup>] that it is the duty of Christians to unite for the purpose of worship and mutual watch and care. They admit that to such associations and societies certain prerogatives and promises belong; that they have, or ought to have, the officers whose qualifications and duties are prescribed in the Scriptures; that there always have been and probably always will be such Christian organisations or visible churches. But they deny that any of these societies, or all of them collectively, constitute the Church for which Christ died, in which He dwells by His

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<sup>1</sup> Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, vol. i., p. 135.



spirit, to which He has promised perpetuity, catholicity, unity, and divine guidance into the knowledge of the truth. Any one of them, or all of them, one after another, may apostatise from the faith, and all the promises of God to His Church be fulfilled.

Among Anglicans different theories are maintained by divines of different schools of thought about the Apostolic origin of their church and its constitution and relation to the Catholic Church of Christ ; but by none is inerrancy claimed as a prerogative for the Anglican establishment. To Catholics who deny the validity of Anglican Orders and the existence of spiritual jurisdiction in the Anglican communion, the Established Church is neither in whole nor in part of Apostolic origin, it is the creation of the State, and derives its sanction and authority solely from the civil power.

We see in the English Church [writes Cardinal Newman<sup>1</sup>], I will not say no descent from the first ages, and no relationship to the Church in other lands, but we see no body politic of any kind ; we see nothing more or less than an establishment, a department of Government, or a function or operation of the State—without a substance—a mere collection of officials, depending on and living in the supreme civil power. . . . It is as little bound by what it said or did formerly, as this morning's newspaper by its former numbers, except as it is bound by the law ; and while it is upheld by the law, it will not be weakened by the subtraction of individuals, nor fortified by their continuance. Its life is an Act of Parliament. It will not be able to resist the Arian, Sabellian, or Unitarian heresies now, because Bull or Waterland resisted them a century or two before. . . . It will be able to resist them while the State gives the word ; it would be unable, when the State forbids it. Elizabeth boasted that she 'tuned her pulpits ;' Charles forbade discussions on predestination ; George on the Holy Trinity ; Victoria allows differences on Holy Baptism. . . . As the nation changes its political, so may it change its religious views ; the causes which carried the Reform Bill and Free Trade may make short work with orthodoxy.

Now what are the principles and practice, in respect of religious toleration, of the reformed churches that so modestly disclaim all right or title to the prerogative

<sup>1</sup> *Difficulties of Anglicans*, vol. i., pp. 6-9.

of authority and inerrancy in teaching? The early Lutherans, and the Calvinist and Presbyterian churches expressly deny Freewill, advocate explicitly Ideal Determinism, and consequently should maintain that churches, like individuals, are not free to follow at will a policy of tolerance or intolerance, but are necessarily determined by the sum of their principles, antecedents, aims and impulses, to be tolerant or intolerant of other creeds and other religions. Do these churches advocate general religious toleration, that all creeds are equally true and equally false, and that all religions are equally useful and equally hurtful to mankind? No; if we except the non-dogmatic independent congregations, each religious body imposes a special confession of faith on the members of its communion, and condemns with anathema not only the ancient errors of the Sabellians, Arians and Nestorians, but the distinctive doctrines of all existing rival churches; Anglicans condemn Calvinist Presbyterianism, Presbyterians condemn Episcopalians, and both Anglicans and Presbyterians assail the distinctive doctrines of Rome.<sup>1</sup> Do the reformed churches advocate deprivation of office and the infliction of ecclesiastical censures for the violation of their confessions of faith? Yes; 'A second law of this visible Kingdom of our Lord is that heretics and those guilty of scandalous offences should be excommunicated . . . Our Lord teaches that such an offender when he refuses to hear "the Church" is to be regarded as a heathen man and a publican.'<sup>2</sup> Do these churches permit private judgment and freedom of conscience in the interpretation of their confessions of faith? No; they urge with insistence the competence and sufficiency of private judgment to understand the infallible word of God and determine the meaning and necessity of the great mysterious truths in the sacred writings; they affirm the right of Protestants to interpret Scripture for themselves; but by a strange inconsistency they refuse to private judgment, in the case of their ministers, the right of interpreting these same truths, and the judgments

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*.  
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<sup>2</sup> Hodge, vol. ii., p. 607.

passed upon other creeds, when formulated in their own fallible confessions of faith.<sup>1</sup>

The churches, however, and the creeds being of human institution, considerable latitude and diversity of interpretation is tolerated according to the ever shifting positions of national belief. With the general acceptance of Darwinism and an absolute and unlimited belief in the uniform operation of natural law, denial of supernatural facts and supernatural religion is easily condoned among a large section of Protestants, or perhaps applauded as a manifestation of the modern mind and modern thought ; while in another section which cherishes the idea of a divinely-established and Catholic Christian Church, and perceives that the Catholicity of the Church can neither be understood nor defended with the exclusion of the Church of Rome, the doctrines of Rome are being accepted, her liturgy imitated, and her supposed errors construed as private doctrines or opinions, and not as articles of faith.

#### IV.

But while imposing on the consciences of their own ministers of religion a special confession of faith, and requiring internal assent to their articles of religion understood in their obvious and natural sense, and punishing with deprivation of office violations of their confessions of faith, though they confess themselves unable to decide with authority whether the doctrines of these confessions are true or false, the various reformed churches unite in condemnation of the Catholic Church for her dogmatism and intolerance. What, then, are the claims of the Church of Rome ; and what her principles and practice in relation to religious toleration ? Christ, says the Church of Rome, while He might have dealt personally and immediately with individual souls, called and gathered round Him the twelve Apostles and founded the Apostolic college. To this sacred college He entrusted the custody of the deposit of faith ; He commissioned the Apostles to go and teach all nations with

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Burnett, *loc. cit.*

authority, in His name, with a corresponding obligation on the part of mankind, at the peril of salvation, to accept the Apostolic teaching ; to discharge this duty of teaching the world with authority He endowed the Apostolic college and Peter its head with the gift of infallibility ; He gave the Apostles power to transubstantiate bread and wine into His body and blood and to offer sacrifice and to remit sin and to transmit these powers by ordination to their successors ; and, finally, He gave them plenary power to govern the spiritual kingdom which He was establishing and which was soon to be extended to the ends of the earth by their preaching and the preaching of their successors. The Catholic Church, Rome says, inherits the duties and the prerogatives of the Apostolate in all their essential elements. She is the custodian of the deposit of faith : she is charged to preach the Gospel with authority, to offer sacrifice through her priests and administer the sacraments and transmit this power from generation to generation by the sacrament of Orders : she is endowed with infallibility : and her bishops under the supreme pastor on earth, the Bishop of Rome, succeed to the Apostolic authority of ruling and governing this spiritual kingdom. She cannot accept the Protestant view that the Church became petrified and lost its vitality after the first few general Councils ; she maintains that the Church of Christ, like a natural living organism, shall retain her vitality as long as she retains life, which is unto the end of time ; and she insists that there is no essential conciliar difference between the Council of the Apostles in Jerusalem and the Councils of Fathers at Nice and Ephesus and Constantinople and Trent, and the Council of the Vatican.

Such being her claims, what are the Church's principles and practice in relation to toleration ? She is accused of dogmatism and intolerance, because she imposes from time to time new definitions of faith, condemns doctrinal toleration or the theory that all creeds are equally true and equally false, and exercises ' the power of the keys ' by punishing her unfaithful children for their violation of her confession of faith. Does she then claim the power

of imposing new definitions of faith? Yes; she claims that she inherits the essential prerogatives of the Apostolic college, that she is the same Church that decided controversies of faith in the Councils of Nice, Ephesus and Constantinople, and that she can, as occasion may require, unfold and define truths contained in the deposit of faith which were but obscurely perceived and believed by preceding generations. Does she permit the members of her communion to believe and profess that all creeds are equally true and all religions equally good? She distinguishes between physical and moral liberty. She alone of the western churches advocates as an article of faith the existence of physical liberty and defends it against the assaults of Mechanical and Idealist Determinists. She teaches that we have the *physical* power, that we are *physically* free to believe or not to believe that one religion is as good as another, to join whatever church we please, to remain in the Catholic Church or join the Anglican Church or the Lutheran or the Calvinist. Claiming, however, to be alone the true Church of Christ she cannot admit that we are *morally* free, that we can without sin believe all religions to be equally true and equally false, or join whatever church we please, or separate ourselves from all church organisation; she teaches that we are bound, under peril of salvation, to belong to the true Church of Christ, the Catholic Church, to accept her creed and submit to her discipline. But, unlike the reformed churches, she claims to speak with the infallible voice of Peter, whether she proposes for our acceptance the ancient creeds, or delivers a new definition of faith, or decides religious controversies, or condemns some new form of error in faith.

Does the Catholic Church, like the reformed churches, coerce the members of her communion with threats of ecclesiastical penalties and disabilities to continue in the profession of the true faith, and punish her unfaithful children for their infidelity? The Church cannot punish for unbelief Jews or pagans or the unbaptized, over whom she has no jurisdiction; and her intolerance in respect of

them and their errors is manifested and expressed in the boundless charity of her missionaries who in all ages are prepared to brave hardships and privations and dangers in order to bring them peacefully to the priceless blessings of the true faith. Again, beyond a general law of excommunication, she inflicts no punishment for unbelief on those Christians who are born and baptized in heretical sects, though she claims jurisdiction over all baptized Christians by virtue of their baptism into the Christian Church. But can the Church compel her own children by coercive measures to remain within her fold, or punish them for their infidelity? Erastians, who deny 'the power of the keys,' deny also the right of the Church to suspend, excommunicate, interdict, or otherwise punish for unbelief; they hold that the Scriptures should be open and free to all, that the relation of the pastors of the Church to the people is the same as the relation of a professor to his pupils, and that all punishments being in their nature and effect civil and not spiritual, ought to be inflicted by the civil authority. But the Catholic Church claims 'the power of the keys,' the power of governing the spiritual kingdom, the power of punishing unfaithful and rebellious subjects. And shall we then say that unlike the civil authority she has not the power of binding and loosing? that she cannot, for example, suspend from the office of hearing confessions the priest who publicly proclaims his disbelief in confession? or from the celebration of Mass the priest who denies the real presence? or that she cannot cut off from the communion of the faithful by excommunication the erring member who denies the divinity of her founder and the divine origin of the Christian communion itself? Such a person can exercise his freedom by leaving the Church; but why should tolerance to be allowed to remain in the communion of believing Catholics be demanded by one who persists in denying the very fundamental doctrines of Catholicity?

What, therefore, shall we say? that the Church is tolerant or that she is intolerant, more tolerant or more intolerant than the reformed churches? Both the Catholic

Church and the reformed churches impose a confession of faith : they command that assent be given to the truths of faith in their ecclesiastical sense and not as arbitrarily interpreted by private judgment : they punish for violations of the confession of faith ; the reformed churches, it is true, deliver no new definitions of faith, and openly confess their inability to determine with authority whether the articles of their confession are true or false, or to decide controversies of faith : but the Church of Rome delivers new definitions of faith and imposes the ancient creeds as objective infallible truths valid for all persons, times, and places. Is she then justly charged with intolerance and aggressive dogmatism ? We repeat again that the words 'tolerance' and 'intolerance' and 'aggressive dogmatism' cannot decide the religious controversy ; if the Protestant theory of the Church were true, ecclesiastical definitions of faith would be arbitrary, unjust, and intolerable ; but if, as Catholics maintain, the Church is endowed with the prerogative of infallibility, and has been charged with the duty of teaching and unfolding, as occasion may require, the hidden treasures of the deposit of faith, then she is but fulfilling her divine mission when she imposes the creeds and delivers to her children new definitions of faith, and deserves not the reproach of intolerance and aggressive dogmatism. But has not the Church been unduly intolerant, at least through her ecclesiastical tribunals and penal enactments ? This question occasioned an interesting correspondence between Lord Acton and Bishop Creighton on the principles of writing history. Lord Acton was reviewing the Bishop's volumes on the Popes of the Italian Renaissance, which he considered too lenient and apologetic for the faults of the Popes of that period.

What is not at all a question of opportunity or degree [he writes to the Bishop<sup>1</sup>] is our difference about the Inquisition. . . . The point is not whether you like the Inquisition . . . but whether you can without reproach to historical accuracy speak of the later mediæval Papacy as having been tolerant and

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<sup>1</sup> *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, D.D.*, vol. i., pp. 371, 372.

enlightened. . . . Nor are we speaking of the Spanish Inquisition. . . . I mean the Popes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. . . . These men instituted a system of persecution . . . that is the breaking point, the article of their system by which they stand or fall. . . . I do not complain that it does not influence your judgment . . . but what amazes and disables me is that you speak of the Papacy, not as exercising a just severity but as not exercising any severity. . . . Now the Liberals think persecution a crime of a worse order than adultery. . . . I cannot accept your canon that we are to judge Pope and King unlike other men, with a favoured presumption that they did no wrong. . . . The inflexible integrity of the moral code is to me the secret of the authority, the dignity, the utility of history.

'He differs *toto cælo*,' the Bishop says,<sup>1</sup> 'from my conception of the time, apparently on some concealed grounds of polemics esoteric to a Liberal Catholic who fought against Infallibility.' And the difference between the two historians seems to have arisen from Lord Acton's considering tolerance a moral virtue in the possessor, whereas in the opinion of the Bishop tolerance nowadays is 'a recognition of a necessity arising from an equilibrium of parties.'<sup>2</sup>

Now I agree with Lord Acton that tolerance is a virtue in the possessor; but it depends for its equitable application on various circumstances, and among them on the equilibrium of parties. There is a vast difference, in relation to tolerance, between the governing body and the private members of society. The private citizen has no authority to punish for wrong doing whereas the governing body has power to enact and enforce penal laws against criminals; and as the State is neither regarded a persecutor nor intolerant when it endeavours to prevent crime by the enactment and enforcement of a penal code, so, if we concede to the Church 'the power of the keys,' the enactment and application of ecclesiastical penal laws cannot reasonably be described as persecution or intolerance. The Church then can institute such tribunals as the Roman Inquisition and the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition. But though the Church and State have

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Letters of Creighton*, vol. i., p. 369.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 374.



legitimate power to coerce, coercion in particular cases can be legitimate or it can be persecution ; and how are we to judge of the equity of ecclesiastical and civil coercion ? Obviously we should judge it objectively by its own objective equity or iniquity ; but if it be found to be indefensible, we should not therefore immediately conclude that the author of the coercion, civil or ecclesiastical, was a human monster, we should take account, when judging the acts of Popes and Kings, of all the circumstances, internal and external, extenuating and aggravating, that we consider when examining the subjective malice of the acts of private members of society.

It is not the purpose of this paper to deal minutely with ecclesiastical punishments, nor to determine in detail what punishments, spiritual and physical, can be inflicted by the Church as a spiritual power. The Catholic Church claims with the 'power of the keys' divine authority to govern the Church, the power of binding and loosing, and the right to punish for a violation of her rule of faith. But as, in popular usage, we do not call the State intolerant for enacting and applying the criminal law against law-breakers, so we should not accuse the Church of persecution and intolerance in its immoral sense, merely because she punishes her unfaithful and rebellious subjects. Theologically, however, we say that the Church is intolerant or non-tolerant of indifferentism. But the Catholic Church is not more intolerant than the churches of the Reformation, and she is intolerant by 'the power of the keys,' whereas they are all intolerant without authority.

#### V.

F' The relation of the State to religion is differently conceived by atheists, rationalists, and Christians, and cannot be definitely determined without reference to the fundamental religious doctrines or negations which are held by the different schools of thinkers in the world. We may assume that a really Christian legislature will conform its laws to what it conceives to be the Christian religion.

I shall briefly consider in this section what is the attitude of non-Catholic nations towards religious toleration. Do Protestant nations establish and endow their Church? Do they compel their subjects to profess the State religion? Do they punish for heresy? Do they tolerate dissentient religious bodies and permit them freedom of public worship? Do they subject the members of other religious bodies to civil disabilities? I shall briefly reply to these questions by describing the attitude, past and present, of a great Protestant nation like England towards religious toleration.

The parliament of England has established and endowed an episcopal church in England, and a church of fundamentally different principles, a Presbyterian church, for Scotland.

At the time of the schism the State violently separated the Church of England from the centre of Catholic unity, and forced the nation into the Established Church by the Acts of Uniformity, the Oath of Supremacy, the Tests Acts, and the Commission of Queen Elizabeth.

The State has punished for heresy, sentencing reformers to death in the reign of Henry VIII for denying transubstantiation, and Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth for professing transubstantiation.

The State refused religious toleration and the freedom of public worship to Catholics and dissentient reformers, and subjected Catholics principally to the most trying civil disabilities on account of their religion.

But all these represent the religious statecraft of other days; and at present we have an established Episcopal church in England and an established Presbyterian church in Scotland, but other religions are tolerated and are granted freedom of public worship; while, with a few exceptions, all legal civil disabilities have been removed from Catholics. But though legal disabilities have disappeared, Protestant intolerance deprives us of facilities for higher Catholic education and of a fair chance of success in the public life of the country. We have been emancipated, but the spirit of the pre-Emancipation days remains. A letter written

by Mr. Gladstone, in 1854, to Arthur Stanley relative to the admission of Dissenters to Oxford, 'concludes,' Mr. Morley tells us, 'with a remark of curious bearing upon the temper of that age. "The very words," he says to Stanley, "which you have let fall upon your paper—'Roman Catholics'—used in this connection, were enough to burn it through and through, considering we have a *parliament which, were the measure of 1829 not law at this moment, would I think probably refuse to make it law.*"'<sup>1</sup> And Mr. Morley adds, 'There is no reason to think this an erroneous view. Perhaps it would not be extravagant even to-day.'

If asked what judgment we pass on this system of State relation with religion, we should say that believing Catholicism to be true and Protestantism false we consider the oppression of the Catholic religion to be indefensible, to be, objectively, intolerance and persecution. But if we make the hypothesis that the Anglican form of religion is the true religion of Christ, and consider the subject from the point of view of believing Anglicans, we should still say that it was peculiarly indefensible in a State which advocated the right of private judgment in the matter of religion to force her subjects by fire and sword to adopt a particular form of religion; that it was natural to establish the Anglican Church, but that a parliament should not establish Episcopalianism and Presbyterianism; that if Catholicism were really a superstitious and blasphemous and idolatrous form of religion, the State could not independently of circumstances grant it freedom of public worship; and that while the doctrinal belief of a nation may remain unaltered its ecclesiastical policy changes with circumstances, that while continuing the establishment of the religion it believes to be true circumstances may require that it should give freedom of public worship to believers in a different religion, to persons of a different creed and different church.

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<sup>1</sup> *Life of Gladstone*, vol. i., p. 506.

## VI.

It is impossible, while dealing with non-Catholic countries, to draw a line of distinction between the action of the Church and the action of the State, because the Church is a State department; but in Catholic countries the authority of the Church is distinct from the authority of the State. What does the Church demand of Catholic countries in the matter of religious toleration?

The law of the Church requires that the Catholic religion be established by the State, that the nation in its corporate representation in Parliament should make profession of the faith which the subjects of the State profess individually; and that the civil power should assist and protect the Church. This is the most essential Catholic requirement, as the Church disapproves of the divorce of the Catholic State from the profession of its religion; but there is no inflexible law about the maintenance of the Church, whether it should be by parliamentary endowment, or by benefices, or by the voluntary offerings of the faithful; nor is there any inflexible law about the mode of communication between the Pope and the Head of the State.

The Church does not allow the State to force Jews, Mahomedans, pagans, infidels or persons born and baptized in a heretical sect to profess the Catholic religion against their convictions. The Church, as a spiritual power, neither inflicts nor asks the State to inflict capital punishment for heresy; but in past times and in different conditions of society from the present it was permissible to inflict capital punishment for heresy as a political offence; and what was allowed by the circumstances of the times to all Sovereigns, Catholic and Protestant, was permissible to the Pope as King in the Papal States.

Does the Church allow Catholic States to tolerate freedom of public worship to heretical sects? The Church does not allow it to be taught that the State can tolerate *every form* of religion, nor that the toleration of false

religions is in itself and independently of circumstances laudable. While, therefore, the doctrinal belief of the Church and State remains unalterable, ecclesiastical policy may vary ; and the circumstances of the time may be such that a Catholic State not only may lawfully permit, but is bound to permit freedom of public worship to the members of the reformed churches.

Ecclesiastical policy is therefore, at present, about the same in Catholic and Protestant countries in respect to toleration of public worship to those who do not conform to the national religion.

DANIEL COGHLAN.

*(To be continued.)*

## LOUIS VEUILLOT—III.

THE next great controversy in which the editor of *L'Univers* found himself obliged to take sides was in connection with the use of classics in seminaries and free colleges. The publication of a book by M. Gaume, in which he attributed the decay and corruption of modern society to the superabundant use of the Pagan classics in the schools, provoked the discussion. Cardinal Gousset and Mgr. Parisi supported the thesis of M. Gaume. Personal, political, and religious disagreements tended to embitter the dispute. The editor of *L'Univers* could not remain an idle spectator. He maintained that more attention should be paid to the study of the Christian classics than was usually done, but that at the same time the Pagan classical literature should have its own place. The question, then, did not regard the exclusion of the Pagan works, but only their proper use.

Opponents sprang up on every side. Strange to say the warmest supporters of the classics were not the University professors, as people might well have expected, but distinguished bishops and ecclesiastics of the Catholic Church. All the enemies of Veillot and *L'Univers* pulled themselves together for a final struggle. Needless to say, the Bishop of Orleans, Mgr. Dupanloup, was among the first to take the field. He addressed a letter to the professors of his seminary on this question of reform, in which he undertook to refute many things which the supporters of Christian classics had put forward, and besides many things which they had never so much as thought of. The University journals, it is hardly necessary to remark, had copies of this letter long before the men to whom it was nominally addressed. In these circumstances nothing remained for Louis Veillot except to refute this pastoral as he would have done the contribution of any other opponent. His reply was respectful but severe.

Mgr. Dupanloup promptly responded by an official

condemnation of *L'Univers*, based on the fact that its editor had dared to criticize what was purely a pastoral letter. The condemnation was published immediately in *L'Univers*, followed by an editorial, pointing out the difference between Mgr. Dupanloup as a clever controversialist, and Mgr. Dupanloup as Bishop of Orleans; and that it was only in the former capacity that his letter was criticized. Long before this time it was well known that there were two parties among the French hierarchy; one supporting the liberal school, at whose head stood the Bishop of Orleans, the other the so-called Ultramontane party, staunch supporters of the policy of *L'Univers*. This division among the bishops tended to transform what should have been a purely scientific discussion into a bitter dispute involving the whole Church of France.

The Bishop of Orleans hastened to draw up a circular condemnatory of the views and actions of *L'Univers*, and to distribute it for signature among the bishops of France. Such an unwarrantable arrogation of authority roused the indignation of several who had taken no part in the previous controversy. Many of the bishops not alone absolutely refused to sign the circular when requested, but went further, and warmly protested against the usurpation of Papal rights. Some of the bishops did not hesitate to publish these views in the pages of *L'Univers*. Meanwhile Cardinal Gousset took steps to bring the matter before the Secretary of State, Cardinal Antonelli. Mgr. Dupanloup finding that things were likely to go against him in Rome, notified *L'Univers* that his views had been condemned by the majority of the bishops, and hastily withdrew his circular. On his side, the editor, having asserted his rights of free discussion, resolved to withdraw from the controversy, and thus an unpleasant chapter in French ecclesiastical history was satisfactorily closed.

But it was only for a time. Louis Veuillot had projected a library of Catholic pamphlets and books to be written mostly by laymen, resembling very closely the modern Catholic Truth Societies' publications. His friend Donoso Cortés contributed a little book entitled, *Essai*

*sur le Socialisme, le Catholicisme et le Liberalisme.* The doctrines enunciated in this pamphlet were by no means startling, but its publication was destined to embitter the dissensions among the different schools of French Catholics. M. Gaduel, one of the Vicars-General of Mgr. Dupanloup and an ex-professor of the Seminary of Orleans, published immediately a bitter criticism of the work, directed mainly against Louis Veuillot and *L'Univers*. In scathing language he denounced the principle of laymen, such as Veuillot and Cortés and their party, interfering in questions that belonged entirely to the field of scientific theology. To this attack the editor of *L'Univers* replied in one of his most caustic articles :—

By means of Witasse [he wrote] the learned critic has proved that M. Cortés is a Tritheist, and by means of Billuart that he has been coquetting with Lutheranism, Calvinism, Baianism, and Jansenism. Besides, M. Cortés is also something of a Fatalist, and not a little Lamnesian. If, in addition, one were to add Ultramontaniam, of which the critic has said nothing, but which he probably did not forget, it would complete the goodly pile of errors which our friend must disavow. Through the book of M. Cortés the learned theologian has been able to strike at ourselves, and, perhaps, this was the object which he really intended. Observe his delightful logic : The book of M. Cortés forms part of a collection of works published under the direction of M. Veuillot, hence, M. Veuillot is not less a Tritheist, a Baianist, a Fatalist, etc., than M. Cortés ; and since M. Veuillot is editor-in-chief of *L'Univers* it clearly follows that *L'Univers* is not less Lutheran, Calvinist, Lamnesian than M. Veuillot.

M. Gaduel replied by citing the editor of *L'Univers* before the Court of the Archbishop of Paris, and demanding the condemnation of the article as scandalous and defamatory. He objected especially to the designation ' Gallican ' applied to him by M. Veuillot. Five or six days after the complaint had been lodged, Mgr. Sibour published a document in which the reading of *L'Univers* was prohibited in all religious houses ; priests were forbidden to contribute articles or assist it in any way whatsoever ; and the editors and staff were threatened with excommunication in case they dared to criticize this sentence in the pages of their paper.



Fortunately before this document was published Louis Veuillot had started on a journey to Rome. His absence made it more easy for *L'Univers* to shape its course in these difficult circumstances. The condemnation of the Archbishop, together with the complaint of M. Gaduel, was published in full in *L'Univers*, followed by a note stating that in the absence of the editor-in-chief nothing definite could be done :—

Having set out from Paris [his brother wrote] without having been warned of this accusation, the editor-in-chief is actually at this moment in Rome. There he will receive at the same time notification of the charges levelled against him, and of the Archbishop's condemnation. There also he will be able to know with certainty what line of action the condemnation imposes upon him, and whatever it may be, we are confident that he will not shirk it. Whilst awaiting the resolution which he shall consider it his duty to take, we shall continue our labours.

Louis Veuillot was well received at Rome. Pius IX was not forgetful of the fact that, with all his faults of temper and language, the Papacy had no more zealous supporter than the editor of *L'Univers*. Shortly after his arrival he was received in private audience by the Holy Father, and though the Pope made it clear that the tone of many of the articles in *L'Univers* did not meet with his approval, yet that in his general policy the editor might count upon his support. The struggle in Rome between the Liberal and Ultramontane parties in France was sharp and decisive. Many of the bishops openly ranged themselves on the side of *L'Univers*. The Papal Secretary, Fioramonti, was instructed by Pius IX to forward a letter of approbation of the work done by Veuillot, in which at the same time it was pointed out that he should be more guarded in his criticisms. The Pope personally intervened and requested Veuillot to write a letter to the Archbishop of Paris asking him for the sake of the peace of the Church to withdraw his condemnation. Meanwhile Pius IX addressed his Encyclical *Inter multiplices* to the French Bishops, in which, while condemning the excesses of the Press he took pains to exhort the bishops to assist and

encourage Catholic journals, which, whatever might be their faults, were surely devoted to the interests of the Church. In obedience to the hint thus so diplomatically conveyed, Mgr. Sibour withdrew his condemnation, and peace was once more established between himself and the staff of *L'Univers*.

Hardly, however, had the editor of *L'Univers* escaped from one discussion till he found himself involved in another. Towards the end of the year 1856 an anonymous pamphlet, entitled '*The Univers Judged from its own Mouth*,' made its appearance in Paris, in which all kinds of charges—revolution, political subserviency, socialism, etc.—were levelled against *L'Univers*. The author or authors had carefully concealed their names, but common opinion pointed to a very distinguished French ecclesiastic as having at least inspired its publication. All the old enemies of *L'Univers*, political, religious, and educational, hastened to express their admiration of this pamphlet. Nor were the friends of Veillot less slow in assuring him of their support in this trying situation:—

The services rendered to the Church [wrote Mgr. Parisis] by *L'Univers* are those yielded everywhere by Catholic journals, of which nobody to-day denies the utility and even necessity, with this exception—that the services of *L'Univers* are greater than those of any other journal, because it itself is greater, that is to say, more powerful and more widely read than other Catholic papers. It is *L'Univers* which has preceded them all; it is it, which, in a sense, produced them all. Not alone in France, but in all the countries of Europe, in Italy, in England, in Ireland, everywhere I have seen copies of *L'Univers* in the hands of the prelates as well as of distinguished Catholic laymen. And in France, in Paris, despite all the efforts that have been made against it, is it not the only journal that can take its place side by side with the great papers of all parties?

Cardinal de Benald and Cardinal Villecourt publicly expressed their agreement with the letter of Mgr. Parisis. From Rome came messages of sympathy and support.

Louis Veillot resolved to vindicate himself and his journal in the public courts. An action for libel was instituted against the publishers, but the publishers promptly

disclaimed responsibility, and it became necessary for the author to come forward and face the courts. M. l'Abbé Cognat undertook the responsibility, and after many attempts at settlement had failed, the case was called for trial. M. Dufaure, former Minister of Louis Philippe; General Cavaignac, and Louis Napoleon, was the leading advocate in favour of the Abbé defendant. M. Josseau, a rising young Paris lawyer, opened the case for M. Veuillot. General interest was aroused by the trial, but on the opening of the second day word came of the assassination of the Archbishop of Paris; and in these circumstances it was considered by both sides as unbecoming that such a trial should be continued. An agreement was finally made by which Veuillot undertook to withdraw the charge, while the Abbé promised to prevent a second edition of the pamphlet from being published.

The views of Napoleon III on the union of Italy soon began to attract the serious attention of the Catholics. Ever since the Crimean war it became daily more manifest that the policy of Cavour had the warm sympathy of the Emperor. With united Italy as an ally Napoleon III might dictate terms to Europe. The publication of the pamphlet *Napoleon III and Italy*, left no doubts about the objects of French diplomacy. Austria must be driven out of Italy at all costs. Louis Veuillot was no warm admirer of Austrian Government in Italy, but he was too shrewd an observer not to foresee that the revolutionary forces in Italy stood to gain by such a conflict. He protested against a war which would bring side by side in the field of battle the soldiers of France, the protectors of the Holy See, and its natural enemies, the rabble followers of Garibaldi. But come what may, he expressed his confidence that whatever might be their differences France and Austria would rally loyally to the defence of the Papacy. 'On this point,' he wrote, 'France and Austria, otherwise opponents, will remain united, and their soldiers, otherwise enemies, will give to the world the spectacle of an indissoluble brotherhood in the home of their common father.'

The negotiations for settlement were continued. In April, 1859, it was announced in the official organ of the French Government that a congress of the five great Powers would soon assemble to arrange the affairs of Italy, and to introduce the necessary reforms into the Papal States. Veuillot was indignant at such an impudent proposal.

Great God ! [he wrote] Prussia, which oppresses the Catholics of the Rhine Provinces ; Russia, which holds in bondage the Polish nation ; England, which has enslaved the Irish people—these are the powers which are about to teach the government of the Pope lessons of humanity, justice, liberality, clemency, and two great Catholic nations will consent to this for the sake of escaping from a difficult situation. May the divine mercy protect the poor people, for it is not the people who act thus.

But the die was cast. Napoleon III had resolved upon the war, and no concessions of Austria, no opposition from the Catholic party could shake his resolution. Besides, the Emperor counted upon the support of some of the Catholics. 'All Catholics,' he is reported to have said, 'are not with *L'Univers*. The Abbé Maret, the Dean of the Sorbonne, Lacordaire, and many others approve of my plans for Italy.' The Emperor resolved to cover his expedition with the glamour of religion. Setting out for the army of Italy, he solemnly bade farewell to France at the foot of the altar of Notre Dame. Such a departure was worthy of the head of a Catholic nation had it been a genuine expression of the Emperor's feelings, had it not rather been a trick to cover the baseness of his treachery towards the Head of the Catholic Church. 'Let us pray God for France,' wrote Louis Veuillot, 'for France and for the Emperor.'

The forces of Napoleon were entirely successful. The Austrian power in Italy was shattered. According to the agreement of 11th July, 1859, made between Francis Joseph and Napoleon III the rights of the Pope as a Temporal Sovereign were duly respected.

Now, at last [wrote Veuillot], we are escaped from the war which we had feared would benefit revolution rather than liberty.

The war has been profitable to the freedom of Italy without any consecration of revolutionary principles. Just as sincerely as we made manifest our fears and our doubts before and during the war, we now rejoice at the result of the struggle that has been terminated.

But though the Catholics thus loudly proclaimed their satisfaction at the result they were not entirely without their fears. The protests and the menaces of the Italian revolutionists resounded on all sides. Piedmont, it was well known, favoured their designs, and the question which Catholics asked themselves, and which they found it difficult to answer, was what part shall France take in the struggle? Is it to be the Pope, or is it to be Garibaldi?

Meanwhile the revolution continued its march in Italy. Men began to see clearly that unless the Emperor soon spoke with no uncertain voice the possessions, and mayhap the person of the Holy Father, would soon be in the hands of Garibaldi and his allies of Turin. The bishops of France began to publish pastoral letters in which the danger was clearly brought home to the French Catholics. Mgr. Parisis was the first to take this step, and his pastoral was published in full in the columns of *L'Univers*. A Cabinet Council was immediately summoned, and a prohibition was issued to *L'Univers* against the publication of any other pastorals dealing with the situation in Italy. A council of war was held in the editor's office. The owner of the paper favoured obedience to the imperial command; Louis Veuillot and the staff declared that *L'Univers* could never die in a better cause, but at last a compromise was agreed upon. A strongly worded protest appeared side by side with the Government prohibition, in the columns of *L'Univers* :—

For two days [wrote the editor] we have ceased to publish the pastorals of the bishops on the situation of the Sovereign Pontiff. It is not because this manifestation of the mind and feelings of the Catholics has been discontinued, but because we have received an injunction from the Government against reproducing these letters, an injunction which is the more serious as we have already received a warning. This injunction we have been assured is only temporary. It has for its object the

protection of the episcopal acts and the episcopal dignity from the violence of the journals. With regard to ourselves, we believe if this prohibition be maintained that the most precious part of our civil and religious liberty has been taken from us ; we shall find ourselves without rule, without light, without guidance, and we foresee that at no far distant date the time when the Catholic Press shall have no longer a place in this vast field of opinions, where we are resolved to discharge our duty honourably to the last.

But the tension in Italy increased. The Revolutionary party had seized portion of the Temporal States, and they loudly demanded that the approaching Congress should recognise *les faits accomplis*. Napoleon was well known to favour such a view ; but he hesitated to publicly express his opinions. Another method was adopted. An anonymous pamphlet, entitled *The Pope and the Congress*, made its appearance on the Paris book-stalls. The main proposition which the author sought to establish was that the Pope should abandon his claims to some portion of the Pontifical States for the sake of the peace of Europe and the union of Italy. It was well known that the pamphlet if not actually inspired by the Emperor, at least represented his views. The editor of *L'Univers* promptly replied to this *brochure*. He pointed out that the claims of right and justice, the obligations solemnly entered into, and many times confirmed, could never be put aside by any revolutionary action. An address to the Holy Father was prepared and published, and steps taken to procure signatures. The address movement was promptly forbidden, and a second warning administered to the proprietor, editor and staff of *L'Univers*.

Meanwhile the unfriendly relations between Pius IX and Napoleon III were daily becoming more evident. At the New Year's Day (1860) receptions in Paris, the Nuncio in offering the good wishes of the Ambassadors was coldly polite ; while at Rome the Pope delivered a stirring allocution, in which he denounced in the strongest language the views put forward in the French *brochure*. He declared in unmistakable terms that, though surrounded by foes and betrayed by those who had pledged

their words to defend him, he would never yield an inch of the territory which he had sworn to guard. The editor of *L'Univers* was threatened with the severest penalties if he dared to publish this startling condemnation, but he declared his readiness to risk all rather than pass over in silence such an important pronouncement from the Head of the Church, and in the end the Government yielded, and withdrew the prohibition. Every day brought forth some new danger, and hence it was not without a feeling of relief that the editor received from the Nuncio, on the 27th March, the Papal Encyclical *Nullis certe*, which contained a solemn condemnation of the actions of Victor Emmanuel, referred in scathing terms to the difference in the language which the Emperor had addressed to the Pope before the war from that contained in *The Pope and the Congress*. And, finally, once more declared his unchangeable resolution never to yield except to force.

The editor was well aware that the publication of this document meant the suppression of his beloved journal. But to shirk such an obvious duty was an impossibility. The Encyclical appeared on the morning of January 29th, 1860. Its publication produced a tremendous sensation throughout Paris and France. Crowds visited the office of *L'Univers* to congratulate the editor on his courage, and to tender him their sympathy in the blow which they knew would soon fall. Nor had they long to wait. A Council of Ministers was hastily summoned to the Tuilleries, where the Emperor himself presided, and the decree for the suppression of *L'Univers* was solemnly drawn up. The newspapers of France—those representing hostile interests, as well as those supposed to be friendly—were unanimous in condemning this act of authority. Bishops and priests, and Catholic laymen, not alone in France but throughout Europe, sent messages of condolence, whilst the leading newspapers commented upon the suppression as one of the most serious incidents that had taken place for some time.

In this moment of trial Louis Veuillot turned to Rome for support and encouragement. He himself and his

colleagues on the staff forwarded a joint declaration of loyalty and obedience to the Holy Father:—

After the blow which has just been struck [they wrote] the first care and the greatest consolation of the staff of *L'Univers* is to throw themselves at the feet of your Holiness. Our work has ceased, but our hearts are more than ever filled with that zeal with which, thank God, they have always been animated. Devoted children of the Holy Roman Church we are proud to have fallen for daring to publish to the world the words of the Pope. It was an Encyclical of Pius IX that called *L'Univers* into life; it is for an Encyclical of Pius IX that it has been condemned to die. Our journal was always loyal to you, most Holy Father, and our hearts, and our works, and ourselves we devote entirely to your service. Our resolution is to remain united if we can. If it is impossible, if we are obliged to separate, then each of us shall strive to promote our common object; and in the meantime, if your Holiness wishes to assign to any of us a particular part we are ready to obey.

Despite the remonstrances of the French Ambassador and of his own Ministers, Pius IX generously resolved to publicly express his satisfaction with the work of *L'Univers*, and issued, on the 25th February, 1860, a congratulatory Brief 'to his beloved son, Louis Veuillot, and the co-editors of the religious journal, *L'Univers*.'

When his work in Paris was done, at least for a time Louis Veuillot once more turned his steps towards the Eternal City. The Pope received him in the most friendly way, and expressed his admiration of the policy of *L'Univers* regarding the Italian revolution. His only regret was that with the suppression of *L'Univers* there was no longer any journal through which the Vatican could speak to the world. Hence Veuillot was encouraged to transfer his journal from France to some other country, Belgium, Switzerland, or England, where he might be out of reach of the Imperial prohibitions. The Holy Father offered a moderate subsidy to promote such a work, and other generous friends were not wanting in practical proofs of their sympathy. The whole affair was satisfactorily arranged. *L'Univers* was to be henceforth published in Belgium. Louis Veuillot returned to Paris to arrange for the transfer—but hardly had he arrived in Paris than



he was seized by detectives, and his papers confiscated for Government inspection. Some of these containing, as they did, the Pope's opinions on the policy of Napoleon III, were anything but pleasant reading for the Imperial Ministers. But in the circumstances, it was generally felt that it would be unwise to re-start *L'Univers* in Belgium. The Government threatened to take steps that not a single copy should be introduced into France, whilst on the other hand, the fact of its being subsidized by the Pope having become public a very awkward situation might easily be created. Hence it was resolved to await better days.

On his retirement into private life Louis Veuillot devoted himself to the publication of pamphlets dealing mostly with Rome and the Holy Father. He was resolved to carry on in this way the policy of *L'Univers*. Once, when the Holy Father, fearing that the ex-editor was suffering for his devotion to the Holy See, ordered his Financial Minister to forward him a cheque, Veuillot received the cheque without a word, but promptly handed it over to Peter's Pence. He feared lest his enemies could say that he had sold his pen, even to the Pope. He visited Rome in connection with the canonization of the Japanese Martyrs, and was received with the warmest marks of approbation by most of the assembled prelates. All kinds of rumours were circulated by his opponents. He was supposed to be at the head and foot of all kinds of intrigues and plots, and not a few of the journals undertook to describe accurately the plans for which he sought to obtain the approval of the bishops :—

I read with astonishment [he wrote to *La Patrie* on his return] of the great doings with which I was credited while at Rome. You attributed to me the initiative in the Address which the prelates presented to the Holy Father ; you spoke of a party which I was supposed to have headed, and of a policy which I was supposed to have formulated, and of another party and another policy which I opposed. Permit me to say in two words that your informants have been fooling you. I was not at Rome to offer my advice to the Holy Ghost ; I was there to admire and to worship.

The differences between the French Catholics all these

years was a source of serious weakness. The Liberal school, at whose head stood Montalembert and the Bishop of Orleans, were not less opposed to the party of Louis Veuillot than were the most advanced of the infidel camp. These dissensions were bitterly deplored by earnest Catholics, and various efforts were made to bring about a reconciliation. In 1866 Mgr. Mermillod offered his services to bring together once more in defence of the Church Veuillot and Montalembert. The former was not unwilling, but feared that the differences were too great to be easily put aside. Montalembert, on the other hand, rejected all advances :—

You tell me [he wrote to an intermediary] that nobody wishes to continue the quarrel. Nevertheless, I wish it, and so long as I have a breath of life I shall wish it. I can easily bear the shackles and the gags which circumstances impose upon us, but I can never forgive the traitors and the fools who have led us where we are. Nobody can hinder me from speaking or from writing, and never shall I speak or write a word which shall not be directly or indirectly a protest against the spirit of which M. Veuillot is the sad personification amongst us.

After such a declaration any further efforts to promote re-union would have been a waste of labour.

In 1867 Napoleon, seeing that his hold on France was daily diminishing, resolved to do something to satisfy public opinion. He announced his resolve to give the Chambers greater powers, and to re-establish the liberty of the Press. Henceforth, the permission to establish a journal would be accorded to anyone who requested it. Louis Veuillot thereupon resolved to re-establish *L'Univers*, but the former owner refused the services of such a dangerous editor. Hence, nothing remained but to start it at his own expense, and thus he became both proprietor and editor. The re-appearance of the paper after seven years of enforced silence was hailed with delight on all sides. '*L'Univers*,' wrote the editor, 'will be what it has been, except for the improvements effected by experience. We feel ourselves more Catholic than we were, and more devoted to the Church.' Nor were these declarations mere idle words as was soon shown in the struggles that were to come.

Louis Napoleon prided himself specially on his political wisdom. He is said to have frequently boasted that there were only two statesmen in Europe, himself and Bismarck. But history has since given a different verdict. His plans for the union of Italy paved the way for the union of Germany, and the foundation of a powerful confederation beyond the Rhine. It is worthy of note that three years before the disastrous campaign which wrenched from France the fair provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, the editor of *L'Univers* clearly foresaw the danger:—

France [he wrote] has allowed itself to be deceived. It did not weigh carefully the full meaning of the principles of nationalities; it did not foresee the frightful consequences for it and for the world which the establishment of great political confederations would produce. Seduced by the dreams of traitors and conspirators, who little reckon sentiment and blood, it has imprudently united Italy, it has imprudently neglected the advance of Prussia, it has imprudently abandoned Poland, sacrificed Hanover, allowed Austria to be broken up, demolished the German Confederation. The mistake of France has put the Protestant and ambitious nation of Prussia in the place of Catholic Austria. Prussia has advanced by leaps and bounds; it will be in a short time Germany; a Germany new, ambitious, enterprising, self-seeking, not disposed to rest content with its former boundaries, and the balance of power in Europe will be changed. What may we not expect, what may we not fear from a Germany, Prussian, united, militarised. We cannot allow Prussia to press too closely on the Rhine and on the Alps; we cannot wait till it becomes the leading power of the world. Prussia undoubtedly aspires to that, and the prolongation of peace can only be a matter of tactics.

We should now deal with what is, in many senses, the most important event in the life of Veuillot, namely, the attitude of himself and *L'Univers* towards the Vatican Council. The friends of Papal Infallibility had no more loyal supporter than Veuillot, and no more useful ally than *L'Univers*. But, considering the extraordinary complications of these days, it would be unfair to approach this question with our present materials. We must await the publication of the fourth and last volume of his life, which will be taken up mainly with an account of his relations to the Vatican Council. Meanwhile we are grateful

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to his brother for having given us so many details of Veuillot's life, for whatever may be our opinion of the work done by Louis Veuillot we must recognise that he was one of the foremost Catholic journalists of the century that is closed, and his paper *L'Univers* the most powerful Catholic organ.

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

# Notes and Queries

## LITURGY

### EXEQUIAL OFFICE

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly say whether there is any authorization for the following case, or any prohibition of it, or what is to be thought of it :—

On the evening before a solemn Requiem Mass, the coffin containing the corpse is brought into the church, feet towards the altar, but at the feet is erected a shrine with a statue of our Lady on a pedestal, the shrine thus intervening between the coffin and the altar. This shrine is kept there all through the Mass and Absolution on the following day.

SACERDOS.

The custom mentioned by our correspondent, so far from enjoying any sanction or authorization, is, we believe, quite opposed to the spirit of the Rubrics concerning the *Officium Defunctorum*. In the first place the introduction of the statue of our Lady is altogether out of place, and wholly incompatible with the mournful character of the Requiem service, while it is calculated to divert attention from the very object on which all thoughts should be centred during the performance of the exequial rites. Again, everything in the way of ornament or decoration is to be excluded on the solemn occasion of a Dead Office or Mass ;<sup>1</sup> for, while the Rubrics prescribe with the greatest minuteness of detail all that should be present in connection with the bier or *castrum doloris*, from the candles of unbleached wax to the *insignia* which are permitted to mark the dignity of a deceased ecclesiastic, they must be held to prohibit by implication, whatever they do not

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<sup>1</sup> Vide De Herdt, *Prax. Lit.*, v. iii., pp. 327-330 ; item, *Rit. Rom. De Exeq.*

expressly allow. Finally, there is a decision of the Sacred Congregation of Rites which seems to embrace the case under notice. The following question was asked: 'Num servanda sit antiquissima consuetudo collocandi crucem ad caput feretri, vel tumuli dum cantatur Missa et perdurat Officium Emortuale?' To which the answer was given: 'Serventur Rubricae.' Now, there can be no reason for the statue which does not hold in the case of the Crucifix. Hence, we think that our correspondent, who seems to have a strong suspicion about the correctness of the practice he describes, should do all he can to have it eliminated.

#### RECITAL OF PRAYERS AFTER MASS IN IRISH

REV. DEAR SIR,—In a certain church situated in an Irish-speaking district, the Sunday sermon is invariably in *Irish*, as are also the May, October, and Lenten devotions. The Papal prayers prescribed to be said after Mass are, however, said in English. 1. May not these also be said in Irish, especially as there is now an authorized translation to be found in the Irish Prayer Book published by the Catholic Truth Society? 2. May a Priest celebrating in a private chapel say these prayers in Irish, provided the server can join with the priest, and give the responses in the same language?—Yours, etc.,

READER.

The prayers ordered by Leo XIII to be recited after Low Masses, being originally published in Latin and being, moreover, connected with the Mass which is the most strictly liturgical of all functions, are said with greater appropriateness in this language than in any other. For a time it was doubted if they could be legitimately said in the vernacular without a special concession. From the nature of the case, however, seeing that the congregation is expected to join in their recital—which is not possible in the vast majority of cases if they are said in Latin—many authorities maintain that the prayers can be lawfully said in the vernacular, even apart from a dispensing indult, especially as the part of the Mass after the last Gospel need

not be regarded as strictly liturgical, since it is not described in any of the Liturgical collections.<sup>1</sup> We have not seen any general Decree, but we believe that private indults were obtained in many places authorizing the recital in the vernacular, and, at the present day, if ever the necessity for special sanction existed, we believe it is obviated by general custom. Now, since *ex hypothesi* Irish is the *vernacular* in the districts spoken of in our correspondent's query, and since a duly authorized translation of the prayers has been published in this ancient and honoured language, there can be no difficulty about the answer to be given to the first point—they may of course be said in Irish. The same reply, with greater reason, is to be given in the second instance.

**DISPOSAL OF FRAGMENTS ON CORPORAL AFTER  
COMMUNION IN CERTAIN CASES**

REV. DEAR SIR,—I should be grateful for the trouble taken with the reply to my query. The course recommended, however, gives no guidance in the following sets of circumstances, which, I think, may be said to be practical :—

A Priest says two Masses in the same church on the same day ; and (there being no danger whatever of irreverence) allows the chalice to remain upon the altar during the time between the two Masses—(1) It is an occasion of very great devotion and the pyx at hand is not sufficiently large to contain the number of particles necessary for the communicants ; the Priest (at the first Mass) consecrates in the pyx as many particles as it can contain ; and on the corporal about as many more as will be required. In this case he cannot collect the fragments of the Communion particles off the corporal before the consumption of the Precious Blood, nor until he has given Communion. (2) A pyx is in the tabernacle containing some consecrated particles ; the Priest consecrates upon the corporal as many more particles as will be required. In these circumstances when should the corporal be purified ?—Faithfully yours,

C. D.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ephem. Liturg.*, an. 1892, p. 230.

We did not, in the reply to a former question put us by our correspondent, contemplate the cases he now makes, as we confined ourselves altogether to discussing the desirability of purifying the corporal *before* the consumption of the Precious Blood when it can be conveniently done at this particular instant and not quite so easily afterwards. Here a new issue is raised, as the corporal evidently cannot be thoroughly purified *ante sanguinis consumptionem*, for there are particles upon it which are to be distributed in Communion. In these circumstances we would recommend that as many of the particles as possible should be collected and consumed with the Precious Blood, in order that there may be as few as possible to be disposed of afterwards. When, then, the celebrant returns from the distribution of Communion and puts the remaining particles into the pyx he gathers up the fragments. Let us suppose he has some upon the paten, what is he to do with them? There are only two alternatives—either to put them into the pyx or ciborium, or to consume them by carefully conveying them to the mouth with the forefinger. Both these methods have their disadvantages, but the latter seems to us to have more to recommend it than the former. It is true that as we stated previously<sup>1</sup> De Herdt condemns this method of purifying the ciborium for general adoption; but, nevertheless, it has had the approval of some Rubricists,<sup>2</sup> and, if ever it is lawful, we think the present extreme case is an instance where it may be adopted, all precautions being taken, of course, to diminish as far as possible the danger either of irreverence to, or loss of, the consecrated fragments. If a Priest, on finishing Mass and before he has unvested, finds fragments which he believes to belong to the sacrifice just concluded he is directed, not to put them into the pyx, but to consume them, presumably by conveying them with

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<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, January, 1905, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. De Herdt, *Prax. Sac. Lit.*, v. i., n. 282.



his finger to the mouth. May not the analogy hold for the fragments we are just considering?

Where the pyx is in the Tabernacle and contains some consecrated particles these should be distributed before those on the corporal. The pyx might then be purified with the fingers before the freshly-consecrated particles are put into it, and the fragments gathered on to the paten until the Communion is distributed, when they may be consumed in the manner indicated.

P. MORRISROE.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## 'THE REPRINTING OF IRISH BOOKS'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Those interested in records of the Irish Church have good reason to be grateful to Mgr. O'Laverty for his letter and for the correspondence of Dr. MacCarthy, published in the May number.

It is surely time that some united effort should be made to do something permanent in the field of Irish ecclesiastical history. It is beyond the power of any individuals, however gifted and industrious they may be, to undertake such a work as the *Monumenta Hiberniae Sacra*, unless some society were behind them able and willing to undertake the financial responsibility. Without a society such as the Catholic Historical Society in Germany, or the Catholic Record Societies of America and England, little work of a scholarly and critical character can be undertaken, and we believe that if editing be not done in a scholarly and critical manner it were better left alone.

We have already too much worthless literature on Irish history, and too little that is unquestionably reliable. The Irish Catholic Record Society if established—and we see no reason why it could not be established—ought to make certain that its publications, however few and far between, should be scholarly and not unworthy of the Irish Church.

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

## THE ITALIAN PRONUNCIATION OF 'MIHI'

REV. DEAR SIR,—The assertion which 'amazed' M. B. was not made by M. R., but by a writer in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*. One who has lived in northern Italy confirms the statement of the Transatlantic periodical. Perhaps on that point the *bocca Romana* is capable of improvement. At the worst this slight modification might be tolerated among us, as it would save us from *micky*, and give your correspondent S. L. 'genuine pleasure.' We shall do pretty well if we give the Italian sound to the vowels, distinguish *c* before *e* and *i*

from s, and give *gn* the sound of *ny* as in *opinion*, even if we shrink from dropping our *aitches*.

M. R.

REV. DEAR SIR,—As a small ray of light thrown on this interesting subject, may I be allowed to quote an instance of how ‘mihi’ was pronounced before the ‘Reformation.’ In a curious old work (written in 1450), *Instructions for Parish Priests*, by John Myrc, an Augustinian Friar of Lilleshall Abbey, Shropshire, this word is always written ‘michi’ which, I presume, equals ‘miki.’—Yours faithfully,

WILFRID CANON DALLOW

## DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X ON THE  
TEACHING OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE X  
LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE AD SACROS UNIVERSI CATHOLICI ORBIS  
ANTISTITES DE CHRISTIANA DOCTRINA TRADENDA VENERA-  
BILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBUS ARCHIEPIS-  
COPIS EPISCOPIS ALIISQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIIS CUM APOS-  
TOLICA SEDE PACEM ET COMMUNIONEM HABENTIBUS

PIUS PP. X.

*Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.*

Acerbo nimis ac difficili tempore ad supremi pastoris munus, in universum Christi gregem gerendum, arcanum Dei consilium tenuitatem Nostram evexit. Inimicus namque homo sic gregem ipsum iam du obambulat vaferrimaque insidiatur astutia, ut nunc vel maxime illud factum esse videatur, quod senioribus Ecclesiae Ephesi praenuntiabat Apostolus: *Ego scio quoniam intrabunt . . . lupi rapaces in vos, non parcentes gregi.*<sup>1</sup>—Cuius quidem religiosae rei inclinationis, quicumque adhuc divinae gloriae studio feruntur, causas rationesque inquirunt; quas dum alii alias afferunt, diversas, pro sua quisque sententia, ad Dei regnum in hisce terris tutandum restituendumque sequuntur vias. Nobis Venerabiles Fratres, quamvis cetera non respuamus, iis maxime assentiendum videtur, quorum iudicio et praesens animorum remissio ac veluti imbecillitas, quaeque inde gravissima oriuntur mala, ex divinarum ignoratione rerum praecipue sunt repetenda. Congruit id plane cum eo, quod Deus ipse per Oseam prophetam dixit: . . . *Et non est scientia Dei in terra. Maledictum, et mendacium, et homicidium, et furtum, et adulterium iundaverunt, et sanguis sanguinem tetigit. Propter hoc lugebit terra, et infirmabitur omnis, qui habitat in ea.*<sup>2</sup>

Et re quidem vera, aetate hac nostra esse quamplurimos in

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<sup>1</sup> Act. xx 29.

<sup>2</sup> Os. iv. 1 ss.

christiano populo, qui in summa ignoratione eorum versentur, quae ad salutem aeternam nosse oportet, communes, eaeque proh dolor! non iniustae, sunt quaerimoniae.—Quum vero christianum dicimus populum, non plebem tantum aut sequioris coetus homines significamus, qui saepenumero aliquam ignorantiae excusationem ex eo admittunt, quod immitium dominorum imperio cum pareant, vix sibi suisque temporibus servire queunt: sed illos etiam et maxime, qui etsi ingenio cultuque non carent, profana quidem eruditione affatim pollent, ad religionem tamen quod attinet, temere omnino atque imprudenter vivunt. Difficile dictu est quam crassis hi saepe tenebris obvolvuntur; quodque magis dolendum est, in iis tranquille iacent! De summo rerum omnium auctore ac moderatore Deo, de christianae fidei sapientia nulla fere ipsis cogitatio. Hinc vero nec de Verbi Dei incarnatione, nec de perfecta ab ipso humani generis restauratione quidquam norunt; nihil de Gratia, quae potissimum est adiumentum ad aeternorum adeptionem, nihil de Sacrificio augusto aut de Sacramentis, quibus gratiam ipsam assequimur ac retinemus. Peccato autem quid nequitiae insit quid turpitudinis nullo pacto aestimatur; unde nec eius vitandi nec deponendi sollicitudo ulla sicque ad supremum usque diem venit, ut sacerdos, ne spes absit salutis, extrema agentium animam momenta, quae fovendae maxime caritati in Deum impendi oporteret, edocendo summatim religionem tribuat: si tamen, quod fere usuvenit, usque adeo culpabili ignorantia moriens non laboret ut et sacerdotis operam supervacaneam arbitretur et, minime placato Deo, tremendum aeternitatis viam securo animo ingrediendam putet. Unde merito scripsit Benedictus XIV decessor Noster: *Illud affirmamus, magnam eorum partem, qui aeternis suppliciiis damnantur, eam calamitatem perpetuo subire ob ignorantiam mysteriorum fidei, quae scire et credere necessario debent, ut inter electos cooptentur.*<sup>1</sup>

Haec quum ita sint, Venerabiles Fratres, quid quaeso miramur, si tanta sit modo inque dies augeat, non inter barbaras iniquimus nationes, sed in ipsis gentibus quae christiano nomine feruntur, corruptela morum et consuetudinum depravatio? Paulus quidem apostolus ad Ephesios scribens haec edicebat:

<sup>1</sup> Instit. xxvi. 18.

*Fornicatio autem, et omnis immunditia, aut avaritia, nec nominetur in vobis, sicut decet sanctos ; aut turpitudine, aut stultiloquium.*<sup>1</sup> At vero sanctimoniae huic ac pudori cupiditatum moderatori divinarum rerum sapientiae fundamentum posuit: *Videte itaque, fratres, quomodo caute ambuletis : non quasi insipientes, sed ut sapientes. . . . Propterea nolite fieri imprudentes, sed intelligentes quae sit voluntas Dei.*<sup>2</sup>

Et plane id merito. Voluntas namque hominis inditum ab ipso auctore Deo honesti rectique amorem, quo in bonum non adumbratum sed sincerum veluti rapiebatur, vix retinet adhuc. Currup telâ primaevae labis depravata, ac Dei factoris sui quasi oblita, eo affectum omnem convertit ut diligat vanitatem et quaerat mendacium. Erranti igitur pravisque obcaecatae cupiditatibus voluntati duce opus est qui monstret viam, ut male desertas repeat iustitiae semitas. Dux autem, non aliunde quesitus, sed a natura comparatus, mens ipsa est: quae si germana careat luce, divinarum nempe rerum notitia, illud habebitur, quod coecus coeco ducatum praestabit et ambo in foveam cadent. Sanctus rex David, quum Deum de veritatis indidisset: *Signatum est, aiebat, super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine.*<sup>3</sup> Quid porro ex hac largitione luminis sequatur addidit, inquires: *Dedisti laetitiam in corde meo ;* laetitiam videlicet, qua dilatatum cor nostrum, viam mandatorum divinorum currat.

Quod revera ita esse facile consideranti patet. Deum namque eiusque infinitas quas perfectiones nominamus, longe exploratius, quam naturae vires scrutentur, christiana nobis sapientia manifestat. Quid porro? Iubet haec simul summum ipsum Deum officio *fidei* nos revereri, quae mentis est; *spei* quae voluntatis; *caritatis* quae cordis: sicque totum hominem supremo illi Auctori ac Moderatori mancipat. Similiter una est Iesu Christi doctrina, quae germanam praestabilemque hominis aperit dignitatem, quippe qui sit filius Patris caelestis qui in caelis est, ad imaginem eius factus cumque eo aeternum beateque victurus. At vero ex hac ipsa dignitate eiusdemque notitiâ infert Christus debere homines se amare invicem ut fratres, vitam heic degere, ut lucis filios decet, *non in commensationibus, et ebrietatibus; non in cubilibus et impudiciis;*

<sup>1</sup> Ephes. v. 3 s.<sup>2</sup> Ephes. v. 15 ss.<sup>3</sup> Ps. iv. 7.

*non in contentione, et aemulatione*; <sup>1</sup> iubet pariter omnem sollicitudinem nostram proicere in Deum, quoniam ipsi cura est de nobis; iubet tribuere egenis, benefacere iis qui nos oderunt, aeternas animi utilitates fluxis huius temporis bonis antepone. Ne autem omnia singulatim attingamus, nonne ex Christi institutione homini superbius audenti demissio animi, quae verae gloriae origo est, suadetur ac praecipitur? *Quicumque . . . humiliaverit se . . . hic est maior in regno caelorum.* <sup>2</sup> Ex ea prudentiam spiritus docemur, qua prudentiam carnis caveamus; iustitiam, qua ius tribuamus cuique suum; fortitudinem, qua parati simus omnia perpeti, erectoque animo pro Deo sempiternaque beatitudine patiamur; temperantiam denique, qua vel pauperiem pro regno Dei admemus, quin et in ipsa cruce gloriemur, confusione contempta. Stat igitur, ab christiana sapientia, non modo intellectum nostram mutuari lumen, quo veritatem assequatur sed voluntatem etiam ardorem concipere, quo evehamur in Deum cumque Eo virtutis exercitatione iungamur.

Longe equidem absumus ut ex his asseramus, pravitatem animi corruptionemque morum non posse cum religionis scientia coniungi. Utinam non id plus nimio probarent facta! Contendimus tamen, ubi crassae ignorantiae tenebris sit mens circumfusa, nullatenus posse aut rectam voluntatem esse aut mores bonos. Apertis namque oculis si quis incedat, poterit ille sane de recto tutoque itinere declinare: qui tamen caecitate laborat, huic periculum certe quidem imminet.—Adde porro: corruptionem morum, si fidei lumen penitus non sit extinctum, spem lumen penitus non sit extinctum, spem facere emendationis; quod si utrumque iungitur et morum pravitas et fidei ob ignorantiam defectio, vix erit medicinae locus, patetque ad ruinam via.

Quum igitur ex ignorantia religionis tam multa tamque gravia deriventur damna; alia vero ex parte, quum tanta sit religiosae institutionis necessitas atque utilitas, frustra enim christiani hominis officia impleturus speratur qui illa ignoret: iam ulterius inquirendum venit, cuius demum sit perniciosissimam hanc ignorantiam cavere mentibus, adeoque necessaria scientia animos imbuere.—Quae res, Venerabiles Fratres,

<sup>1</sup> Rom. xiii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. xviii. 4.

nullam habet dubitationem gravissimum namque id munus ad omnes pertinet, quotquot sunt animarum pastores. Hi sane, ex Christi praecepto, creditas sibi oves agnoscere tenentur ac pascere; pascere autem hoc primum est, docere; *Dabo vobis, sic nempe Deus per Ieremiam promittebat, pastores juxta cor meum, et pascent vos scientiâ et doctrina.*<sup>1</sup> Unde et Apostolus Paulus aiebat: *Non . . . misit me Christus baptizare, sed evangelizare,*<sup>2</sup> indicans videlicet primas eorum partes, qui regendae aliquo modo Ecclesiae sunt positi, esse in instituendis ad sacra fidelibus.

Cuius quidem institutionis laudes persequi supervacaneum ducimus, quantique ea sit apud Deum ostendere. Certe misratio quam pauperibus ad levandas angustias tribuimus, magnam a Deo habet laudem. At longe maiorem quis neget habere studium et laborem, quo, non fluxas corporibus utilitates, sed aeternas animis docendo monendoque conciliamus? Nihil profecto optatius, nihil gratius queat Iesu Christo animarum servatori accidere, qui de se per Isaiam professus est: *Evangelizare pauperibus misit me.*<sup>3</sup>

Hic tamen praestat, Venerabiles Fratres, hoc unum consecrari atque urgere, nullo sacerdotem quemlibet graviore officio teneri, nullo arctiori nexu obligari. Etenim in sacerdote ad vitae sanctimoniam debere scientiam adiici, quis neget? *Labia . . . sacerdotis custodient scientiam.*<sup>4</sup> Atque illam reapse severissime Ecclesia requirit in iis qui sint sacerdotio initiandi. Quorsum id vero? Quia scilicet ab eis divinae legis notitiam christiana plebs expectat, illosque ad eam impertiendam destinat Deus: *Et legem requirent ex ore eius: quia angelus Domini exercituum est.*<sup>5</sup> Quamobrem Episcopus, in sacra initiatione, sacerdotii candidatos alloquens: *Sit, inquit, doctrina vestra spiritualis medicina populo Dei; sint providi cooperatores ordinis nostri; ut in lege sua die ac nocte meditantes, quod legerint credant, quod crediderint doceant.*<sup>6</sup>

Quod si nemo sacerdos, ad quem haec non pertineant, quid porro de illis censebimus, qui, nomine ac potestate curionum aucti, animarum rectoris munere, vi dignitatis et quodam quasi pacto inito, funguntur? Hi quodammodo pastoribus et doc-

<sup>1</sup> Ier. iii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> I Cor. i. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Luc. iv. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Malach. ii. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Ib.

<sup>6</sup> Pontif. Rom.



toribus sunt accensendi, quos dedit Christus ut fideles iam non sint parvuli fluctuantes, et circumferantur omni vento doctrinae in nequitia hominum; veritatem autem facientes in caritate, crescant in illo per omnia, qui est caput Christus.<sup>1</sup>

Quapropter sacrosancta Tridentina Synodus, de animarum pastoribus agens, officium eorum hoc primum et maximum esse edicit, christianam plebem docere.<sup>2</sup> Hinc iubet illos, dominicis saltem diebus festisque sollemnioribus, de religione ad populum dicere, sacri vero Adventus tempore et Quadragesimae quotidie, vel saltem ter in hebdomada. Neque id modo: addit namque teneri parochos, eisdem saltem dominicis festisque diebus, per se vel per alios, in fidei veritatibus erudire pueros, eosque ad obedientiam in Deum ac parentes instituere. Quum vero sacramenta fuerint administranda, praecipit, ut qui sunt suscepturi, de eorundem vi, facili vulgarique sermone, doceantur.

Quas sacrosanctae Synodi praescriptiones Benedictus XIX decessor Noster, in sua Constitutione *Etsi minime*, sic brevi complexus est ac distinctius definivit: *Duo potissimum onera a Tridentina Synodo curatoribus animarum sunt imposita: alterum, ut festis diebus de rebus divinis sermones ad populum habeant; alterum, ut pueros et rudiores quosque divinae legis fideique rudimentis informant.*—Iure autem sapientissimus Pontifex duplex hoc officium distinguit, sermonis videlicet habendi, quem vulgo Evangelii explicationem vocitant, et christianae doctrinae tradendae. Non enim fortasse desint qui, minuendi laboris cupidi, persuadeant sibi homiliam pro catechesi esse posse. Quod quam putetur perperam, consideranti patet. Qui enim sermo de sacro Evangelio habetur ad eos instituitur, quos fidei elementis imbutos iam esse oportet. Panem diceres, qui adultis frangatur. Catechetica e contra institutio lac illud est, quod Petrus Apostolus concupisci sine dolo a fidelibus volebat, quasi a modo genitis infantibus.—Hoc scilicet catechistae munus est, veritatem aliquam tractandam suscipere vel ad fidem vel ad christianos mores pertinentem, eamque omni ex parte illustrare: quoniam vero emendatio vitae finis docendi esse debet, oportet catechistam comparisonem instituere ea inter quae Deus agenda praecipit quaeque homines reapse agunt; post haec,

<sup>1</sup> Ephes. iv. 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Sess. v., cap. 2 de ref.; Sess. xxii., cap. 8; Sess. xxiv., cap. 4 et 7 de ref.

exemplis opportune usum, quae vel e Scripturis sacris, vel ex Ecclesiastica historia, vel e sanctorum virorum vita sapineter hauserit, suadere auditores eisque, intento veluti digito, commonstrate quo pacto componant mores ; finem denique hortando facere, ut qui adstant horreant vitia ac declinent, virtutem sectentur.

Scimus equidem eiusmodi tradendae christianae doctrina munus haud paucis invidiosum esse, quod minoris vulgo aestimetur nec forte ad popularem laudem captandam aptum. Nos tamen hoc esse iudicium eorum censemus, qui levitate magis quam veritate ducuntur. Oratores profecto Sacros, qui, sincero divinae gloriae studio, vel vindicandae tuendaeque fidei, vel Sanctorum laudationibus dent operam, probandos esse non recusamus. Verum illorum labor laborem alium praeivium desiderat, scilicet catechistarum ; qui si deest, fundamenta desunt, atque in vanum laborant qui aedificant domum. Nimium saepe orationes ornatissimae, quae confertissimae concionis plausu excipiuntur, hoc unum assequuntur ut pruriant auribus ; animos nullatenus movent. E contra catechetica institutio humilis quamvis et simplex, verbum, illud est, de quo Deus ipse testatur pm Isaïam : *Quomodo descendit imber, et nix de caelo, et illuc ultra non revertitur, sed inebriat terram, et infundit eam, et germinare eam facit, et dat semen serenti, et panem comedenti : sic erit verbum meum quod egredietur de ore meo : non revertetur ad me vacuum, sed faciet quaecumque voluit, et prosperabitur in his, ad quae misi illud.*<sup>1</sup>—Similiter arbitrandum putamus de sacerdotibus iis, qui, ad religionis veritates illustrandas, libros operosos conscribunt ; digni plane qui ideo commendatione multa exornentur. Quotus tamen quisque est, qui eiusmodi volumina verset, fructumque inde hauriat auctorum labori atque optatis respondentem ? Traditio autem christianae doctrinae, si rite fiat, utilitatem audientibus nunquam non affert.

Etenim (quod ad inflammandum studium ministrorum Dei iterum advertisse iuverit) ingens modo eorum est numerus atque in dies augetur, qui de religione omnino ignorant, vel eam tantum de Deo christianeque fidei notitiam habent, quae illos permittat, in media luce catholicae veritatis, idololatrarum

<sup>1</sup> Is. lv. 10. 11.

more vivere. Quam multi eheu! sunt, non pueros dicimus, sed adulta, quin etiam devexa aetate, qui praecipua fidei mysteria nesciant prorsus; qui Christi nomine audito, respondeant: *Quis est, . . . ut credam in eum?*<sup>1</sup>—Hinc odia in alios struere ac nutrire, pactiones conflare iniquissimas, inhonestas negotiorum procuraciones gerere, aliena gravi foenore occupare, aliaque id genus flagitiosa haud sibi vitio ducunt. Hinc Christi legem ignorantes, quae non modo turpia damnat facinora, sed vel ea cogitare scienter atque optare; etsi forte, qualibet demum de causa, obscoenis voluptatibus fere abstinere, inquinatissimas tamen cogitationes, nulla sibi religione iniecta, suscipiunt; iniquitates super capillos capitis multiplicantes.—Haec porro, iterasse iuvat, non in agris solum vel inter miseram plebeculam occurrunt, verum etiam ac forte frequentius inter homines amplioris ordinis, atque adeo apud illos quos inflat scientia, qui vana freti eruditione religionem ridere posse autumant et *quaecumque quidem ignorant, blasphemant.*<sup>2</sup>

Iam, si frustra seges e terra speratur quae semen non exceperit, qui demum bene moratas progenies expectes, si non tempore fuerint christiana doctrina institutae?—Ex quo colligimus iure, quum fides id aetatis usque eo languerit ut in multis pene sint intermortua, sacrae catechesis tradendae officium vel negligentius persolveri, vel praetermitti omnino. Perperam enim ad habendam excusationem quis dixerit, esse fidem gratuito munere donatam nobis atque in sacro baptismo cuique inditam. Equidem utique quotquot in Christo baptizati sumus fidei habitu augemur; sed divinissimum hoc semen non *ascendit* . . . *et facit ramos magnos*<sup>3</sup> permissum sibi ac veluti virtute insita. Est et in homine, ab exortu, intelligendi vis: ea tamen materno indiget verbo, quo quasi excitata in actum, ut aiunt, exeat. Haud aliter christiano homini accidit, qui, renascens ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, conceptam secum affert fidem; eget tamen Ecclesiae institutione, ut ea ali augerique possit fructumque ferre. Idcirco Apostolus scribebat: *Fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Christi*;<sup>4</sup> institutionis autem necessitudinem ut ostenderet, addit: *Quomodo . . . audienti sine praedicantis?*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ioan. ix. 36.<sup>2</sup> Iud. x.<sup>3</sup> Marc. iv. 32.<sup>4</sup> Rom. 10, 17.<sup>5</sup> Ib. 14.

Quod si, ex huc usque explicatis, religiosa populi eruditio quanti momenti maxime esse oportet, ut Doctrinae sasit ostenditur, curae Nobis quam quod crae praeceptio, qua, ut Benedicti XIV decessoris Nostri verbis utamur, ad Dei gloriam et ad animarum salutem nihil utilius est institutum<sup>1</sup> vigeat semper aut, sicubi negligitur, restituatur.—Volentes igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, huic gravissimo supremi apostolatus officio satisfacere, atque unum paremque morem in re tanta ubique esse; suprema Nostra auctoritate, quae sequuntur, in dioecesis uniaersis, observanda et exequenda constituimus districteque mandamus.

I. Parochi universi, ac generatim quotquot animarum curam gerunt, diebus dominicis ac festis per annum, nullo excepto, per integrum horae spatium, pueros et puellas de iis, quae quisque credere agereque debeant ad salutem adipiscendam, ex catechismi libello erudiant.

II. Iidem, statis anni temporibus pueros ac puellas ad Sacramenta Poenitentiae et Confirmationis rite suscipienda praeparent, continenti per dies plures institutione.

III. Item, ac peculiari omnino studio, feriis omnibus Quadragesimae atque aliis, si opus erit, diebus post festa Paschalia, aptis praeceptionibus et hortationibus adoloscuntulos et adoloscuntulas sic instruant, ut sancte primum de altari libent.

IV. In omnibus et singulis paroeciis consociatio canonice instituat, cui vulgo nomen Congregatio Doctrinae christianae. Ea parochi, praesertim ubi sacerdotum numerus sit exiguus, adiutores in catechesi tradenda laicos habebunt, qui se huic dedent magisterio tum studio gloriae Dei, tum ad sacras lucrandas indulgentias, quas Romani Pontifices largissime tribuerunt.

V. Maioribus in urbibus, inque iis praecipue ubi universitates studiorum, lycea, gymnasia patent, scholae religionis fundentur ad erudiendam fidei veritatibus vitaeque christianae institutis iuventam, quae publicas scholas celebrat, ubi religiosae rei mentio nulla iniicitur.

VI. Quoniam vero, hac praesertim tempestate, grandior aetas non secus ac puerilis religiosa eget institutione; parochi universi ceterique animarum curam gerentes, praeter consuetam homiliam de Evangelio, quae festis diebus omnibus in parochiali

<sup>1</sup> Constit. *Etsi minime*, 13.

Sacro est habenda, eâ horâ quam opportuniorem duxerint ad populi frequentiam, illâ tantum exceptâ qua pueri erudiuntur, catechesim ad fideles instituant, facili quidem sermone et ad captum accommodato. Qua in re Catechisma Tridentino utentur, eo utique ordine ut quadriennii vel quinquennii spatio totam materiam pertractent quae de Symbolo est, de Sacramentis, de Decalogo, de Oratione et de praeceptis Ecclesiae.

Haec Nos quidem, Venerabiles Fratres, auctoritate apostolica constituimus et iubemus. Vestrum modo erit efficere ut, in vestra cuiusque dioecesi, nullâ morâ atque integre executioni mandentur; vigilare porro et pro auctoritate vestra cavere, ne quae praecipimus oblivioni dentur, vel, quod idem est, remisse oscitanterque impleantur. Quod ut reapse vitetur, illud assidue commendetis et urgeatis oportet, ut parochi ne imparati catechesis praeceptiones habeant, sed diligenti prius adhibita praeparatione; ut ne loquantur humanae sapientiae verba, sed, *in simplicitate cordis et sinceritate Dei*,<sup>1</sup> Christi exemplum sectentur, qui quamvis *abscondita* eructaret a *constitutione mundi*,<sup>2</sup> loquebatur tamen omnia *in parabolis ad turbas et sine parabolis non loquebatur eis*.<sup>3</sup> Id ipsum et Apostolos, a Domino institutos, praestitisse novimus; de quibus Gregorius Magnus aiebat: *Curaverunt summopere rudibus populis plana, et capabilia non summa atque ardua praedicare*.<sup>4</sup> Ad religionem autem quod attinet, homines magnam partem radibus, hac tempestate nostra sunt accensendi.

Nolimus porro, ne ex eiusmodi simplicitatis studio persuadeat quis sibi, in hoc genere tractando, nullo labore nullaque meditatione opus esse: quin immo maiorem plane, quam quodvis genus aliud, requirit. Facilius longe est reperire oratorem, qui copiose dicat ac splendide, quam catechistam qui praeceptionem habeat omni ex parte laudabilem. Quamcumque igitur facilitatem cogitandi et eloquendi quis a natura sit nactus, hoc probe teneat, nunquam se de christiana doctrina ad pueros vel ad populum cum animi fructu esse dicturum, nisi multa commendatione paratum atque expeditum. Falluntur sane qui plebis imperitia ac tarditate fisi, hac in re negligentius agere se posse autumant. E contrario, quo quis rudiores nactus sit auditores, eo maiore studio ad diligentia utatur oportet, ut

<sup>1</sup> II Cor. i. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. xiii. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. xiii. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Moral. I. xvii., cap. 26.

sublimissimas veritates, adeo a vulgari intelligentia remotas, ad obtusiorum imperitorum aciem accommodent, quibus aequae ac sapientibus, ad aeternam beatitudinem adipiscendam sunt necessariae.

Iam igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, Mosis verbis, in hac postrema litterarum Nostrarum parte, liceat vos alloqui: *Si quis est Domini, iungatur mihi.*<sup>1</sup> Advertite, rogamus quaesumusque, quanta animarum clades ex una divinarum rerum ignoratione veniat. Multa forte utilia planeque laudatione digna, in vestra cuiusque dioecesi, sunt a vobis instituta in commissi gregis commodum: velitis tamen, prae omnibus, quanta potestis contentione, quanto studio, quanta potestis contentione, quanto studio, quanta assiduitate hoc curare atque urgere, ut doctrinae christianae notitia cunctorum pervadat animos penitusque imbuat. *Unusquisque, Petri Apostoli utimur verbis, sicut accepit gratiam, in alterutrum illam administrantes, sicut boni dispensatores multiformis gratiae Dei.*<sup>2</sup>

Diligentiam industriasque vestras, beatissima Virgine immaculata intercedente, fortunet vobis Apostolica benedictio, quam, testem caritatis Nostrae ac caelestium gratiarum auspicem, vobis et clero ac populo cuique credito amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum die XV Aprilis MDCCCVC, Pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

Pius PP. X.

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xxxii. 26.

<sup>2</sup> I. Petr. iv. 10.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**HANDBOOK OF HOMERIC STUDY.** By Henry Browne, S.J.  
M.A. (Oxon.), F.R.U.I. Crown 8vo. Dublin: Browne  
and Nolan, Ltd. 1905. Price 6s. net.

FATHER BROWNE in his little book on Greek Composition, published some years ago, has shown himself, as learners will readily acknowledge, a master of orderly arrangement and clear exposition. The same good qualities, the same thoroughness and conscientiousness are present in a very striking form in the interesting work before us. As its title conveys, it is intended as an introduction to the study of Homer and as a guide to the many problems which are linked with the Homeric poems. It deals with the dialect and text of Homer, with the Homerids, with the long, and, in many points, still undecided controversy on the composition of the poems, with Homeric civilization and all that it imports, and with the significance of the excavations in the Troad and at Mycenæ and Cnossos from Schliemann to the present day, whilst the concluding chapter consists of a brief dissertation on the epic art of Homer.

Father Browne has drawn from a multiplicity of sources, few of which are readily accessible to the student, a great store of information, clearly and concisely presented to the reader, and at the conclusion of the chapters dealing with disputed questions, he gives in a few propositions his own summing-up of the controversy. If one were disposed to comment on the absence of reference to several German writers who have helped towards the elucidation of Homeric problems, one finds a sufficient answer in the author's carefully-worded preface, where he points out the necessity of avoiding the defect of excess in dealing with his subject and of the impossibility of doing justice within the compass of such a work as he has planned to all that has been written about Homer. Whilst the student will find his book invaluable, others who seek entertainment in literature of a more fleeting kind, will realize in its pages that the romance of truth is more fascinating than the romance of fiction. Father Browne, it should be added, has minimised the importance of

his own part of the work. It is less consistent with truth than modesty to suggest that he has merely collected and summarised. Much that is valuable and interesting is entirely his own.

P. C.

VETUS TESTAMENTUM IN NOVO. W. Dittmar. Gottingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903. Price 10s. 6d.

THIS work (362 pages 8vo), will be a boon to professors and students. It contains in order all the quotations from the Old Testament that are to be found in the New. They are given both in the original Hebrew and in the Septuagint version. As is well known, the majority of these quotations are in agreement with this version, and not more than fifty differ appreciably from it. Taking minor divergencies into account, it has been calculated that while the New Testament departs from the Masoretic text in 212 citations, it does so from the Septuagint in 185. Sometimes considerable varieties of meaning are the result. When students have to search and to compare, much of their valuable time is spent, hence they will be glad to know of a handy book where everything may be found at the first glance. And in addition, the allusions, etc. (*e.g.*, to the deuterocanonical books), are given, so that the work is to a large extent a real Concordance. It is beautifully printed ; different types being so used that reference becomes a pleasure.

H. B. L.

THE LIFE OF ST. PATRICK. By the Rev. William Canon Fleming. London : Washbourne & Co. 1905.

PERHAPS no character in history has had more to suffer at the hands of his historians than our National Apostle. His birthplace, his dates, his life-work, his education, his religious beliefs, his very existence have been the sources of so many deadly controversies that if the saints in glory can derive any pleasure from the freaks of men, our apostle must be in a state of singular bliss. We do not mean, however, to direct our criticisms at the work of Canon Fleming that lies before us. It is the book of a scholar, the fruit of many years of sympathetic study, and we can recommend it as a history that will



well repay perusal. The reader will find in it nothing very striking or novel, but the old views are put forward in a peculiarly pleasing fashion, and though we have no intention of committing ourselves to many of the opinions of the author, we have great pleasure in recommending this work to the public.

J. MACC.

AN UNWRITTEN CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF IRISH EDUCATION. By Rev. Kingsmill Moore, D.D.  
London : Macmillan & Co. 1904.

THIS book purports to be the History of the Society for the Education of the Poor, commonly known as the Kildare-street Society, from the year 1811 till 1831. At the present time when the question of Primary Education in Ireland is engaging attention a glance at this work would not be without profit. Dr. Moore naturally tries to paint the Kildare-street Society in its best light ; but whilst we are disposed to admit that this Society contributed not a little to the advance of education in Ireland, we believe tha' it contributed largely to the embarking of the nation along lines that were educationally unnatural, nor do we see that he has refuted many of the charges of Proselytism, etc., that have made the name of Kildare-street odious to Irish Catholics.

J. MACC.

"*Ut Christiani ita et Romani sint.*" "As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."  
*Ex Dictis S. Patris, in Libro Armacano, fol. 9.*

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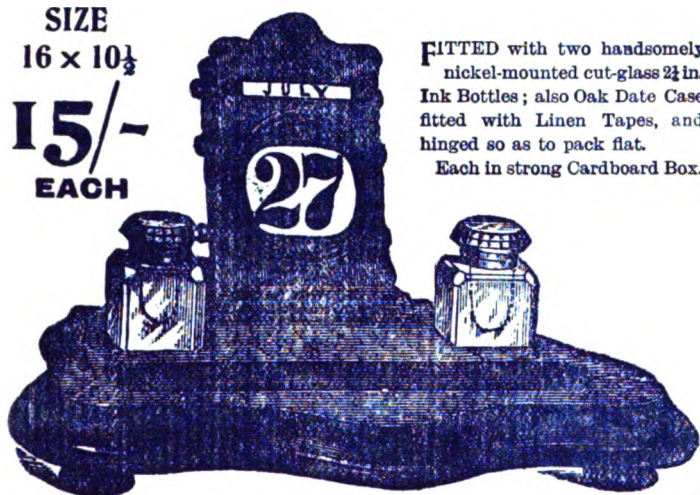
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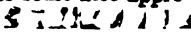
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